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**OF**  
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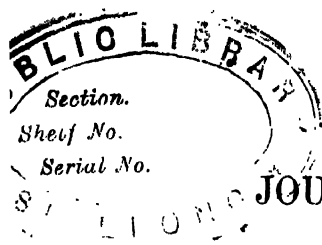
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JOURNAL

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

## I.

### STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN MEDICINE.

By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

### II. ON SOME OBSCURE ANATOMICAL TERMS.

(Continued from the Journal, 1906, p. 941.)

#### (3) *Skandha*.

IT has already been stated (*ante*, p. 918, Oct. 1906) that *skandha*, in the plural number, denotes the cervical vertebræ (not the shoulders). To the examples there given the following may be added:—

In the Atharva Veda, vi, 1 '5, verse 1, we read:

XXVII. *Skandhān=amasya sūtaṇ= Vṛtrasy=eva Śacīpatiḥ*.

That is, Severing the cervical vertebræ (i.e. the neck) of him yonder, as Śacīpati (or Indra, cut off the neck) of Vṛtra.

The passage refers to the well-known story of Indra decapitating the demon Vṛtra; and, therefore, it cannot be translated, as done by Griffith, 'rending the shoulders.' Whitney (vol. ii, p. 382) also translated 'cutting to pieces the shoulders,' but he rightly explains, "*skandha*, shoulder, is always plural, and so is not precisely equivalent to the word used to render it." *Skandhāḥ* (plural) are the cervical vertebræ, and these make up the cervical column or *skandhaḥ* (singular).

Again, in Atharva Veda, xii, 5, clause 67, we find :

XXVIII. *Pra skandhān=pra śiro jahi.*

That is, Strike off the cervical vertebræ (i.e. the neck), off the head.

(4) *Uṣṇihā*, same as *skandha*.

Two passages, bearing on the word *uṣṇihā*, have already been quoted, Nos. V and VI (p. 917, Oct. 1906). Two others may be here given.

Atharva Veda, ix, 8, verse 21, has :

XXIX. *Anūkād=arṣanīr=uṣṇihābhyah śīrṣṇo rogam=anīnaśam.*

That is, From the truncal vertebræ the piercing pain, from the cervical vertebræ, from the head the disease I have removed.

In this case, however, the Pāippalāda Recension has a rather different reading, which is mentioned by Professor Lanman in his edition of Whitney's Translation, vol. ii, p. 551, and which is discussed below (p. 16).

Again, Atharva Veda, x, 10, verse 20, has :

XXX. *Āśnas=te gāthā abhavan=n=uṣṇihābhyo balaṁ vaśe |*

That is, From thy mouth the gāthās came, from thy cervical vertebræ (or neck) strength, O Cow !

Here Whitney's Translation, vol. ii, p. 607, has 'nape-bones' for *uṣṇihābhyo*, by which term, I presume, the cervical vertebræ are indicated. With respect to the connection, in this passage, of the idea of strength with the cervical column, the passage, already quoted, No. VII (p. 918, Oct. 1906), may be compared, in which the same idea is expressed by *virya*.

(5) *Prṣṭi* or *prṣṭi*.

In the dictionaries *prṣṭi* (or *prṣṭi*) is said to mean a rib. They also have a homonymous word *prṣṭi*, meaning the back (= *prṣṭha*). As a fact, I believe, there exists only a single word *prṣṭi* (or *prṣṭi*), which means primarily the

transverse process (or lateral projection) of a vertebra (see *ante*, p. 918, Oct. 1906, under No. VII), and secondarily the truncal part of the vertebral column (spine, backbone) and hence the back. In his translation of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xlv, p. 164, footnote 2), Professor Eggeling suspects the truth; for though always translating *pr̥ṣṭi* by 'rib,' he says that "it is by no means clear that there is no distinction between the two terms," namely, between *par̥śu* and *pr̥ṣṭi*. So also Whitney, in his *Translation of the Atharva Veda*, vol. i, p. 548, says, "the distinction between *pr̥ṣṭi* and *par̥śu* is not clear," and though usually rendering *pr̥ṣṭi* by 'rib,' he twice translates it by 'side-bones.' Examining the two words, however, with the help of a skeleton, it is not so very difficult to see the distinction. They denote two entirely different parts of the body: *par̥śu* denotes a rib (side-bone of the breast), but *pr̥ṣṭi*, the transverse process (side-bone) of a vertebra, and hence the vertebra itself. The word is always used in the plural, because the truncal portion of the spinal column consists of seventeen vertebrae with thirty-four transverse processes; and hence the word, in the plural, practically comes to mean the vertebral column, or simply the back.

It is a rare word. So far as I know, it never occurs outside the Vedic literature. In the *R̥igveda* it occurs twice; in the *Atharva Veda*, seventeen times. But while there is not a single passage in which the word may not mean a vertebra quite as well as a rib, there are some passages in which it cannot mean a rib. For example, *Atharva Veda*, ix, 7, clauses 5 and 6:

XXXI. *Br̥haspatiḥ kakūḍ, br̥hatī kikasāḥ, devānām putnīḥ  
pr̥ṣṭaya, upasadaḥ par̥śavaḥ.*

That is, Brihasputi is the hump, the br̥hatī are the bodies of the vertebrae, the consorts of the Devas are the transverse processes of the vertebrae, the attendant worshippers are the ribs.

Griffith's translation (i, 454) has here: "The consorts of the gods are the ribs, the attendants are the ribs." But

it must be obvious that in this connection the two words *pr̥ṣṭi* and *par̥śu* cannot have the same meaning. In Whitney's translation (ii, 548) a distinction is indicated by the renderings 'side-bones' and 'ribs.' The enumeration follows exactly the anatomy of the bull's body. Topmost and median comes the hump; under the median comes the body of the spine; next, on either of its sides, the transverse processes of the vertebræ; still farther, on either side, come the ribs.

An exactly similar case we have in Atharva Veda, x, 9, verse 20, quoted above (No. II, p. 917, Oct. 1906, where also we find *pr̥ṣṭi*, backbones, mentioned by the side of *par̥śu*, ribs. Whitney, here again (ii, 604), translates 'side-bones.'

Again, in Atharva Veda, xii, 1, verse 34, we read:

XXXII. *Yac=chayānah paryāvarte dakṣiṇam saryam=abhi,  
Bhūme, pārśvam | uttānās=tvā pr̥ṣṭicim yat=pr̥ṣṭibhir=  
adhiśmahe ||*

That is, When, as I lie, I turn upon my right side (or) my left, O Earth; when lying supinely in sleep on our back against thee, (do not injure us!).

Obviously, one does not lie supinely on the ribs, but only on the back.

Again, Atharva Veda, xviii, 4, verse 10, runs thus:

XXXIII. *Yāyam = Agne śantamābhis = tanūbhir = ījānam = abhi  
lokam svargam | aśvā bhūtvā pr̥ṣṭi-rāḥo vahātha yatra  
deraiḥ sadha mādam madanti ||*

That is, Do ye, O Fire, with your most kindly forms, turned into horses, carry on your backs the sacrificer to the heavenly world, where with the Devas together they revel in revelry.

Obviously, a horse does not carry the rider on his ribs, but on his back. *Pr̥ṣṭi-rāḥa* means literally 'back-carrier,' or, as Whitney (ii, 874, though with a query), 'back-carrying horses.'

There is also the passage from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, quoted above (No. XI, p. 923, Oct. 1906). In it the two

*retahsich* bricks, one on either side of the median line of the lowermost layer of the altar, are said to represent the *pr̥ṣṭi*, that is, the transverse processes on either side of the bones composing the vertebral column. That the transverse processes are meant is shown by their position relative to the breast-bones. The latter lie in the median line of the uppermost layer of bricks; and exactly below them lies the spinal column.

Again, R̥ig Veda, x, 87, 10 (identical with Atharva Veda, viii, 3, 10), has :

XXXIV. *Tasy = Agne . pr̥ṣṭir = harasā śr̥ṇhi.*

That is, O Agni, his spine with thy flame consume !

On this Sāyana, in his commentary, remarks, *pr̥ṣṭiḥ pārśva-  
sthān-śrakṣasān*, i.e., the *pr̥ṣṭi* are the Rakṣasas that stand on either side (of the devotee). In giving this explanation Sāyana may have been, and probably was, thinking of the ribs; but not necessarily, for it fits the transverse processes of the vertebræ quite as well (cf. quotation No. XXXI). But in any case, Sāyana's date (c. 1350 A.D.) is much too late to give any weight to his interpretation of an obscure anatomical term. In his time anatomical knowledge was practically defunct, even in the medical schools.

Probably both *parśu* and *pr̥ṣṭi* have the same etymological meaning, 'side-piece' (from root *spṛś* ?); but while *parśu* denotes the side-pieces of the thorax, that is the ribs, *pr̥ṣṭi* signifies the side-pieces of the vertebræ, that is the transverse processes, and hence comes to mean the back (Professor Ludwig translates Rücken), i.e. the spine or vertebral column. But even in the latter sense *pr̥ṣṭi* is always used in the plural number, and thereby betrays its original meaning. The point particularly to observe, however, is that the transverse processes of the vertebræ were noticed already in Vedic times, and a particular term, *pr̥ṣṭi*, coined to denote them. So far as the thorax is concerned, therefore, the Vedic term *pr̥ṣṭi* corresponds to the medical term *sthāḷaka*, or socket of the ribs, while the term *parśu* corresponds to the medical term

*pārśvaka* or *parśuka*. The rib is furnished with a 'tubercle' which articulates with a facet in the transverse process of the corresponding thoracic vertebra. In the anatomical system of Charaka (representing that of Ātreya), the 'shaft' of the rib is called *pārśvaka* or *parśuka*, the 'tubercle' is called *arbuda*, and the transverse process with its facet is called *sthālaka*, or socket.

(6) *Kikasā*.

In Sir M. Monier-Williams' Dictionary (2nd ed.) *kikasa*, masc., is said to mean 'the breast-bone and the cartilages connected with it' (i.e. the sternum and costal cartilages); *kikasā*, fem., vertebra or rib; and *kikasa*, neut., a bone, also vertebra or rib. The St. Petersburg Dictionary has, masc. vertebral column; fem., vertebra; neut., bone. Indian Sanskrit dictionaries (*koṣa*) appear to know the word only as a neuter noun, and assign to it the meaning of bone (*asthi*); see, e.g., Halāyudha's *Abhidhānaratnamālā* (ed. Aufrecht), iii, 10, and Hemachandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (ed. Böhtlingk and Rieu), verse 626 (p. 114).<sup>1</sup> I have once met with it denoting the 'aggregate of bones,' skeleton (*asthi-saṃgraha*). In the *Śārīra-padmīnī*, a small work on Anatomy, by Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa, the osteological summary is introduced by the statement *kikasāṃ trīsata-saṃkhyam*, i.e. 'the skeleton numbers three hundred (bones).'<sup>1</sup>

The true meaning of *kikasā*, fem., may be seen from the quotation No. XXXI (*ante*, p. 3). The word denotes the vertebra, irrespective of its transverse processes, that is, the 'body' of the vertebra. It is always used in the plural number; and, being thus used, it signifies the column of vertebrae. Whether the transverse processes of the vertebrae are or are not included, depends on the context. In the passage just referred to (No. XXXI) they are not included, for they are specially mentioned by the term *prāṣṭi*. The same is the case in Atharva Veda, ix, 8, verses 14, 15:

<sup>1</sup> From a manuscript in the possession of Dr. P. Cordier, and kindly communicated to me by him.

XXXV. *Yā hrdayam = uparṣanty = anutanvanti kikasāḥ | yā pārśve uparṣanty = anunikṣanti prṣṭiḥ | (ahiṃs<sup>o</sup>).*

That is, (The illa) that penetrate into the heart, (and) extend onward to the vertebræ; that penetrate both sides and press onward to the transverse processes (of the vertebræ), (let them depart, etc.).

The heart, as Hemachandra's *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* (verse 603) says, lies *śtan-āntaram*, or in the midst between the two breasts, that is, between the two *pārśva* or rib-pieces (hence *pārśvaka*, a rib). To the heart and the two rib-pieces, one on either side, in front, correspond, at the back, the 'body' of the vertebral column and its transverse processes. The disease is represented as penetrating the heart and ribs and passing onward through the body to the vertebral column and its transverse processes, that is, as thoroughly permeating the body.

Although *kikasāḥ* (plur.) is the name of the whole vertebral column, it may, in any particular case, be limited to some particular portion of it. Thus, in the passage No. IV (*ante*, p. 917, Oct. 1906) it is limited to the uppermost or cervical portion of the vertebral column, because there it is contrasted with the anterior cervical cartilages (windpipe). On the other hand, in the passages Nos. VI and XI (*ante*, pp. 917, 923, Oct. 1906), it is limited to the middle, or thoracic, portion of the spine, because it is contrasted with the lumbar vertebrae and the costal cartilages respectively.

### (7) *Anūka* or *Anūkyā*.

It is generally admitted that the word *anūka* or *anūkyā* denotes the backbone or the vertebral column. With this meaning, for example, we have it in Atharva Veda, iv, 14, verse 8:

XXXVI. *Ūrdhvāyām diśy = ajany = ānūkām dhehi, diśi dhruvāyām dhehi pājanyam |*

That is, In the upward direction lay the goat's backbone, in the downward direction lay his belly.

However, as in the case of *kikasā*, in any particular instance, the application of *anūka* may be limited to some particular portion of the vertebral column. Thus in the quotation No. XXIX (*ante*, p. 2) *anūka* refers to the spine of the trunk, as contrasted with the spine of the neck. On the other hand, in the passage No. VI, *anūkyā* (p. 917, Oct. 1906) refers to the lumbar portion of the spine as contrasted with its thoracic portion. Just the reverse is the case in Śatapatha Brāhmana, xii, 2, 4, clauses 12 and 14:

XXXVII. *Udaram=ekaviṁśaḥ | viṁśatir=rā anlar=udare kuntāpāny=udaram=ekaviṁśaṁ ; tasmād=udaram=ekaviṁśaḥ || Anūkam trayastrīṁśaḥ | drātriṁśad=rā etasya karūkarāṇy=anūkam trayastrīṁśaṁ ; tasmād=anūkam trayastrīṁśaḥ ||*

That is, The abdominal (or lumbar) portion of the spine is the 21-versed hymn-form. For within the abdomen there are twenty transverse processes (*kuntāpa*), and the 'body' of the abdominal portion of the spine (*udara*) is the twenty-first. Therefore, the abdominal portion of the spine is the 21-versed hymn-form. The thoracic portion of the spine is the 33-versed hymn-form. For there are thirty-two transverse processes (*karūkara*) in it, and the body of the thoracic portion (*anūka*) of the spine is the thirty-third. Therefore, the thoracic portion of the spine is the 33-versed hymn-form.

Here, clearly, *anūka* refers to the thoracic portion of the spine as contrasted with the abdominal, or lumbar, portion of it. Moreover, it is to be observed that both terms, *anūka* and *udara*, are here employed to denote the body of the vertical column, as distinct from its transverse processes. In this respect their use is similar to that of *kikasā* above explained.

Another point to observe, with respect to this passage, is a curious anatomical coincidence. The lumbar spine (*udara*) is said to comprise twenty, and the thoracic (*anūka*) thirty-two transverse processes. As there are two transverse processes to each vertebra, we have ten *plus* sixteen or a total of twenty-six vertebrae for the two portions of the truncal spine. This happens to be the correct total

number of the vertebræ in the entire spine, inclusive of the neck. According to modern anatomy there are altogether 26 vertebræ: 7 cervical, 12 thoracic, 5 lumbar, and 2 false (the sacrum and coccyx).

In this connection it remains to notice a very instructive phrase. In the Atharva Veda, xi, 3, clause 9, there occurs the simile *iṣe anūkye*, i.e. the two car-shafts are the two transverse processes of a vertebra. Here the word *iṣe* is in the dual number, and refers to the double pole or furcated shaft of a car; and this is well compared to a vertebra with its transverse processes, projecting, one on either side, outwards and backwards. Moreover, this phrase shows that *anūkyā* may denote, not only the whole vertebral column, or a single vertebra, but also a transverse process. In this respect it is a synonym of *pṛṣṭi*.

#### (8) *Karūkara*.

The dictionaries explain *karūkara* to mean either 'the vertebræ of the neck and spine' (St. Pet. Dict.) or 'the joint of the neck and backbone' (M.-Will. Dict.). The latter alternative is impossible, for *karūkara* is mostly used in the plural, and there is no more than one 'joint of the neck and backbone.' Whitney's *Translation of the Atharva Veda*, vol. ii, p. 652, suggests the meaning of 'a point or spinous process of a vertebra.' This is nearer the truth, but the word really denotes the two transverse processes of a vertebra, as may be seen quite clearly from the two passages, Nos. VII and XXXVII, already quoted (p. 918, Oct. 1906, and p. 8 *supra*).

The word *karūkara*, however, when used in the singular, may also denote the whole vertebral column. Used in this way it occurs in Atharva Veda, xi, 9, verse 8:

XXXVIII. *Samkarṣantī karūkaram manasā putram = icchantī |*

That is (as Professor Bloomfield correctly translates in his *Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xlii, p. 124), She curves her spine while longing in her heart for her son.

(9) *Kuntāpa*.

The dictionaries explain the word *kuntāpa* to mean 'certain organs or glands in the bolly.' But this meaning is impossible, for the passage in which it occurs clearly indicates some bony structure. The true meaning has been already suggested by Professor Eggeling in his *Translation of the Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xlv, p. 164, footnote 1). The passage referred to has been quoted above (p. 8), No. XXXVII. It clearly shows that *kuntāpa* denotes the transverse processes of a vertebra.

(10) *Uchlakha, kakāṭikā, kaphoḍa, kusindha, pratiṣṭhā, stana*.

All these six items occur in the earlier portion of the hymn on the wondrous creation of man, Atharva Veda, x, 2, verses 1-8, of which one verse has already been quoted, No. I (*ante*, p. 916, Oct. 1906). These earlier verses treat of the bony frame, the skeleton, of the human body, enumerating the bones in regular order from the foot upwards. They run as follows :—

- XXXIX. (1) *Kenā pārṣṇī ābhṛte pūruṣasya, kenā māṁsam sambhṛtam, kenā gulphau |*  
*ken=āṅgulīḥ prśanīḥ, kenā khāni, ken=uchlakhaṁ madhyataḥ,*  
*kaḥ pratiṣṭhām ||*
- (2) *kasmān=nu gulphāv=adharāv=akṛṇan=n=asthivantāv=uttarau pūruṣasya |*  
*jāṅhe nirṛtya nyadadhuh kra srij, jānuṁṣaḥ sandhi ka u tac=*  
*eiketa ||*
- (3) *catuṣṭayam yujyate saṁhit-āntam, jānubhyām=ūrdhvam śithiram kabandham |*  
*śronī yad=ūrū ka u taj=jajāna yābhyām kusindham su-dṛḍham babhūva ||*
- (4) *kati devāḥ katame ta āsanya uro grīrās=cikṛuḥ pūruṣasya |*  
*kati stanau vyadadhuh, kaḥ kaphoḍau, kati skandhān, kati prṣṭir=acinvan ||*
- (5) *ko asya bāhū samabharat="vīryam kararād"=iti |*  
*aṁsau ko asya tad=devāḥ kusindhe adhyādadhau ||*

- (6) *kaḥ sapta khāni vi tatarda śīrṣaṇi, karṇāv=imau ndaika cakṣaṇi mukham |*  
*yeṣāṃ purutrā vijayaśya mahmani catuṣpādo dripado yānti yānam ||*
- (7) *hanvor = hi jīhrām = adadhāt, purācīm = adhā mahīm = adhī śīsrāya vācam |*  
*sa ā varivarti bhuvaneṣv=antar=apo rasānah, ka u tac=eiketa ||*
- (8) *mastiṣkam = aśya yatamo lalāṭam kakūṭikām prathamō yaḥ kapālam |*  
*citrā cītyam hanroḥ pūruṣasya divam ruroha, katamaḥ sa devaḥ ||*

This may be translated as follows:—

- (1) By whom were fixed the two heels (*pārṣṇī*) of man? by whom was the flesh (*māṃsa*) constructed? by whom the two ankle-bones (*gūlpha*)? by whom the slender digits (*aṅgulī*)? by whom the apertures (*kha*)? by whom the two metatarsi (*uchlakha*) in the middle? who (made) the tarsus (*pratiṣṭhā*)?
- (2) How, indeed, did they (the devas) make the two ankle-bones (*gūlpha*) of man below, and the two kneecaps (*aṣṭhīrat*) above? the two legs (*jāṅghā*), furthermore—how, pray, did they insert them: and the two knee-joints (*jānu-sandhi*)—who conceived them?
- (3) A four-sided frame (*catuṣṭaya*) is formed by their ends being firmly knit together and, above the two knees (*jānu*),<sup>1</sup> there is the pliant abdomen (*kabandha*). The two hips (*śroṇi*) and the two thighs (*ūru*) that there are—who has created them, (those props) through which the trunk (*kusindha*) becomes so firmly set up?
- (4) How many devas, and who among them, contributed to build up the breast-bone (*uras*)<sup>2</sup> and the cervical cartilages (*grīvā*) of man? How many disposed the two breast-pieces (*stana*); who, the two shoulder-blades (*kaphoḍa*)? How many piled up the neck-bones (*skandha*); how many, the back-bones (*prṣṭhī*)?

<sup>1</sup> One here expects a word for 'lower limb' (*nakthi*), and perhaps *jānu* may be a false reading; or the knee, being in the middle of the lower limb, is chosen to represent the whole of it.

<sup>2</sup> The sternum consists of three parts: *manubrium*, *gladiolus*, and *ensiform process*, of which the first part remains separate through life. Hence 'to build up.'

- (5) Who constructed the two arms (*bāhu*) of his for the exertion of strength?<sup>1</sup> Which deva hoisted the two collarbones (*aṁsa*) on his trunk (*kusindha*)?
- (6) Who pierced the seven apertures (*kha*) in the head; the two ears (*karṇa*), two nostrils (*nāsikā*), two eyes (*cakṣan*), the mouth (*mukha*),—these (organs of sense) in whose surpassing might quadrupeds and bipeds walk their way in all directions?
- (7) For, within the two jaws (*hanu*) he fixed the tongue (*jihvā*), and installed the far-reaching, mighty voice (*vāo*). He (*deva*) wanders through the (three) worlds, he is dwelling in the waters, but who (among the devas) conceived it?
- (8) Whoever first constructed that brain of his (*mastiṣka*), the brow (*lalāṭa*), the facial bone (*kakāṭika*), the cranium (*kapāla*), and the structure of the two jaws (*hanu-citya*), and, having done so, ascended to heaven, who of the many devas was he?

The significance of these verses comes out very clearly when they are compared with the osteological statements in the textbooks (*samhitā*) of Charaka, *Śārīra Sthāna*, iv, 7 (Jiv. ed., p. 370), and Suśruta, *Śārīra Sthāna*, iii, 5, clause 16 (Jiv. ed., p. 331). The three systems are shown in the subjoined conspectus:—

<sup>1</sup> Literally: saying “may it exert strength.” This brief reference to the arms implies that what has been said in verses 1-3 with reference to the lower limbs applies, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the upper limbs.

	ATHARVA VEDA.	CHARAKA.	SUŚRUTA.
1	<i>pācṇi</i> , heel	<i>pācṇi</i>	<i>pācṇi</i> .
2	<i>gūlpha</i> , ankle-bone	<i>gūlpha</i> and <i>maṇika</i>	<i>gūlpha</i> .
3	<i>aṅgulī</i> , digit	<i>aṅgulī</i> (with <i>nakha</i> )	<i>aṅgulī</i> .
4	<i>uchlakha</i> , metatarsus	<i>śalākā</i>	<i>tala</i> .
5	<i>pratighṛhā</i> , tarsus	<i>adhigṛhāna</i> (or <i>sthāna</i> )	<i>karsa</i> .
6	<i>jaughā</i> , leg	<i>jaughā</i> (and <i>arotni</i> )	<i>jaughā</i> .
7	<i>apṭhāt</i> , or <i>jānu</i> , kneecap	<i>jānu</i> and <i>kapāṭika</i>	<i>jānu</i> .
8	<i>ūru</i> , thigh	<i>ūru-nalaka</i> (and <i>bāha-n.</i> )	<i>ūru</i> .
9	<i>śroni</i> , hip	<i>śroni-phalaka</i> , <i>bhaga</i>	<i>śroni</i> , <i>bhaga</i> , <i>guda</i> .
10	<i>uras</i> , breast-bone	<i>uras</i>	<i>uras</i>
11	<i>gutrā</i> , windpipe	<i>gutru</i>	<i>kaṇṭhamāḍī</i> .
12	<i>s'asa</i> , ribs	<i>pārśvaka</i>	<i>pārśva</i> .
13	<i>laphoda</i> , shoulder-blade	<i>aṁsa-phalaka</i>	<i>aṁsa-ja</i> .
14	<i>skandha</i> , neck	<i>grīvā</i>	<i>grīvā</i> .
15	<i>prāṭi</i> , backbone	<i>prāṭha</i>	<i>prāṭha</i> .
16	<i>aṁsa</i> , collarbone	<i>akṣaka</i> (or <i>aṁsa</i> )	<i>akṣaka</i> (or <i>aṁsa</i> ).
17	<i>lalāṭa</i> , brow	<i>nāsikā-gaṇḍakṣīṭa-lalāṭa</i>	<i>nāsā</i> , <i>gaṇḍa</i> , <i>akṣikṣīṭa</i> , <i>karna</i> .
18	<i>kākūṭhā</i> , facial bone		
19	<i>kapāla</i> , cranium	<i>kapāla</i> with <i>śaukha</i>	<i>kapāla</i> with <i>śaukha</i> .
20	<i>haṁ-citya</i> , structures of jaws	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>danta</i>, teeth  <i>antelakhi-la</i>, socket  <i>tālmaka</i>, palate  <i>haṁ-cithi</i>, jawbone  <i>haṁ-mūla-bandhaṇa</i>, (the bone of jaw) </div>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>danta</i>.  <i>tālu</i>, palate.  <i>haṁu</i>, jawbone. </div>

It would take me too far to enter into a detailed comparison of each item; that will be found in my forthcoming monograph on the Osteology of the Ancient Indians. What chiefly concerns us here is to observe, first, that all three statements enumerate the bones of the skeleton in the same

regular order, beginning with the extremities, and going on to the trunk, and finally to the head; secondly, that while Charaka enumerates the bones of the lower and upper extremities separately (see table, Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8), Suśruta enumerates only those of the lower extremities, adding the remark that the same count applies to the upper extremities. In this respect the Atharva Veda agrees with Suśruta; see footnote to verse 5.

In the translations hitherto offered several of the anatomical terms have been much misunderstood. If, however, we carefully follow the order in which the terms occur in the hymn and the bones in the skeleton respectively, it becomes much easier to assign the terms to the bones. Thus, in the first verse the term *pratiṣṭhā* obviously corresponds to what Charaka calls *adhiṣṭhāna*, the tarsus, the pedestal, or base, on which the long bones of the foot, the metatarsals, are fixed. *Pratiṣṭhā* is not the pedestal of the body, but, as Charaka explicitly states, the base of the metatarsals (*śalākā, uchlakha*). Suśruta, it may be noted, calls the same organ *kūreca*, cluster, because the tarsus consists of a cluster of seven small bones. In the middle (*madhyataḥ*) between the tarsus (*pratiṣṭhā*) and the digits (*anṅuli*) come the long bones of the foot, or the metatarsals. In the Atharva Veda (verse 1) the metatarsus (or aggregate of metatarsals) is called *uchlakha*. Suśruta calls the same organ *tala*. Charaka, on the other hand, speaks of the five metatarsals (distributively) as the five *śalākā*, or splints. The term *uchlakha* is αἰᾶπαξ λεγόμενον. Might it not be a false reading, and somehow connected with *śalākā*?

In the third verse, *kusindha*, as the context shows, refers to the trunk (see also verse 5). The term *catuṣṭaya*, or quaternion, refers to the four-sided frame, formed by the tibia and fibula of the leg, connected by the knee-joint above and the ankle-joint below.

In the fourth verse, *grīvā*, as already explained in Section 1 (*ante*, p. 916, Oct. 1906), refers to the windpipe. *Stana*, as the context shows, refers not so much to the breast in the narrower sense of the mammary gland, teat (so Whitney, p. 568), as in

the wider sense of breast-piece, rib-piece: it is synonymous with *pârśva*, *pârśvaka* of Charaka and Susruta, and denotes the ribs. The two terms *skandha* and *prsth* have already been explained; see Sections 3 and 5 (*ante*, pp. 1, 2). The term *kaphodā* has been misunderstood altogether. Whitney (p. 568) and Ludwig translate it with 'collarbone'; and Griffith and Muir give it the meaning 'elbow,' which is assigned to it by the St. Petersburg Dictionary and the Dictionary of Sir M. Monier-Williams. Neither of these meanings suits the context. The upper portion of the trunk comprises the following bones: (1) the ribs, (2) the sternum, (3) the thoracic vertebrae, (4) the clavicles, (5) the scapulae. These five items are enumerated in verses 4 and 5: *stanau* are the two rib-pieces, *uras* is the sternum, *prsth* are the vertebrae, *amsa* are the two clavicles (see the definition of *amsa* under No. VIII, *ante*, p. 920, Oct. 1906). Hence the only term that remains to signify the two scapulae is *kaphodau*. For *bahu*, of course, signifies the two arms: and *skandhāu* and *prsthāu*, both of which are in the plural number, cannot denote the two scapulae, but signify the back and the front of the neck, or the cervical vertebrae and the cervical cartilages respectively (as already explained under Nos. I-VII, *ante*, pp. 916-918, Oct. 1906).

In the sixth and seventh verses the seven orifices are considered from two points of view. They are primarily openings in the bony structure of the skull: but, as such, they also functionate as organs of sense and speech. The second half of the seventh verse is rather obscure. It probably refers to the creating deva: the devas pervade the three worlds, they dwell in the seas, but who among them is it that designed the wondrous organs of sense and speech? Or, it might also refer to man: though he wander, for enlightenment, through the worlds (sky, earth, and nether world) and the sea, yet how can he understand the working of those organs?

The eighth verse refers to the skull, and enumerates its bones in agreement with the system of Charaka rather than with that of Susruta. The former assumes the existence of a central facial bone, below which is a complicated

structure of jawbones, and above which are the cranial bones.<sup>1</sup> The cranium is denoted by *kapāla*, and the structure of jawbones by *hanroḥ citya*. In the system of Charaka the central facial bone is denoted by *nāsikā-gaṇḍakūṭa-lalātam asthi*, that is, the bone which comprises the bones of the nose, the cheeks, and the brow. In the Atharvic system the central facial bone is enumerated in two portions: *lalāṭa*, brow, which forms the upper, and *kakāṭikā*, nose and cheek (nasal and malar bones), which forms the lower portion.

(11) *Bhaisas.*

In addition to the hymn discussed in the preceding Section, the Atharvic system of the skeleton is found very briefly stated in a single verse. This is Atharva Veda, ix, 8, verse 21, which, in the edition of Roth and Whitney, runs as follows:—

XL. *Pādābhyām te jānubhyām śronibhyām pari bhaisasah |  
anūkād=arṣaṇīr=uṣṇihābhyah śīrṣṇo rogam=anīnaśam ||*

In the Pāippulāda Recension, however, the verse has a much fuller form. As stated in Professor Lannan's edition of Whitney's *Translation* (p. 551), it runs as follows:—

*Pādābhyām te gulphābhyām jaṅghābhyām jānubhyām=ūrubhyām  
śronibhyām pari bhaisasah | ānūkyād=arṣaṇīr=uṣṇihābhyah  
grīvābhyas=skandhebhyas=śīrṣṇo rogam=anīnaśam ||*

This may be translated thus:—

Forth from thy two feet, two ankle-bones, two leg-bones, two kneecaps, two thigh-bones, two hip-bones, from the pubic bone, the spine, [the piercing pains, from the neck-bones], the cervical cartilages (windpipe), the cervical vertebræ (nape), the skull, the disease I have caused to disappear.

The list of bones is complete, and observes the regular order but for, on the one hand, the omission of the breast-bone, the collarbones, and the shoulder-blades, and, on the

<sup>1</sup> For details, see my monograph on the Osteology of the Ancient Indians.

other, the duplication of the neck-bones. In their proper order, the omitted bones should be enumerated between the spine and the neck. It is precisely here that we find the two terms *arṣṇī* and *uṣṇihā* (enclosed in angular brackets in the translation), to both of which there are objections: *arṣṇī* (piercing pains), as Professor Lanman points out, "spoils the metre"; it is also redundant by the side of *roga* (disease). *Uṣṇihā*, likewise, is redundant by the side of *skandha*; for both (in the plural) mean the same thing, cervical vertebræ (see *ante*, Sections 3 and 4, pp. 1, 2). It would appear, therefore, that neither of the two recensions is quite correct.

With regard to the term *bhāṁsas*, the dictionaries (St. Petersburg and Monier-Williams) say that it denotes "a particular part of the intestines or abdomen." Whitney translates it with 'buttock' or 'fundament.' To this there are several objections: (1) the context requires the name of a bone, not of a vessel or a muscle; (2) the word is used always in the singular number, while a word meaning 'buttocks' would be in the dual; (3) the translation 'the two hips and buttock' would indicate practically the same region of the body, while the context obviously enumerates distinct regions. The word *bhāṁsas* is of very rare occurrence, but whenever it occurs it points to a bone in the private parts; and in my opinion there can be no doubt that it denotes what the osteological summaries of Charaka and Suśruta call *bhagāsthī* or *bhagā*, i.e. the pubic bone (rather the pubic arch, made by the ossa pubis). Regarding it Charaka says, *ekam bhag-āsthī*, i.e. there is a single pubic bone: hence the singular number of *bhāṁsas*.

Two other examples of the occurrence of the word *bhāṁsas* are the following. Atharva Veda, ii, 35, verse 5, says:

XLI. *Yakṣman bhasadyam śronibhyām [bhāsadam<sup>1</sup>] bhāṁsaso vi vṛhāni te |*

That is, The tabs of the hypogastric, or pubic, region from the two hips as well as from the pubic part, I eject for thee.

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāsadam* is a gloss to explain *bhāṁsaso*.

Like *bhaga*, so *bhaṁsas* comes to mean, in a narrower sense, the female external organs of generation (vulva). Thus, in a charm for the protection of a pregnant woman, we read in the Atharva Veda, viii, 6, verse 5 :

XLII. *Arūyān=asyū mukābhyām bhaṁsaso 'pa hanmasi |*

That is, The evil spirits from the two labia of hers, from her vulval cleft, we smite away.

With regard to verse No. XL, the reading of which is imperfectly transmitted, I would venture to suggest that for *bhaṁsasah*, pubic bone, *rakṣasah*, breast-bone, may have to be read. In that case, instead of the two words *arṣaṇāḥ* and *uṣṇihābhyah*, two terms denoting the collarbones and shoulder-blades (say, *akṣābhyām=anśotthābhyām*, or such like) would come in. *Vakṣas* would come in its proper place. *Bhaga* is, by Suśruta, included among the five bones of the pelvic girdle (*śroni*, Jiv. ed., p. 331). *Bhaṁsas*, therefore, might be omitted, as being included in *śronibhyām*.

*Erratum* : On p. 938 (Oct. 1906), l. 12, for "peak of the shoulder" read "nape of the neck."

## II.

## AN UNIDENTIFIED MS. BY IBN AL-JAUZI,

IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

ADD. 7,320.

By H. F. AMEDROZ.

*(Continued from the Journal, 1906, p. 889.)*

## SAFFĀH.

(fol. 91*b*) According to a tradition, the Prophet had foretold to 'Abbās that the Khalifate would go to his posterity (Tab. iii, 23-4); other traditions follow on the names to be borne by them. Ibrāhīm the Imām died in prison, having settled the succession, and ordered the members of his house to go to Kūfa, where Saffāh was proclaimed, ib. 27-8. His birth (in 105 A.H.) and parentage are stated, ib. 88, and Fragn. 214; and (fol. 92*a*) that he was younger than his brother al-Manṣūr; and that his laqabs were Saffāh, Murtaḍa, and Qāim, the origin of the first being explained. He stigmatised a denunciation sent under the title of 'good advice,' as repulsive alike to Allah and to himself.<sup>1</sup> For the Prophet's Burda he paid 4,000 dinars,<sup>2</sup> and he transmitted one single

ورفعت سعاية عليها مكتوب " نصيحة " فوقع عليها : تقرّبت

الينا بما باعدك من الله تعالى ولا ثواب عندنا لمن اثر عليه

<sup>1</sup> The Siḥt ibn al-Jauzi says on this in the "Mir'āt al-Zamān," op. cit., f. 248*b*, that the 'Burda' and the Staff descended to Muqtadir, who bore them in the fight with Mūnis in 320 A.H., when they were taken by his slayer the Burda is mentioned as so taken by 'Arīb, 179, l. 16), and he adds:—

فكان آخر العهد بهما ! يدري ما اصابهما

tradition. His vizier is called here Abu-l-Jahm 'Aṭīyya b. Ḥabīb (cf. Ṭab. 88, l. 12, and Mas. vi, 165), and on this Ṣūlī's statement is quoted, that the first Abbasid vizier was Ibn Khallāl (Ibn Khall., Sl. Eng. i, 467, and cf. Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl, 368), and his successor, Khālīd b. Barmak (In Fragm. 208, Abu-l-Jahm is said not to have borne the title of vizier.) Saffāḥ's address from the pulpit, and that of his uncle Dā'ud, is given less fully than Ṭab. 29-33.

(fol. 92b) Al-Khallāl is now described as in charge of the government as vizier, and as the first bearer of the title. He was addressed by Abu Muslim as 'Wazīr of the Prophet's followers' (Āl Muḥammad), Abu Muslim describing himself as their 'Amīr.'

Next comes a story which is given in Suyūṭī, ib. 264, but more fully and intelligibly here. See the text below.<sup>1</sup> Certain

وحضرة جماعة من اهل بيته فذكروا جمع المال فقال عبدالله  
ابن حسن بن حسن : سمعتُ بالف الف درهم وما رايتها مجتمعة .  
فقال ابو العباس : فانا املك بها حتى تراها مجتمعة . فلما قبض  
المال استأذن الخروج الى المدينة فاذن له ودفع اليه مالا يقسمه  
على بنى هاشم بالمدينة فلما قسمه اخذوه يشكرون ابا العباس فقال  
عبدالله : هؤلاء أخمق الناس يشكرون من اعطاهم بعض حقهم .  
فبلغه ذلك فاحبر اهله فقالوا : آذبه . فقال : من شدد نفر ومن  
تراخى الف والعفو أقرب الى التقوى .

ودخل عبدالله بن حسن بن حسن ومعه مصحف فقال : يا امير  
المومنين أعطينا حقنا الذى جعله الله لنا في هذا المصحف . (قال)  
فاشفق الناس ان يعجل السقاج بشيئ اليه ولا يريدون ذلك في شيخ  
بنى هاشم في وقته او يعيى بجوابه فيكون ذلك عاراً عليه (قال)  
فاقبل عليه غير مغضب ولا منزعج فقال : ان جدكم علياً كان خيراً  
منى وأغدل ولى هذا الامر واعطى جديك الحسن والحسين وكانا خيراً

members of the Abbasid family drew Saffāh's attention to his treasure, which 'Abd Allah, the son of Ḥasan Muthanna and great-grandson of 'Ali, said he had heard amounted to a million dirhams, but had not actually seen. Saffāh said he would give it him so as to ensure his seeing it (cf. *Fragm.* 214), and allowed him to retire to Medina, sending by him money for distribution among the Hashimites there. They received it with gratitude, and were mocked at by 'Abd Allah as grateful for getting a part of what was their due. Being told of this, they urged Saffāh to punish him, but he replied that harshness only served to alienate people and was repugnant to true piety. This same 'Abd Allah also attended, with a Qur'ān, and claimed the family's rights under its provisions. It was feared that Saffāh would either yield, which was improper in a man of his position, or would be at a loss for a reply. But Saffāh showed neither anger nor annoyance, and told 'Abd Allah that his ancestor 'Ali, who in virtue and justice was his superior, had, as Caliph, set a precedent in the case of his ('Abd Allah's) superiors, Ḥasan and Ḥusain. If he gave him a similar sum, it would be his due; if more, he was not getting much return for his generosity. 'Abd Allah attempted no reply.

That 'Abd Allah was already hostile is probable. He had been disposed to entertain the offers made to the Alides on the death of the Imām Ibrāhīm (see *Mas.* vi, 93-6, and *Fragm.* 196-7), and later he and his sons revolted against Munṣūr and perished.

Next letters are quoted from Saffāh to his uncles Ziyād b. 'Ubad Allah at Medina, and Dā'ud at Mecca, urging them to be careful in their government.

منك شيئاً وكان الواجب أن أعطيكم مثله فإن كنت فعلت فقد  
انصفك وإن كنت ردتك فما هذا جزأى منك . (قال) فما رد  
عبدالله جواباً وانصرف والناس يستعجبون من جوابه له .

(fol. 93b) An excellent sermon from Saffāh drew from the poet al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī the lines given Agh. vii, 7, and so procured Sulaimān b. Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab the governorship of Ahwāz. The poet, by conveying the patent to him in person with further lines, reaped a substantial reward.

The obituary notice of Saffāh (fol. 101b) includes only the story of his disclaiming the vanity shown by his predecessor Sulaimān, already mentioned; and the doubt as to his exact age. At this point comes the gap of 20 years in the MS.

### MANṢŪR.

(fol. 97b) His successor, Manṣūr, was born of a Berber mother, named Sallāma, in 95 A.H., and according to Ṣūlī on the day Ḥajjāj died. His mother's dream prior to his birth, Mas. vi, 157-8, is reported here by his freedman Ṭaifūr. His personal appearance is described and his position as regards his wife Umm Mūsā, Ṭab. 423. Then follows his vision of receiving the Standard from the Prophet's own hand, as Fragm. 216, and Suyūṭī (transl. 265), the story here being reported by his great-nephew Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām as having been told by Manṣūr with much solemnity as worthy of being inscribed on golden tablets and suspended on their children's necks. On fol. 98b is given his sermon and its interruption, nearly as Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vi, 18; the allotment of his time, Ṭab. 402; and his adoption of Khaish for cooling purposes, ib, 418.

(fol. 99a) A complaint against a governor was returned by the Caliph endorsed: "Either rid me of this complaint, or I will rid the complainant of you"; and he wrote to another: "Many complain of you, and few praise you: redress the balance, or you go."<sup>1</sup> Ṣūlī is quoted for the succession of

شكى اليه بعض عماله في قصّة فوّع عليها : اكفنى امره والا اكفيته  
امرک . ووّع الى عامل اخر : قد کثر شاوکوک وقل حامدوک فاما  
اعتزلت واما اعتدلت An answer similar to the latter is attributed also  
to Ja'far the Barmecide (Ibn Khall. i, 131, l. 1; Sl. Eng. i, 302). Both are  
ascribed to Manṣūr by al-Tha'ālībī in the "Ījūz wa-l-Ī'jāz," ed. Const., 1301,  
p. 19.

his viziers: first, al-Khallāl, then al-Mūriyāni (d. 154 A.H., Ṭab. iii, 372), and then al-Rabī' b. Yūnus; cf. *Fragm.* 268. Then comes the story how Maṣṣūr forced a poet to surrender four-fifths of the sum he had been given by Maḥdi, Ṭab. 406-8, and (fol. 100a) how a poet procured from him a gift of his apparel, his own being worn out. His sole extravagance, says al-Haiṭham b. 'Alī (? 'Adī) was in perfumes, of which he bought a large supply yearly. He was averse to gaiety, Ṭab. 392, but Sālīm al-Abrash says that he was naturally kind, though he did not appear to be so, his severity being assumed with his clothes. Some sayings of his follow (which appear in Suyūṭī's life of him, transl. 270, as addressed to his son Maḥdi); his advice to him to cultivate the society of the learned, Ṭab. 404, and the story of his one unfulfilled earthly wish, Suyūṭī, 273.

Other maxims of his follow (fol. 100b). See the text below.<sup>1</sup> He declared the four pillars of a state to be,

• ما احوجنى ان يكون على بابي اربعة نفر لا يكون أعنف  
منهم . قيل : يا امير المؤمنين من هم ؟ قال : هم اركان  
الملك لا يصلح الملك الا بهم كما ان السريير لا يصلح الا بابع قوائم  
ان نقصت قائمة واحدده . اما احدهم فقاضى لا ياخذده فى الله  
لومة لائى . والثانى صاحب شرطة ينصف الضعيف من القوي .  
والثالث صاحب خراج يستقصى ولا يظلم الرعية فاني غنى عن  
ظلمهم . ثم عصى ابعه السبابة ثلاث مرات يقول كل مرة : اءاه .  
قيل له : ان هويا امير المؤمنين ؟ قال : صاحب بريد يكتب بخبر  
هؤلاء على الصخرة .

وكتب الى عامله بالمدينة : ان بيع ثمار الصناعات ولا تبعها الا ممن  
تغلبه ولا يغلبنا والذي يغلبنا المفلس الذى لا مال له ولا رأى لنا في

a blameless Qādi; a head of the police to protect the weak against the strong; a head of the land-tax whose zeal stopped short of oppression, which was superfluous; and, after a pause, he added the fourth, a Ṣāhib Barid' to report on the foregoing. He instructed his governor at Medina, when selling the artisans' work there, not to give preference to the highest bidders, who would probably prove people of no substance, whom it would be unadvisable to put pressure on in case they failed to pay, and so the price might be lost: better sell at a lower price to persons who would carry out their bargain faithfully. He used to quote a saying of the Arabs: "Nakedness, though hard to bear, is better than apparel without honour." Three things, he said, kings could not endure: divulging their secrets; interfering

عذابه ويذهب مالهنا قبله وبها بدون من ذاك ممن ينصفك  
ويؤفك .

وقال المنصور: كانت العرب تقول: الغزى الفادح خير من الزنى  
الفاضح .

وقال المنصور: الملوك محتمل كل شئ من اصحابها الا ثلاثا افشاء  
السرى والتعرض للحجامة والقدرح في الملك .

فقال: سرّك من دمك فانظر من تملكه .

وقال: من صنع مثل ما صنع اليه فقد كافى ومن اضعف فقد  
شكره ومن علم انه انما صنع الى نفسه لم يستبطن الناس في  
شكرهم ولا تلتمس من غيرك ما اتيت الى نفسك ووئيت به  
عرضك .

واعلم ان طالب الحاجة اليك لم يكرم وجهه عن وجهك فاكرم  
وجهك عن رده .

with their ḥarīm; and reflections on their rule (cf. Suyūṭī, 275). A secret was a part of yourself; beware, therefore, whom you made master of it. He who did as he was done by was, in fact, rewarded; he who did more, gained thanks; and one who knowingly acted solely for his own benefit should not deem people wanting in gratitude, nor should you expect at other hands what you have done for your own advantage and for the safeguard of your own dignity. One who asks a favour of you thereby puts himself somewhat below you: this superiority should prevent your refusing him,—all maxims of excellent morality which, translated into practice, would relegate their possessors to a minority in any age or clime. Whether they were or were not practised by Maṣṣūr is perhaps indicated by the next and concluding anecdote of him, viz., that, according to the personal experience of Dā'ud b. Ṣu'air, the price of a ram in his reign was one dirham, and of a lamb, four dāniq.

The record of the events of Maṣṣūr's reign is wanting, owing to the gap in the MS. after fol. 101, with the exception (fol. 102a) that in 158 A.H. he occupied the newly erected Khuld Palace (Ṭab. iii, 384), so called after the garden of that name, and that he built it so as to enjoy a view of the river. No trace of it, says the historian, then remained. Then follows an account of how the governor of Mecca released certain prisoners there in defiance of Maṣṣūr's order, and thus saved their lives, Maṣṣūr dying on his way to Mecca, Ṭab. 386-7.

(fol. 103a) His sealed injunctions to his successor, and his last words to him, are given as Ṭab. 443-6.

The obituary notice of him (fol. 106b) mentions his doctor's difficulty about his diet, and the doubt as to the cause of his death, Ṭab. 388. And Taifūr, his freedman, relates that his final pilgrimage was occasioned by an alarming and thrice repeated dream about a lion, which he held to presage his death, for which he accordingly began to prepare. On his way to Mecca, when quitting his lodging at Kūfa, he called for a coal from the kitchen, with which he inscribed certain lines on the wall. Then follows the

story how, on his journey, he saw two other lines on a wall, after which he died at Bīr Ma'mūn, *Fragm.* 288. These two stories, though somewhat similar, may each have an independent basis of fact. The accretion to the latter of the marvellous appears in *Mas.* vi, 220-1.

### MAHDI.

(fol. 103*b*) The tradition of the Prophet having foretold him by name is repeated, *Suyūṭi*, 265. Maṣṣūr having proposed to name another son of his, Ṣāliḥ, to succeed Mahdi, the latter begged his father not to compel him to disregard the tie of kindred; rather let Ṣāliḥ precede him, so that if he lived to reign he might be followed by his own son. Ṣūli reports that, although Mahdi was grateful to al-Rabī' b. Yūnus (Maṣṣūr's vizier) for securing his acknowledgment as Caliph, yet he made him his chamberlain and chose as vizier his favourite, who is here called Abu 'Ubaida Mu'āwīa b. 'Abd Allāh (in *Ṭab.*, Abu 'Ubaid Allāh b. 'Ubaid Allāh). His successors were Ya'qūb b. Dā'ud and al-Faiḍ b. Ṣāliḥ (b. Sahl, *Fragm.* 281, and Ibn Abi Ṣāliḥ, *Fakhri*, 255). That the chamberlain and the vizier were rivals appears from *Ṭab.* 487-90 and 246-50. Mahdi's address on his father's death and Abu Dulāma's lines, *Suyūṭi*, 279.

(fol. 104*a*) Ibn al-Kharrūt's verses in praise of Mahdi and his reward, *Agh.* xviii, 94; but the poet is here said to have given away the entire sum of dirhams, and that when Mahdi heard of his generosity he substituted dinars. Mahdi's maxim as to the advantage of repeated acts of generosity, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vi, 58.

A reputed shoe of the Prophet, Mahdi accepted reverently and paid for handsomely, well knowing that the Prophet had never even seen it, but unwilling to be charged with having rejected it: for, said he, the story would thus obtain general credit by reason of the popular habit of siding with the weak against the strong; better buy the owner's silence and pretend to believe him.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Damascus also possessed in the fifth century a shoe which had belonged to the Prophet: see *J.R.A.S.* 1905, p. 476 n.

A grandson of Ja'far b. Sulaimān the Hashimite relates how Mahdi, whilst out hunting, gave an Arab, in return for hospitality and much needed refreshment, a warrant, written with a burnt log and sealed with clay, for half a million dirhams in mistake for five hundred. When presented and referred to him for verification he had it paid in full. The spot where this occurred, a stopping-place for the pilgrims from al-Anbār, became known as "the Caliph's Strait" (Maḍīq). (fol. 105a) An Arab, holding his horse whilst he dismounted, meditated stealing it, but Mahdi saw him, and on the escort arriving had him stopped. He asked to be let go, and said he would go ransom for the horse. Told in whose presence he stood, he amended his offer by saying that if Gabriel and Michael would go ransom for the horse, he would do the same for them. He thereby drew laughter from the Caliph, together with 10,000 dirhams. Ibn 'Arafa relates that on Mahdi going unexpectedly to see the palace of 'Īsābādh (Ṭab. 517) it was hastily cleared of people, but two men remained unobserved by the guards. Mahdi asked one of them who he was and his business. He hesitated and was summarily expelled, whilst Mahdi sent after him to ascertain his occupation, saying he suspected him to be a weaver. Soon he met the other, who answered quite unconcernedly that he was a man of position and had come to see the palace and to congratulate the Caliph on its completion. Asked what he wanted, he said that he had been refused a wife on the ground of want of means, and on being given 50,000 dirhams by the Caliph he thanked him in eloquent terms. Mahdi had him enquired about also, saying he thought him to be a secretary. Both the surmises proved to be correct.

Next comes (fol. 105b), on the authority of 'Amr b. Abi 'Amr al-A'jami (Naw. 481), the story of the woman's addressing Mahdi as male heir ('Aṣaba) of the Prophet, Suyūṭi, 281, on the authority of Ṣūli; and the story of the Arab's interrupting the prayer, ib. 284, on the same authority, whereas here on that of Abu 'Ubaida; and then the story how Mahdi gradually disclosed his identity to an Arab with a rise in rank at each successive draught of Nabīdh, Mas. vi, 229-231.

(fol. 106a) 'Ubaid Allah b. Farqad says that on the happening of a hurricane Mahdi prostrated himself in the dust until it was over, praying that its cause might not be his demerits, cf. Ṭab. 530-1. Told that his releasing prisoners *was a reflection on his father, Mahdi said that their imprisonment was for a crime, and that he forgave it. How he dealt with a pretended prophet, Ṭab. 533, and (fol. 106b) how the perusal of Qur. xlvii, 24, caused him to set free the Alide Mūsū al-Kāẓim on his promise not to rebel against him, Ṭab. 533.*

164 A.H.

(fol. 109b) Mahdi occupies the newly erected palace of 'Īsābādḥ (Ṭab. 517, *sub* 166 A.H.), the event being celebrated by a distribution of money among the descendants of Muhājirūn and Anṣār, and by poetry from Marwān b. Abi Ḥafṣa.

165 A.H.

(fol. 110b) Hārūn al-Rashīd marries Zubaida, and snow falls in Baghdād two cubits in depth.<sup>1</sup>

169 A.H.

(fol. 114b) Mahdi's death is said to have been foretold him in a dream (on which see Ṭab. 535 and Mas. vi, 258-9), and to have been caused by his accidentally eating a poisoned pear intended for one of his ḥarim, Ṭab. 534.

Nothing more is said of this Caliph, and the foregoing picture of him resembles that in Mas'ūdi, the inadequacy of which is deplored by the translator, vol. vi, pref. ii. But one anecdote is given here of a more illuminating character; it is contained in the obituary notice, *sub* 173 A.H., of his wife Khaizurān, whom he enfranchised and married in

<sup>1</sup> In recording in the Shudhūr al-'Uqūd a snowfall in 515 A.H., Ibn al-Jauzi mentions that this had happened under Rashīd, Ṭā'i, Muṭī', Qādir, and Qā'im, but that in that instance it had lain without melting for the unparalleled space of fifteen days.

159 A.H., Tab. 466. Caliphs, like heroes, require for their adequate presentment a perspective deeper than is afforded by their domestic circle. On fol. 120a Wāqidi says that whilst engaged once with Mahdi on some traditions, the Caliph rose, and telling him to await his return withdrew into the ḥarīm. He emerged therefrom, changed in appearance, and excessively angry. Wāqidi noticed his discomposure, which the Caliph admitted. He had paid a visit, he said, to Khaizurān, who had met him with outstretched hands, torn his clothes, and described him as a Qashshāsh, i.e. a beggar who lived on scraps, and as of no use to her at all—to her, whom he had bought from a mere slave-dealer, and whose two sons he had named as his successors—that she should call him by this name! Wāqidi quoted to him a tradition how the Prophet—prescient, may be, of posterity's estimate of his character—had described women as victors over the brave and vanquished by the vile,<sup>1</sup> and he added other apposite sayings until the Caliph recovered his composure and sent Wāqidi away with a gift of 1,000 dinars. The conversation had been overheard by Khaizurān, who, conscious it must be supposed of but one edge to the Prophet's dictum on her sex, sent him an equal sum minus ten dinars, so as to preserve her attitude towards Mahdi. His attitude towards her we have seen. Against heresy he could be firm enough, but dogmatic intolerance can at no period have taken high rank among virtues on the score of difficulty of attainment. At his sons, again, Mahdi could strike, through their favourites; witness his treatment of Ibrāhīm al-Mausili (Agh. v, 5), and the story of 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Khuzā'i with Hādī (Tab. iii, 583, and Ibn al-Athir, vi, 70). But at Khaizurān he could only grumble.

#### HĀDĪ.

(fol. 113a) His nickname given him by Mahdi, Tab. 588, and his children, ib. 580; how he dealt with an insulter

<sup>1</sup> انهن يغلبن الكرام ويغلبهن اللئام.

of the Quraish, Suyūṭī, 290 (here on the authority of Muṭṭalib b. 'Ā'isha al-Muzani); how he exempted a man from making excuses to him, and rewarded a panegyric by Marwān b. Abi Ḥafsa, ib. 287-8, the latter also, Agh. ix, 40-1; (fol. 113*b*) how, warned by the example of Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, he refrained from punishing an intruder on his ḥarīm, Ṭab. 581; how, on the advice of a counsellor, he gave up a visit to his mother in order to sit and hear complaints, ib. 582-3; (fol. 114*b*) his pursuit of heresy, ib. 548-9; and the awful vengeance wreaked by a black slave on his master's children, Mas. vi, 264.

#### 170 A.H.

Hādi dies. The notice of him (fol. 118*a*) quotes Ṭabari for the cause of his death being either an ulcer or the vengeance of his mother Khaizurān at his treatment of her, ib. 569-71, abridged, and for his jealousy of his brother by reason of Mahdi having dreamt that Hārūn's branch blossomed into copious foliage as compared with his branch, ib. 576-7. Ṣūlī says that a lump as big as a nut appeared in his back; that it was lanced, but that in three days he died. And that whilst he still breathed Khaizurān came and removed his signet ring, saying that his brother Hārūn was worthier to rule, and that Hādi, unable to resist, saw her action.

#### RASHĪD.

His birth, etc., Ṭab. 599, and his appearance, ib. 739, Ṣūlī saying that he had an obliquity, not readily detected, in one of his eyes. He was fond of traditions and imparted them, especially from his ancestors. (fol. 115*a*) His wives and children are specified, ib. 757-8, and his accession described, ib. 599-600, when three generations of uncles did homage to him. Power was wealded by his mother, Khaizurān, through the vizier Yahya b. Khālīd; Ṣūlī relates how Yahya told Hārūn that it was beneath him to mention so paltry a sum as 500 dirhams, Ibn Khall. *sub* Yahya, Sl. Eng. iv, 111; the ring Rashīd had thrown into the river

rather than surrender to Hādi is recovered by divers, Ibn al-Athir, vi, 74; (fol. 115*b*) Hādi's son Ja'far is forced to declare publicly his renunciation of his right to succeed and to acknowledge Rashīd, *ib.* 602-3. In the list of eminent persons who, according to Jāhīz, frequented his court (Suyūṭī, 294), is included the Qā'id Mu'allā, governor of various provinces, whose name attached itself to the Nahr Mu'allā at Baghdād (see Le Strange, "Baghdād during the Abbasid Caliphate," p. 228). Rashīd's love of learning and keen intelligence is testified to by Aṣma'i, who illustrates it by two stories of him, one on the use of the unusual word 'Alāqa' in the sense of 'to attach,' which is given in Suyūṭī, 293; the other, that when Aṣma'i said that absent from Rashīd he had passed "a night like Nābigha's," i.e. an uncomfortable night, Rashīd at once understood his drift and quoted the verse in question.<sup>1</sup>

(fol. 116*a*) Rashīd's emendation in al-'Umāni's lines on a horse's ears, Suyūṭī, 300 (where the poet's name is given "an-Nu'māni," but al-'Umāni is mentioned as addressing lines to Rashīd in Mas. vi, 322); his respect for learned men, illustrated by a story by Abu Mu'āwīa (Muḥammad b. Ḥāzim al-Durīr, d. 195, Huff. vi, 43) of his pouring water on their hands at a banquet in person, Fakhri, ed. Der., 265. Abu Mu'āwīa also says that on his quoting a saying of the Prophet that he would gladly die fighting for Allah, be again born, and again so die, Rashīd wept and declared his intention of fighting, but that he urged him rather to send troops and not hazard a life so valuable to Islām. And when questioned by Rashīd as to his right to the Caliphate, and given full liberty of reply, he told him that whatever might be the claims of tribe or family the real right lay with 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib, and Rashīd said that he would never suffer 'Alī's claim to be questioned. He hated and checked unfounded adulation, and resented

<sup>1</sup> It occurs in L. Cheikhō's "Christian Arabic Poets," Beyrouth, 1890, vol. i, p. 690, l. 1: see also Hariri, ed. de Sacy, 1822, Comm. p. 286, where this anecdote is cited. For its explanation, and for the references, I am indebted to Professor D. S. Margoliouth.

a governor's boast that his (the governor's) rule had thrown into the shade that of the two 'Omars, Tab. 749-50.

(fol. 116*b*) His repeated pilgrimages and campaigns, and lines thereon by Dā'ud b. Razīn, Tab. 605, and Suyūṭī, 302, with variants, and also poetry by Abu Mu'allā al-Lābi. To one who complained of the snow they had to endure on a campaign, whilst the people were in security, he replied that both flock and shepherd were playing their allotted parts. His piety and almsgiving are mentioned, Tab. 740-3, some only of the lines being given, and three couplets by Rashīd himself are added. The narrative (fol. 117*a*) then resumes as in Tab. 743-4.

(fol. 117*b*) Rashīd's appreciation of the exhortations of pious men, such as al-Fuḍail b. 'Iyād, Ibn al-Sammāk, and al-'Umari, appears also in Tabari and Suyūṭī, but in the one instance here given he reversed the respective attitudes. For, on being once admonished by a man from al-Ruhā to fear Allah, he requested his opinion in private audience as to which was the worse of himself or Pharaoh, or the better of his admonisher or Moses, and pointed out that by the Qur'ān (xx, 46) Moses and Aaron were directed to speak mildly to Pharaoh, whereas his admonition had been of the roughest. The man admitted and asked forgiveness for his fault, and refused an offer of money.

An early and important event in the reign was the death, in 173 A.H. (fol. 119*b*), of Rashīd's mother, Khaizurān.<sup>1</sup> Her influence continued unabated to her death, but did not survive her a day, as is shown (fol. 120*b*) by Rashīd giving office to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' before he had quitted her grave, Tab. 608-9. Ṣūlī relates that Khaizurān, on receiving from Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, governor of Baṣra (whose death

<sup>1</sup> In connection with Khaizurān, mother to two Caliphs, Hādī and Rashīd, Ibn al-Jauzi in the *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* notices the parallel case of the mother of Malik Shāh's two sons, Muḥammad and Sinjar, who both reigned. She died in 515 A.H. On attaining fortune she caused her mother and sisters, from whom she had been separated forty years, to be conveyed to the court, where she received them surrounded by ladies undistinguishable from herself to see if she were recognized. At the sound of her voice the mother sprang at her. And, adds the historian, with a strange alacrity in sinking, she then embraced Islām.

is said to have coincided with hers, Ṭab. 609), a gift of one hundred slaves each bearing a golden vase filled with musk, replied that if taken, as, on the one hand, the measure of her esteem for him, or, on the other, of his regard for her, the gift was, or ought to be, inadequate.<sup>1</sup>

The notice concludes with lines of poetry exchanged between herself and Mahdi at Mecca, on the authority of Ibn al-A'rābi (Muḥammad b. Ziyād, Brockelmann, i, 116).

## 174 A.H.

(fol. 121*b*) Rashīd's pilgrimage, Ṭab. 610.

## 175 A.H.

(fol. 122*a*) He declares Amīn his successor, though well aware of Ma'mūn's moral fitness and superiority, Suyūṭi, 319.

## 176 A.H.

According to Ṣūlī he now declared Ma'mūn's succession to Amīn, and deposited in the Ka'ba the patent which set forth their rights. This event is dated in 182 by Ṭab. 647 and Fragm. 301, and is repeated *infra* under that year.

## 178 A.H.

(fol. 124*a*) Yahya b. Khālīd's summit of power is stated, Ṭab. 631.

(fol. 126*b*) Rashīd captures al-Ṣafṣāf, Ṭab. 646.<sup>2</sup>

أن كان ما وصل إلينا منك ثمن رأينا فيك فقد بخسنا في  
القيمة وإن كان وزن ميلك إلينا فظننا بك فقه.

<sup>2</sup> The identity of this place is discussed by Mr. E. W. Brooks in the *English Historical Review*, vol. xv, p. 745, n. 162.

182 A.H.

(fol. 127*b*) The declaration of Ma'mūn's succession is dated in this year, as Ṭab. 647, and there follows a story, on the authority of al-Ḥasan (b. Muḥammad) b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Za'farānī (d. 250, Naw. 207), how there was some hesitation as to the proper mode of congratulating on this event without prejudice to the Caliph's dignity, and that the difficulty was solved by al-Shāfi'ī, who, 'happening to be the first to be called on to speak, expressed the wish that the two princes might neither fail nor succeed in attaining to sovereignty until their father's rule had run its fullest length.<sup>1</sup> And the story is repeated in the same words and on the same authority under 186 A.H. (fol. 135*b*).

· 187 A.H.

(fol. 138*a*) The fall of the Barmecides is related First, Bakhtishū's story of Yahya's waning influence, as Ṭab. 667-8; next (fol. 138*b*), Ṭabari is quoted for the story of Ja'far and 'Abbāsa, ib. 676-7; cf. Mus. vi, 388, Fragm. 307, and Badrūn, 229-32; then Ṣūlī's story of 'Ulayya asking Rashīd the cause of their fall, and his answer that if his shirt knew why he would tear it in pieces, Ibn Khall. i. 134, and Sl. Eng. i, 310 (quoted from Badrūn, 235-6), and cf. Ṭab. 682, l. 11;<sup>2</sup> that they were suspected of heresy, cf. Ṭab. 668 and 681; (fol. 139*a*) that Masrūr heard Rashīd declare at Mecca his design and how it was carried out, to the same effect as Ṭab. 678-9, Badrūn, 232-4, and Fakhri, ed. Der. 289-90, with the addition that Ja'far's last bequest is set

١ لا تقصرا عنها ولا بلغتهما : حتى يطول على يدك طوالها .

<sup>2</sup> The same simile was invoked by a hero of fiction. In "L'Aventurière" of Emile Augier, Don Annibal, pressed by Fabrice's questions, says :

"Suffit. Si ma chemise  
Savait ce que je pense, a dit un général,  
Je changerais de linge  
Fabrice, à part.  
Il ne ferait pas mal."

out, and that when conducted within earshot of Rashīd, for greater certainty as to his doom, he was fettered with a donkey's halter. The disposal of his head and body on the bridges until burnt, Ṭab. 680 and 683; (fol. 139b) the arrest and imprisonment of his father, Yahya, and of his brother, al-Faḍl, and their dependants, and the seizure of their property (an exception being made in favour of Muḥammad b. Khālid), ib. 682; the execution of Anas b. abi Shaikh for reputed heresy, ib. 681, and Yahya's wish that Rashīd's son might perish like his, ib. 683. It was said by al-Faḍl b. Marwān, an official in the Diwān of Rashīd's Landed Estates (Diyā'), that he found Ja'far to have received in the year he perished an estate of the value of 10,000 dinars and then, in a few months' time, followed an item of a few qirāṭs for burning his corpse. Ṣūlī related that Rashīd cursed those who had set him against the Barmecides, saying he had known neither rest nor joy since their fall, and that he would give half his days and half his wealth to have spared them. Lines on them follow by the poet Raḡāshī, and Rashīd's approval of them, as Agh. xv, 36, and Ṭab. 687 (cf. n. F), and lines addressed to Ja'far's head by a woman riding a donkey, who then vanished like the wind.

## 188 A.H.

(fol. 144a) The defeat of Nicephorus, Ṭab. 701, is celebrated by lines from the poet (Abu) al-Shīṣ, and Rashīd made his last pilgrimage. At Kūfa he was met by the fanatic Bahlūl, who imparted a tradition of the Prophet to him and refused a proffered stipend. And Fuḍail b. 'Iyād (l. 187, Naw. 503, and here fol. 142b) told Rashīd that it was well his pilgrimages had been frequent, for he would be the last pilgrim Caliph.

## 193 A.H.

(fol. 151b) Rashīd, departing for Khirāsān, discloses to Ḥabbāh al-Ṭabari his secret disorder, and that, surrounded as

he was by spies set on by his own children, he was weary of life, Ṭab. 730-1, but less full, and Suyūṭi, 297. (fol. 152a) Masrūr relates that he found him in tears at the lines of Abu-l-'Atāhiya, Mas. vi, 359, with here one extra couplet. The obituary notice of Rashīd (f. 154a) contains the story of his telling his physician his dream of finding a grave at Ṭūs, Ṭab. 735-6, and lines he wrote thereon, and how he inspected the grave dug for him, gave directions as to its dimensions, and then expired, as Ṭab. 737, but with more detail; how he left over nine millions in the treasury, and land to the value of 135 millions, with other property; the notice concluding with the elegy on him by Abu Shīṣ, as Suyūṭi, 306.

(fol. 152b) Amīn succeeds. His birth and description, Ṭab. 938; his accession, ib. 764-5; and the lines of Abu Nuwās thereon, Suyūṭi, 306. (fol. 153a) His negligence and frivolous habits being noticed, drew from him the cool statement that it was not want of aptitude, but personal predilection that decided his course of life.<sup>1</sup> His record of disaster follows. In 194 A.H. (fol. 154b) he sought to displace Ma'mūn on the advice of his vizier al-Faḍl b. al-Rahī', Ṭab. 776-7, and in opposition to that of Khuzaima b. Khāzim, ib. 809, and he destroyed Rashīd's patent deposited at Mecca, ib. 780. In 195 A.H. (fol. 155a) he excluded Ma'mūn's name from the coinage, ib. 795, and his governors were in turn ousted by Ma'mūn from Qazwīn and Damascus, ib. 830. In 196 A.H. (fol. 157b) he attempted to expel Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain from Hulwān, ib. 840, but after 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ's death in Syria he was shut up in the round city, ib. 841 and 848. . ,

In 197 A.H. (fol. 158b) Baghdād was besieged, ib. 868-9 and 871-2; and (fol. 159b) the story is told of the strangely

استبطن الناس جلوسه وقالوا : تشاغل باللهو . فجلس وارخى الامور<sup>1</sup>  
 وقال : اترانى لا اعرف الاصدار والايراء ؟ ولكن شرب كاس وشتم آس  
 واستلقاه من غير نعاس احب الى من مداراة الناس

valorous conduct of one of the Baghdād mob, and the lines thereon, *ib.* 885-7.

In 198 A.H. (fol. 159*a*) came the end. Amīn is dissuaded from escaping to Jazīra, *ib.* 911-12; (fol. 159*b*) he is prevented by Ṭāhir from surrendering to Harthama, *ib.* 916-18; and murdered, *ib.* 922-3. His head is affixed to a spear on the city wall, *Mas.* vi, 482, and crowds came out from the city to see it; it is then conveyed to Ma'mūn, *ib.* 924-5.

(fol. 160*b*) Ma'mūn succeeds, after depriving by letter his brother al-Qāsim of his right of succession. He assumes the Kunya of Abu Ja'far as being of good omen, *Suyūṭi*, 319. The story follows how in his youth, when corrected by his tutor, Muḥammad al Yazīdī (whilst residing in the charge of Sa'd [? Sa'id] al-Jauhūrī), he refrained from making any complaint on the subject to Ja'far b. Yahya, who happened to then visit him, *Suyūṭi*, 328.<sup>1</sup>

(fol. 161*a*) Rashīd once remarked to Abu Mu'āwīa al-Darīr, and to Hushaim (b. Bashīr, d. 183 A.H., *Naw.* 607), that certain utterances of his son Ma'mūn had reached him which he was in doubt whether to attribute to the suggestions of those in whose charge he was, or to his own natural disposition, and he sent them to find out. In reply to their questions Ma'mūn said that the learning he preferred was that really genuine in source and best authenticated. His visitors told him they had come to teach, but had remained to learn, and Rashīd, hearing of his answer, exclaimed

<sup>1</sup> This Ja'far must have been the Barmecide vizier, but in a note to *Suyūṭi* he is identified as a grammarian, whose birth is given as later than Ma'mūn's time. And Ma'mūn's reply to his tutor seems different here, it runs:

اتراني يا ابا محمد كنت اطلع الرشيد على هذا فكيف جعرا  
يجبى حتى اطلعه انى احاج الى ادب؟ يغفر الله لك بعد ظنك  
خذ في امرك فقد خطر ببالك ما لا يراه ابدًا ولو عدت في الموم مائة  
مرة.

that much might be expected from such a beginning,<sup>1</sup> and he made over a hundred slaves to him.

Blamed once by Zubaida for extolling Ma'mūn above her own son Amīn, Rashīd sent eunuchs to enquire privately of each of them what he might expect from him if he became Caliph. Amīn promised "land and tenements and power," whereas Ma'mūn threw the inkpot at his envoy for daring to ask what he would do on the termination of a life for the continuance of which they should all pray. On being told of their several answers, Rashīd asked Zubaida whether she could imagine that the preference he had accorded to her son could be attributable to anything but her wish, and to peace and quiet.<sup>2</sup> Such was Ma'mūn's love of knowledge that before his accession he started a private assemblage for the purpose of discussion.<sup>3</sup> Once, according to the Qāḍi Yahya b. Aktham, a well-to-do Jew attended, who gave proof of ability. He was invited by Ma'mūn to adopt Islam, but he refused to give up the faith of his fathers. In a year's time he returned a Moslem and showed himself well versed in the law. Asked by Ma'mūn to explain, he said that being an expert scribe he had made three copies of the Old Testament, with additions and omissions, which he had offered for sale with success, and that he had done the same with the Gospels, but that in the case of the Qur'ān the

انى اسمع من ابنى هذا كلاماً لا ادرى اَمِنْ تلقين القيم عليه هو ام  
من قريجة فاد خلا عليه . فدخلا فقال له : ان امير المؤمنين امرنا  
بالدخول عليك ومناظرتك فاعنى العلوم احب عليك ؟ قال :  
امتعها الى . قالوا : وما امتعها ؟ قال : اثبتها عن قائلها واقربها من  
افهام مستمعيها . فقال هشيم : جئناك نعلمك وتعلمنا منك .  
ثم اخبر الرشيد فقال : سبّا هذا اوله لحقيق ان يرجى اخره

تركاً للجزع .

جعل لنفسه مجلس نظير .

copies had been examined and rejected, which convinced him that the text of the latter must be specially well preserved (*Kitāb Maḥfūẓ*). Sufyān b. 'Uyaina (Naw. 289), being told of this, quoted thereon Qur. v, 48, and xv, 9.

(fol. 161*b*) Ma'mūn's preferment of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl is stated, Ṭab. 975; his learning, and that he was the only Caliph besides 'Othmān who knew the Qur'ān by heart, having, according to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain, recited the whole of it thirty times, on which cf. Suyūṭi, 329; he related a tradition from Anas b. Mālik of the Prophet's saying that whoever supported two daughters should enjoy Paradise, cf. Suyūṭi, 346, and al-Khaṭīb's remark thereon; (fol. 162*a*) Mu'mūn's perception of how a sister's share in her deceased brother's inheritance of 600 dinars worked out at a single dinar, Suyūṭi, 329; Ibn al-A'rābi, being asked by Ma'mūn as to the finest poetry on drinking, quoted lines by Abu Nuwās; Ma'mūn then asked for information about a saying of Hind bint 'Utba (Suyūṭi, 334), but at this point the MS. abruptly terminates.

*Note.*—A version of the story, given on p. 861, of the slave-girl singing before a petitioner was repeated by Jāḥiẓ in the time of Mutawakkil, her master being one or other of 'Abd al-Malik's sons; see Mas'udi, vii, 225.—On p. 871, n. 2, l. 3, for "p. 77, l. 1" read "p. 79, l. 1."



## III.

## THE FIVE RIVERS OF THE BUDDHISTS.

By W. HOEY, D.LIT., I.C.S. (RETD.).

**F**A-HIAN tells us that a journey of four *yojanas* to the east from Vaiśālī brought him to "the confluence of the five rivers," and that then, crossing the river (the Ganges) and going south for one *yojana*, he arrived at Pāṭaliputra in the kingdom of Magadha.

There is not, and there can never have been in historical times, any actual meeting of five rivers at or near Pāṭaliputra, i.e. Patna. We can, however, easily understand what Fa-hian meant if we turn to the Buddhist books and observe the special connection of certain rivers mentioned together. In the Vinayapitaka, for instance, we find in the Cullavagga, 9. 1, 3, and 4 (S.B.E., 20. 301 f., 304), the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Aciravatī, the Sarabhū, and the Mahī, mentioned as "the great rivers"; and in the Milindapañha, 4. 1, 35, we meet again with these rivers and five others, in the following passage (text, 114; S.B.E., 35. 171):—"There are five hundred rivers which flow down from the Himavānta mountain; but of these ten only are reckoned in enumerations of rivers--the Gaṅga, the Yamunā, the Aciravatī, the Sarabhū, the Mahī, the Sindhu, the Sarasvatī, the Vetravatī, the Vitamsā, and the Chandrabhāga—the others not being included in the catalogue because of their intermittent flow of water." This latter passage gives us two groups of rivers, five in each group, which rise in the Himālayas, and we know so many main rivers which have been omitted, and yet cannot have been omitted because their flow is intermittent, that we feel compelled to seek for some more satisfactory reason for an apparently invidious selection. That reason is to be found in the Buddhist system

of the universe, which has been expounded by Hardy in the opening chapter of his *Manual of Buddhism*. The following quotations from pages 15 to 17 will suffice to illustrate the point :—

“The great forest is in the northern part of Jambudwīpa, which, from the southern extremity, gradually increases in height, until it attains an elevation of 500 yojanas, in the mountains of Gandhamādana, Kuilāsa, Chitrakūta, and others, there being in all 84,000. These mountains are inhabited by an infinite number of dēwas and yakās, and are beautified by 500 rivers, filled with the most delicious water, and by the seven great lakes, among which is the Anōtatta-wila. This lake is 800 miles long, and as many broad and deep; and there are four places in it in which the Budhas, Pasē-Budhas, rahats, and rishis are accustomed to bathe; and six other places where the dēwas from the six inferior heavens bathe. . . . . On the four sides of Anōtatta are four mouths or doors, whence proceed as many rivers; they are, the lion-mouth, the elephant, the horse, and the bull. The banks of these rivers abound with the animals from which they take their name. The rivers that pass to the north-east and west flow three times round the lake without touching each other, and after passing through countries not inhabited by man, fall into the sea. The river that runs to the south also passes three times round the lake, then rushes from the midst of a rock, and flows in a straight line 60 yojanas. It then strikes against another rock, and rises into the sky, like a mount of gems 12 miles in size, flows through the sky for the space of 60 yojanas, and strikes against the rock Tiyaḡgalā. This rock it has broken by its immense force; and after this it violently rushes on a further space of 60 yojanas, after which it flows on an inclined plane, strikes and breaks the ponderous Pānsu-parwata or Five Mountains, and again passes on 60 yojanas. It then flows 60 yojanas further, through a cave, strikes the four-sided rock Wijjā, and is lastly divided into five streams, like five fingers, that are the five great rivers (Ganga, Yamuna, Acirawatī, Sarabhu, and Mahī), which, after watering Jambudwīpa, fall into the sea.”

Here we have both the five hundred rivers of the *Milindapañha* and the five rivers of the *Vinayapitaka*. The latter flow into each other, not all at one place, but consecutively. We must understand “the confluence of the

five rivers" as denoting the place where the fifth and last of them flows into the already united stream of the other four. And thus we arrive, as will be explained below, at a confluence of five rivers in the neighbourhood of Patna, as stated by Fa-hian. Further, we now see that Fa-hian's expression, "the confluence of the five rivers," had a specific meaning which was so familiar to the ordinary Buddhist of his day as to obviate the necessity of naming the rivers. And it is possible that a further knowledge of the crude but graphic details of the Buddhist notions of the geography of India, as described in this system of the universe, might help us to elucidate other problems which arise in connection with the records of the travels of the Chinese pilgrims. How far and how long the geographical myth of the origin of the rivers in the Himālayan watershed has misled the natives of India and China, may be realized when we observe that a map of India prepared in Japan in 1710 to illustrate those travels, and reproduced in Julien's *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*, shows the rivers issuing from the mouths of animals as mentioned in the passage which I have quoted from Hardy's work.

What are "the five rivers" of Fa-hian? The Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the Ganges and the Jamuna, are known to everyone; as also is their confluence at Prayāga, Allahabad. The Sarabhū is the modern Sarjū or Gogra; it is the Sarabos of Ptolemy, and the Sanskrit Sarayū, on which Valmiki, in *Rāmāyaṇa*, i. 5, 6, places the city of Ayōdhyā. The Aciravatī is the Airāvati, the modern Rāptī; and when we remember that Airāvata was the elephant of Indra, we see how it is that this system of five rivers issues from the mouth of an elephant.<sup>1</sup> The Rāptī (Aciravatī) flows into the Sarjū, or Gogra (Sarabhū, Sarayū), in lat. 26° 15', long. 83° 42', between Barhuj in the Gorakhpur district and Dharampur in the Azamgarh district; and the united two rivers flow into the Ganges near Revelgañj in the

<sup>1</sup> The Indus (Sindhu) issues from the lion's mouth. Hence that river is called *Sinh kā bāb*, the lion's gate or mouth.

Sāran district.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the river which is now known as the Mahī flows actually into the Gaṇḍak, the Great Gaṇḍak, about half a mile above its junction with the Ganges, but practically into the Ganges, near Sonpūr (Sonapore), in the same district.

Regarding this latter river, the Mahī, which is not so well known as the others, I must make the following observations. The identity of it was not known to me when I wrote in J.A.S.B., 1900. 74 ff., about the location of Vaiśālī. The first clue was given to me by a Resident Engineer of the Bengal and North-Western Railway, who reminded me that, on its course from Sewān to Paleza Ghāt, the line crosses a river shown in the railway-map as 'Mhye.'<sup>2</sup> And he informed me that, when he was surveying for the alignment, there was trouble with the learned and priestly Brahmanas of the locality, who claimed that the name Mahī should be retained, instead of being replaced by that of another river, the Gaṇḍakī, which flows into it. But the identity of the Mahī does not rest upon only the information so given to me. The river is mentioned as the "Mahī nadī" in the Statistical Account of Bengal, 11 (1877). 358, as intersecting the Kasmar pargana of the Sāran district; and

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that at a point about sixteen miles above the confluence of the Gogra and the Rāptī, and near a place called Muhoolah, just west of Dohri, in the Azamgarh district, there branches off to the south and south-east a river, shown in Indian Atlas Sheet No. 103 as 'Surjoo Nuddee,' which flows into the Ganges at Ballia. It is not an insignificant stream; the Gazetteer of the Ballia district tells us, on p. 128, that it is "navigable for large country vessels for five or six months in the year and for small boats all the year round." And it may be added that, at the place where this river leaves the Gogra, the latter river has to be strongly embanked and protected by spurs to keep it to its present course. The plans and estimates have passed through me officially. In fact, the people of the Azamgarh and Ballia districts allege that the 'Surjoo Nuddee' runs in the original bed of the Gogra, and it is feared that the latter river may so break its present south bank as to return wholly to its old course. It is not impossible that in ancient times, and in fact in the days of Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang, this Sarju Nuddee was the real bed of the Gogra; that there was then no stream between Muhoolah-Dohri and Barhaj; and that consequently the Gogra had its confluence with the united Ganges and Jamnā at Ballia, and the Rāptī had its own separate confluence with the united three streams near Revilganj. I show the Surjoo Nuddee by a dotted line in the annexed sketch-map.

<sup>2</sup> This form was evidently borrowed from the same form established many long years ago in the case of the river Mahī of Western India, which flows into the Gulf of Cambay.

that, though its total course is only some forty to forty-five miles, it is not an insignificant stream, is shown by the facts there stated, that it is navigable for boats of 600 maunds all the year round and that during the rains boats of all sizes can go up it. Further, the whole course of the Mahī with the name attached throughout is shown in the Bengal Survey Sheets, Nos. 83, 84, 113, and 114, of 1902 to 1904.<sup>1</sup> The Mahī leaves the Gaṇḍak, the Great Gaṇḍak, at Sāraṅgpūr,<sup>2</sup> in lat. 26° 9', long. 84° 58', about eleven miles towards the south-east from Dīghwā-Dubauli, well known as the find-place of an ancient copper-plate record (I.A., 15. 105). Flowing through a cut in the Sāran embankment on the south of the Great Gaṇḍak, and passing a large village called Amnaur, it comes eventually to Sitalpūr, about nineteen miles on the east of Chhaprā. There it receives the waters of the Gaṇḍakī. And, the latter river then losing its own name, the two united rivers flow on under the name of the Mahī into the Gaṇḍak, or, as said above, practically into the Ganges.

Whether the Mahī of the present day is the ancient Mahī—that is, whether its bed marks the original river—is perhaps open to question. My opinion is that the name is an ancient name of the Gaṇḍak, the Great Gaṇḍak; that the latter river was flowing along its present course in the times of Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang; and that in the modern Mahī we have a branch, or an overflow-channel, of the Gaṇḍak, by transfer to which the ancient name has been preserved. But, however that may be, it has now been made clear that a river known as the Mahī still exists in the exact locality indicated by Fa-hian.

I append a small map showing the five rivers of the Buddhists, referred to by Fa-hian. I think it will illustrate how apt is the simile in the passage quoted from Hardy's

<sup>1</sup> In the Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 103 of 1857, with additions to 1895, the name Mahī is not shown, and the course of the river is given under the name of 'Kuthar N(uddee).'

<sup>2</sup> There is another Sāraṅgpur exactly 25 miles due west of this, on the Gaṇḍakī.

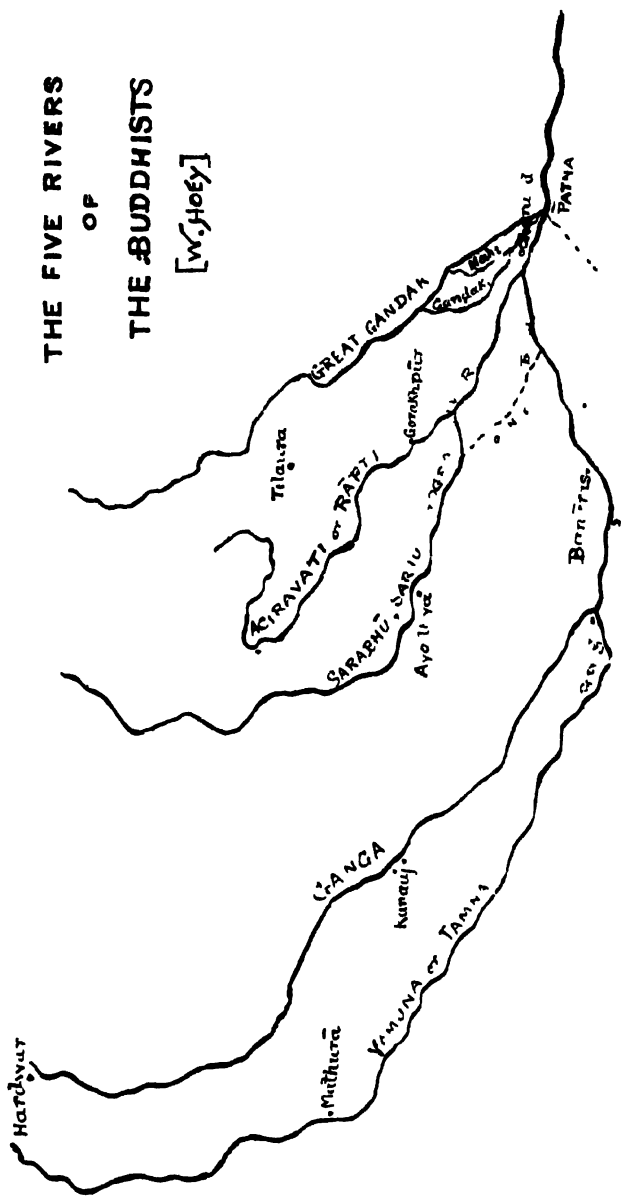
*Manual*, which compares them with the five fingers of an out-spread hand—the Ganges below Patna being like the arm.

I would add some brief remarks on two other points of importance, which I shall treat more fully on another occasion.

The place at which Fa-hian crossed the Ganges to enter the Mugadha kingdom—located by him roughly one *yojana* towards the north from Pātaliputra—is certainly the Paleza-Dīghā Ghāt or crossing, about three and a half miles on the north-west of the western end of Patna. Here the Ganges is held in by steep banks which have probably confined its stream from most ancient times.

Fa-hian reached the confluence of the five rivers and the crossing-place of the Ganges by going four *yojanas* to the east from Vaiśālī. This locates Vaiśālī, or some part of it, about four *yojanas* to the west from Paleza Ghāt. With the *yojana* =  $4\frac{6}{11}$ , or roughly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles (see this *Journal*, 1906. 1012), we have a distance of eighteen miles, which takes us to Cherand, seven miles towards the south-east by east of Chhaprā. There are quite sufficient ancient remains at, between, and in the neighbourhood of Chhaprā and Cherand to support my opinion, already expressed in *J.A.S.B.*, 1900. 77 ff., that that is the position of Vaiśālī.

# THE FIVE RIVERS OF THE BUDDHISTS [W. Hoey]





## IV.

THE FOUNDATION OF FUSTAT AND THE KHITTAHS  
OF THAT TOWN.BY A. R. GUEST.<sup>1</sup>

THE establishment of the town of Fustât as a new capital of Egypt is an important event in the Arab conquest, inaugurating as it does the permanent occupation of the country by the Arabs. One has to look to Arab authorities alone for details. In the works that are generally available at the present time by having been printed, the particulars are but few. The direct references in these books to the foundation of the town, containing information beyond a mere mention of the fact, do not take long to sum up. Traced back as far as possible to their originals, so as to eliminate repetition which adds nothing to our knowledge, they appear to be included in the following passages:—

*El Laith b. Sa'd*, †175 A.H., says that 'Amr remained at Alexandria at its investment *and capture* for six months, and then removed to Fustât and made it his abode.<sup>2</sup>

*El Qudâ'i*, †454 A.H., says that 'Amr returned from Alexandria, *after capturing it and dwelling in it*, in *Dhî el Qa'dah*, 20 A.H.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this paper Maq. = *Khiṭaṭ el Maqrizî*, Bûlâq, 1272 A.H.; S.D. = *El Intisâr*, etc., of *Sarim el Dîn Ibn Duqmâq*, Bûlâq, 1314 A.H.; *Suyûṭî* = *Iḥṣân el Muhâdarah*, Cairo, 1299 A.H.; *Abû Salîḥ* = *Anecdota Oxoniensa*, Semitic Series 7.

<sup>2</sup> S.D. iv, 2; Maq. i, 165; *Suyûṭî*, i, 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Suyûṭî*, i, 78; S.D. iv, 2. In a recent work on the conquest, this statement is wrongly ascribed to *Ibn Qutaibah*. It is to be observed that it is distinct from the previous one of *El Laith*, though *El Maqrizî* runs both together to form a single assertion, which he attributes to *El Qudâ'i*. The latter merely reproduces *El Laith's* tradition parenthetically.

Two traditions from *Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb*, †128 A.H., recorded by Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam, †257 A.H., represent 'Amr as wishing to make Alexandria his headquarters, and removing thence to Fustât by the command of the Khalif 'Umar.<sup>1</sup>

A general statement by *Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam* tells us that Fustât was founded by the Muslims after their return from Alexandria.<sup>2</sup>

In *El Quḍâ'i's* account of the foundation of Jizah it is stated that "when 'Amr ibn el 'Âṣ returned from Alexandria and abode at Fustât, he placed a portion of his army at Jizah, lest any foe should come against him from that direction . . . , and when 'Amr had established himself at Fustât, he ordered those whom he had left at Jizah to rejoin him." The account continues to the effect that the force at Jizah refused to unite with the main body, giving among their reasons that they had been there "for months." Ultimately, after the matter had been referred to the Khalif, they were allowed to stay, on condition that a fortress was built on their ground. The fortress was begun in 21 A.H., and finished in the next year.<sup>3</sup>

A tradition from *Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb* and *Ibn Ḥubairah*, †126 A.H., jointly, reported by Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam, which relates to the same event as the preceding, is substantially identical with the previous narrative, and gives the same date for the building of the fortress. But it contains one additional fact material to the present purpose. It runs: "When the tribes took up their khittâhs (namely at Fustât), Hamdân and its allies preferred Jizah. Then 'Amr ibn el 'Âṣ wrote to 'Umar, informing him of what God had done to the Muslims, and of the victory He had vouchsafed them, and what they had done in the matter of their khittâhs," etc.<sup>4</sup>

*El Quḍâ'i* has a separate account of the foundation of Fustât; being brief, and apparently the only direct authority for particulars of the process of establishment,<sup>5</sup> it deserves

<sup>1</sup> *Suyûtî*, i, 78; *Maq.* i, 167, 296.

<sup>2</sup> *Maq.* i, 296.

<sup>3</sup> *S.D.* iv, 125; *Maq.* i, 206.

<sup>4</sup> *Maq.* i, 206; *Suyûtî*, i, 81.

<sup>5</sup> *El Ya'qûbî* gives a description of a vague kind. It contains a detail or two worth notice. It is referred to in the following.

to be rendered in full. It would seem that he takes it from El Kindî. He says: "And when 'Amr returned from Alexandria, and abode at the place of his tent, the tribes closed in on one another and disputed for places. Then 'Amr gave charge of the *khittahs* to Mu'âwiyah b. Hudaij of Tujîb, Sharîk b. Sumaiy<sup>1</sup> of Ghutaif, a branch of Murâd, 'Amr b. Qahzam of Khaulân, and Huiyawl<sup>1</sup> b. Nâshirah of El Ma'âfir. And it was these who settled the people, and divided between the tribes. This was in the year 21."<sup>2</sup>

A tradition from *Hubairah b. Ahyad* (first century), preserved by El Kindî, gives the date of the foundation of the mosque of 'Amr as 21 A.H., and mentions incidentally that the mosque was founded after the capture of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> This tradition makes clear that the establishment of the mosque was one of the first incidents in the formation of Fustât, a thing that, in the absence of evidence, might have been assumed with confidence.

To arrive at the date of the foundation, which is the first point that will be considered, one must compare the details in the traditions with some of the known facts in the history of the time, and a brief sketch of the incidents between the capture of the Roman fortress of Babylon by the Arabs and their occupation of Alexandria will be useful. After the fall of the fortress, 'Amr lost little time in attacking Alexandria. Leaving a garrison behind him, he marched against the town in Jumâdâ i,<sup>4</sup> 20 A.H. The details of the campaign are obscure. It is sufficient that it was not successful in producing any direct impression on Alexandria; the town was still holding out when 'Amr was back at Babylon. He appears to have led a small column across the Delta to Sukhâ from Kiryaun, where probably the bulk of the Muslim forces were assembled blockading Alexandria. It is not clear whether he did not engage personally in

<sup>1</sup> These names are doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> S.D. iv, 3; Maq. i, 297; Suyûti, i, 79.

<sup>3</sup> Maq. ii, 246. Cf. Murtaḍa (Murtadi), Par's, 1566, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> The end of April, 641.

a similar expedition to Upper Egypt before coming to Babylon in Dhî el Qa'dah.<sup>1</sup> A Roman military force had arrived at Alexandria on Shauwâl 2.<sup>2</sup> The next event was the capitulation of Alexandria under a treaty concluded at Babylon on Dhî el Qa'dah 28.<sup>3</sup> It was stipulated that a certain time should be allowed for the evacuation of the town by the Romans, and accordingly the evacuation did not take place till Shauwâl 16,<sup>4</sup> 21 A.H. Consequently Alexandria was not occupied by the Arabs before then. Between the treaty and the occupation no very remarkable event appears to have occurred.

This brief summary is taken from the facts established by Mr. Butler in his authoritative work "The Arab Conquest of Egypt." There is doubtless some room for difference of opinion on matters of detail, but the main points that concern the present question seem to be founded firmly on the evidence which will be found discussed in the book. These are that Alexandria was not taken by the Arabs by force towards the end of 20 A.H., as stated in nearly all the Arab traditions concerning its capture, but that its surrender was brought about in the way and at the date described.

One may now look at the traditions. Nearly all of them connect the foundation with the return of 'Amr from Alexandria, and the larger part intimate distinctly that he had already entered the Roman capital. There is but one which, according to our premises, is plainly incorrect. It is that which includes the assertion that 'Amr had entered Alexandria before Dhî el Qa'dah, 20 A.H. This statement being rejected, the traditions can be brought into agreement by supposing that the foundation took place after the occupation of Alexandria, and the absence of discord in so much concurrent testimony supports the direct statements to this effect. When the details are examined three difficulties arise.

<sup>1</sup> October, 641.

<sup>2</sup> September 14, 641.

<sup>3</sup> November 8, 641.

<sup>4</sup> September 17, 642.

Why should 'Amr, with Alexandria in his hands, have taken up a military position at Fustât, as he appears to have done, instead of proceeding at once to construct the town for which he had already received the Khalif's sanction?

If it is not easy to find a reason for which 'Amr should have placed a part of his force at Jizah in anticipation of an attack from the West at this time, it seems harder to discover an event of adequate importance that might be the victory or success which, by relieving him of his apprehension, enabled him to begin Fustât and to call his detachment in. An expedition to Barqah, conducted at about this period by 'Amr in person, suggests itself, but it presents so many obvious objections that it seems needless to particularise any, especially in view of the next point.

Between the evacuation of Alexandria by the Romans and the end of the year 21 A.H. there were but seventy-four days. Within that time, if Fustât was founded after the evacuation, one has to allow for the occupation up to the moment that 'Amr decided to request the Khalif to let the Arabs make Alexandria their centre; the journey of a messenger to and from Madinah; the march back to Babylon; finally, a wait in position "for months." The traditions represent all this as happening before Fustât was founded, but it is clear that it must have occupied a longer period. Yet all the traditions that contain a statement on the subject, except that which may indicate a date a little earlier, agree in placing the foundation in the year 21.

To bring in the tradition relating to the fortress of Jizah, one would have to add a further reference to 'Umar between the occupation and the end of the year 21.

The other hypothesis may be tried. In order to suppose that Fustât was founded before the occupation of Alexandria, it is necessary to reject a number of direct statements in the traditions, but the bias that is instanced in the misstatement of El Qudâ'i that Alexandria had been dwelt in by 'Amr before the end of 20 A.H., removes the difficulty that might otherwise be felt in doing so. With regard to the two

traditions of Yazîd b. Abî Hâbib as to the consultation with 'Umar from Alexandria, it is to be noticed that one of them is of an unsatisfactory sort. It points out exact parallelism at Fustât, Kûfah, and Baṣrah, and the improbability that precisely the same thing should have occurred in connection with each place lays it open to suspicion. If the foundation had come before the occupation, the traditions might be explained as follows. 'Amr's return from Sakḥâ in the Delta might well have been described in general terms as a return from Alexandria, that is, from the Alexandrian campaign. It would have been not unnatural for him to concentrate a body of troops at Babylon on this occasion. Whilst Alexandria still held out, an attack on the recently captured Babylon from the West was always possible, and one may suppose that 'Amr may have been induced to strengthen the position of the garrison left in the fortress, by the news of the arrival of troops in Shawwâl, or by the rumour of their coming. At this period, to keep the bridge head at Jîzah would have been important for him. A detachment left at Jîzah for months, between (say) August and November, 640 A.D., might reasonably have described their position during this time as an advanced post, as did the detachment in Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam's traditions.<sup>1</sup> The capitulation of Alexandria, obtained with 'Amr at Babylon, and not as the result of any signal success in the field, was a peculiar event, and it is just such as is required to explain the reference to a victory which 'Amr gained while apparently he was stationary. The traditions relating to Jîzah certainly convey the idea that 'Amr did not move between the time that he "abode at Fustât" and the time that he "established himself" there, and in this respect they do not accord perfectly with the theory that the foundation followed the treaty immediately, and that the treaty was the victory to which they allude. The details given by Mr. Butler show that 'Amr did not remain inactive at Babylon for any considerable time just before the treaty, so that these traditions, on the supposition that the treaty

<sup>1</sup> See the full text, Maq. i, 206.

was the victory referred to, must be taken to be wanting at least in precision of language. While this objection cannot be passed over without notice, it appears hardly serious enough altogether to upset the evidence that the traditions afford. The circumstances to which they point—that ‘Amr about the time of the foundation of Fustât wrote to ‘Umar, and not from Alexandria, but from Babylon, to announce a success or victory, and that the victory was obtained while he was at the latter place—are very remarkable. It is hard to see what other success than the surrender of Alexandria could be meant, whatever view may be taken of the date, and these details thus appear incidentally to confirm Mr. Butler’s version of the way in which the surrender was brought about.

One may say, then, that the traditions relating to the foundation of Fustât are not consistent with a date subsequent to the occupation of Alexandria, but that when corrected for the distortion caused by the well-known error of the Arabs respecting the capture of that town, while they are still not absolutely harmonious, they point strongly to the fact that Fustât was begun as soon as the possession of Egypt had been assured definitely to the Muslims by the surrender of the Roman capital, that is, in *Dhî el Q’ad’h*, 20 A.H. This result is generally in agreement with the view taken in “*The Arab Conquest of Egypt*,”<sup>1</sup> but although the traditions in question appear to have been under the notice of Mr. Butler, the bearing of the details that they contain on the date of the foundation does not seem to have engaged his special attention, and the traditions may thus be looked on as supporting a conclusion which Mr. Butler bases on different grounds. It has been observed that the traditions, where they give a date, agree on the year 21 A.H. As the treaty was concluded before the end of the year 20, it would seem that there is another discrepancy to be accounted for. Probably a permanent establishment would not have been begun until the treaty had been ratified; the ratification

<sup>1</sup> p. 341.

may have been the success about which 'Amr wrote to the Khalif, and it would hardly have reached 'Amr much before the end of the year 20. There is another possible explanation of the inconsistency. The foundation was to some extent a gradual process.

It appears that among 'Amr's followers a piece of ground camped on by an individual was universally recognised and respected as the property of the tenant, so long, at any rate, as he kept it occupied.<sup>1</sup> Even the general himself claimed no power to compel a man to quit a holding annexed in this way, and it can be seen from the attitude of the tribes at Jizah that there was a tendency to adhere to a place once taken up. Other circumstances relating to the kind of authority admitted to 'Amr by his followers are mentioned in the history of the period, and combine to show that if 'Amr had conceived the idea of assigning places to the founders of Fustât and arranging for building on any kind of regular scheme, of laying out the town on a definite plan, he would not have been in a position to carry out his project. There is some evidence that he did not make the attempt. It is recorded of several sections constituting a fairly large portion of 'Amr's force, as well as of two individuals, that their places in the town of Fustât were those that they had occupied at the investment of the fortress of Babylon.<sup>2</sup> The occupation had doubtless been continuous in the interval between the siege and the foundation, adherents having been left behind in the owners' absence, and this is stated plainly in one instance. It is more likely that the scanty narrative preserved omits to mention other examples than that those noticed were exceptional. Speaking generally, one may say that the foundation of Fustât probably did not mean much more than the making permanent of the camp already on the site. It is true that in the account which has been reproduced above El Qudâ'i mentions some

<sup>1</sup> This is illustrated by the story of Qaisabah b. Kulthûm, the original owner of the site of the mosque of 'Amr; see Maq. ii, 246.

<sup>2</sup> Individuals, Qaisabah and 'Amr, *ante*; sections, El Qabad, Rashidah, Riyah, Wâ'il, El Fârisiyin, Maq. i, 298; Ahl er Râyah, Maq. i, 297.

exercise of authority by 'Amr, but the steps taken suggest adjustment between conflicting claims rather than active direction and control. El Qudâr represents the founders as engaging in a scramble for places, which might be thought to imply a new occupation of the ground. But the conversion of a camp from a temporary into a permanent settlement would have involved some internal changes, without necessarily disturbing the main feature of the general arrangement. People would have wished to change their places, numbers would have been attracted from outside, a more definite appropriation of sites and marking out of boundaries would have been required when houses were being built than when temporary dwellings alone were in question. Hence might have arisen general commotion, with effects like those El Qudâr describes.

The khittahs by which Fustat from the first was parcelled out into a series of divisions may now be spoken of. From its root, *khittah* seems to convey the idea of marking out with a line, its general meaning is ground occupied for the first time, a 'pitch' or holding,<sup>1</sup> hence it comes to mean a site of any sort. In connection with Fustat, as with other towns founded by the Arabs, the sense is often connected specially with the foundation. Thus al-Nîmoque is described as *khittah*, the meaning is that the original construction dated back till then. When the medieval geographers remark that Fustat like Basrah and Kutah had khittahs, contrasting it with other towns divided into quarters, they appear to mean only that some of the divisions dating from the foundation were preserved when they wrote.

The areas occupied by individuals among the founders for their houses were known as their khittahs, and Ibn Duqmaq, in "El Intisar" refers to some sixty or more, giving details that are of little interest to us. The term applies equally to collective holdings. Where the dwellings of bodies, such

<sup>1</sup> According to El Qamus.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. El Istakhri p. 41.

as tribes or sub-tribes, were grouped within a common boundary, the ground included was called the *khittāh* of the group. It is to be noticed that a *khittāh* of this kind might be a part of another, as, for instance, the *khittāh* of a tribe might contain *khittāhs* of sections, and these in turn *khittāhs* of families. Very likely this kind of subdivision was the rule, although at Fustāt there are but one or two *khittāhs* named that were clearly subordinate in this way. The lesser divisions do not enter into our subject any more than the individual sites. The units in the system of partition in view are the *khittāhs* which were separate sections, and *khittāh* by itself will be used in the following to denote them only, the other sorts being distinguished as minor and individual, where it is necessary to refer to them.

El Qudā'i speaks of a division being made between tribes, and Ibn 'Abd el Hakam of the tribes taking up their *khittāhs*, both referring to the same thing.<sup>1</sup> These statements may be intended only to be general; at any rate they are not precisely correct. One does not find each tribe divided off from each other, nor each tribe with a *khittāh* of its own. The arrangement pointed to did not obtain. On the contrary, although the larger part of the *khittāhs* were tribal, some *khittāhs* were produced by the combination of parties from different tribes, and others by different sections of the same tribes. To put the matter in another way, of the tribes present some by themselves formed separate divisions in the town; others banded together to constitute divisions; and others were split up, each into two or more divisions. The Arabs were generally averse to the close combination of different tribes, on account of its tendency to destroy tribal distinctions, and the reasons for it in the formation of the *khittāhs* are explained in the three cases where it occurred.<sup>2</sup> The parties associated in *Khittat* Ahl er Rāyah were obliged to combine, because they were too small singly for a separate muster in the *dīwān*.

<sup>1</sup> See above.

<sup>2</sup> Maq. i, 297, 298.

Khittat el Lafif was due to the voluntary union of detachments from tribes having kindred elsewhere in the khittāhs, for the purpose of following a particular chief. A separate muster in the diwān was desired for this khittāh, but was refused owing to the objections of the kinsmen of the holders, and it was arranged that the various constituents should muster with their own folk, remaining associated in their dwellings. Khittat Ahl ez Zāhir consisted of parties which had arrived late, to find the places near their own people filled up, and so had to combine in another khittāh outside. What is said about a separate muster in the diwān suggests that in ordinary cases it was a characteristic of the bodies by which the khittāhs were held. It is reasonable to suppose that bodies so distinguished and the principal divisions in the military organisation of 'Amr's army were identical. In either case companies regularly united, under one leader most likely, and of sufficient importance to depend only on the authority of the general, would be implied, and it is very probable, if the view advanced above as to the formation of Fustāt from a camp is correct, that the military organisation was preserved.<sup>1</sup> But apart from this surmise, it seems clear that the khittāhs represented a system embracing the whole of the town. Every person or body had to join in one of them, and they could not be formed at will by any assemblage. Whatever other condition may have been necessary, it is evident that a khittāh had to contain a certain number of men—to reach a certain standard of size. Just as the combination of tribes to form a khittāh shows that a small party was not able to stand alone, so the separation of tribes into sections to form two or three khittāhs points to the conclusion that a large contingent tended to or was obliged to subdivide. It would thus seem that, with an ordinary tribal contingent as the mean, the bodies represented in the khittāhs kept more or

<sup>1</sup> El Ya'qūbī (Bib. Geo. Arab., vii, p. 331) says that each tribe had an 'arif' appointed to it by 'Amr. 'Arif' here might be translated chief. He is speaking of the organisation of the town, which, like the other authorities, he describes as khittāhs by tribes.

*less to within some measure of numbers—that they were more or less comparable in strength.*

If this conclusion is right, it is of importance in its bearing on the numbers of 'Amr's army and the extent to which the different parts of Arabia were represented, not only in Fustât at the conquest, but in Egypt throughout the next two or three centuries as well as at the time—subjects that cannot be pursued here.

The names of the khittahs were kept in use for a long time. So late as the period of El Maqrizî some of them appear to have been still preserved for the quarters or districts occupying their limits. The positions are useful, therefore, for the general topography of Fustât. The names, with some details of the boundaries, are given in two special chapters by El Maqrizî and Ibn Duqmaq respectively.<sup>1</sup> It would seem that these chapters are not copied from one another, but taken from a common source. The original is not stated. While it appears that the chapters referred to do not include minor khittahs, it is not so sure that they notice all those khittahs which were principal divisions. The list of khittahs appended includes a few that seem to have been in this category, although they are not noticed in the chapters, but are only mentioned incidentally in other places. These are distinguished from the rest.

As a preliminary to attempting to establish the position of the khittahs on the site of Fustât, one must consider the condition in which the Arabs found the site when they arrived there. At the time of the conquest, the Nile bed near Cairo was further to the east than it is now. The change since then opposite Cairo itself has been very great, but opposite old Cairo, the site of Fustât, it has not been so much. In this quarter the river has receded an average distance of something like 250 metres since the days of 'Amr.<sup>2</sup> In the fourteenth century of our

<sup>1</sup> Maq. i, 296, S.D. iv, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The old Nile bank can be traced by Qaṣr eṣh Sham', and certain convents once on the shore; also by the line of a former street called Es Sâḥl el Qadîm. See Journal R.A.S., 1903, p. 791.

era the north end of Raudah was about opposite the end of the existing ruined aqueduct.<sup>1</sup> The island can hardly have failed to have grown down-stream in the preceding centuries to some extent, if not so rapidly as afterwards; consequently one may take it that its northern extreme was farther southwards in the seventh century. At that time its southern end is likely to have been south of its present position, and it would seem that one may accept as accurate the statement that the island was opposite the fortress at the Arab siege.<sup>2</sup> Before the Nile bank receded, Raudah must have been about in the middle of the river. It was fortified with walls and towers,<sup>3</sup> and connected with either shore by a bridge of boats.<sup>4</sup> At the epoch spoken of it was called El Jazīrah simply, or Jazīrat Misr;<sup>5</sup> the eleventh century name Raudah is convenient for the sake of distinction. A change in the eastern bank of the Nile involves a corresponding alteration in the western shore, so that some of the present river bed in front of Jizah must have been dry land at the time of the conquest. The other physical features of the site of Fustât are three eminences, which remain, of course, unchanged in themselves, but two of them have got so set about with rubbish as not to be readily noticeable now. These two are Jabal Yashkur and Sharaf Zain el 'Abidin. The third is Sharaf er Raṣad.<sup>6</sup> The two Sharafs appear to have had no distinctive appellation in the early days of the Arabs,<sup>7</sup> and it is convenient to use the later names given here. Fustât, like Kūfah, and Baṣrah, must be regarded as a new town. Its plan, better than anything else, shows that it cannot have been the continuation of a town previously in existence. The Arabs did not, however,

<sup>1</sup> See S.D. iv. #16.

<sup>2</sup> Maq. ii, 177; cf. Maq. i, 286.

<sup>3</sup> S.D. iv, 109.

<sup>4</sup> The existence of the bridge of boats at the time of the investment of Babylon is attested by a tradition cited by Ibn 'Abd el Hakam. Suyûṭi, i, 65; Maq. i, 290, omits the name of the authority; Maq. ii, 178; cf. Maq. ii, 170.

<sup>5</sup> Maq. ii, 178.

<sup>6</sup> Jabal Yashkur is marked by the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, v. Maq. ii, 265, l. 25. For Sharaf Zain el 'Abidin and Sharaf er Raṣad v. Maq. i, 125, l. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Sharaf er Raṣad was called sometimes es Sanad, 'the cliff,' Maq. i, 125, l. 25.

build on a site which was entirely vacant. The so-called fortress of Babylon, better distinguished perhaps by its Arab name of *Qaṣr esh Sham'*, and that older fortification which was situated on the top of *Er Raṣad*, and to which the name of Babylon would probably be more fitly applied,<sup>1</sup> are the only pre-Islamic buildings which are mentioned specifically by our authors. But we are given to understand that at 'Amr's arrival there were a number of convents and churches of the Copts standing in the vicinity, without any particular one being named.<sup>2</sup> There seems, indeed, to be no written record yet discovered of the existence as early as the seventh century of any individual church near Babylon, excepting one or two in *Qaṣr esh Sham'*. There are some of these Christian monuments that are mentioned in connection with dates which are not much later, in such a way as to make it clear that they were not new at the time. On this kind of evidence, and that of architecture, an opinion may be expressed that the churches of *Bû Minâ*,<sup>3</sup> *Shanûdah* (*Abû Saifain*),<sup>4</sup> *Bâblayûn*,<sup>5</sup> *Abû Qîr wa Yuḥanna*,<sup>6</sup> *Tadrûs*,<sup>7</sup> and *Dair Mari Hanna*<sup>8</sup> were in existence before *Fuṣṭât* was begun. There were very likely others, but the names do not appear to be recorded. All the churches named were at this epoch on the bank of the Nile, and except the last all are at this moment standing more or less completely transmogrified by restoration and reconstruction.

There are distinct notices of three statues. Of these, one of a rider and a camel in bronze, said to have been placed before the main (south) gate of *Qaṣr esh Sham'*, is connected

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of the R.A.S.* for 1902, p. 806.

<sup>2</sup> *Maq.* i, 286.

<sup>3</sup> Restored 106 A.H., *Abû Ṣâlih*, fol. 29b.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned 710 A.D. according to Mr. Butler, "Ancient Coptic Churches," i, 186.

<sup>5</sup> Known also as *Kanisât es Saiyidah*, v. S.D. iv, 107. Very ancient, *Maq.* ii, 511, l. 39.

<sup>6</sup> "May belong to the 7th or 8th century," "Ancient Coptic Churches," i, 257.

<sup>7</sup> "May belong to the 7th or 8th century," "Ancient Coptic Churches," i, 277. Called *Suntâdar*, S.D. iv, 107.

<sup>8</sup> = *Dair et Tîn*, *Maq.* ii, 503. Mentioned by *Esh Shabushti*, *Abû Ṣâlih*, fol. 41a.

with stories that make it appear mythical.<sup>1</sup> The other two were not far off the same spot. One of them, "the sphinx's doxy" (Surriyat Abî el Haul), remained in existence to a late period.<sup>2</sup> The other was called Abu Murrah, a vulgar phrase for the devil, like our old Nick.<sup>3</sup> It resembled the preceding in being the image of a female, but was of diorite apparently,<sup>4</sup> whereas the Surriyat was of red granite. Where there were fortifications such as those referred to, a bridge across the Nile, and a group of convents and churches, it could be inferred from their existence alone that some town, of moderate importance at least, cannot have been far distant. Mr. Butler, in his "Arab Conquest of Egypt," shows Persis on the west bank of the Nile, on the spot occupied by the Arab Jizah. On the east side the town of Miṣr probably occupied, according to the same authority, the ridge which is here called Er Raṣad, and spread as far as the Roman fortress, if not further, to the north.<sup>5</sup> It would seem that it is not possible at present to speak with certainty as to the place of the Græco-Roman town, although the evidence is sufficient to be conclusive as to its existence. Among the Arab authorities, El Balâḍurî speaks distinctly of an older town than Fustât on the site, and a similar allusion comes from El Hâzimî.<sup>6</sup> It is remarkable that, except for one or two passages which in the light of other indications might be regarded as indirect proof of the older town's existence, the principal Egyptian authorities of the Arabs appear to yield no more than a single statement. It is that El Hamrâ el Quṣwâ was the most populated part in the time of the Romans.<sup>7</sup> This would appear to imply that the town, if any, was centred on this

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Naṣr, the same doubtless as Abû Naṣr of Murtadi, is given as an authority. It does not appear who he was. Maq. i, 32. El Quḍâ'î alludes to the statue, Maq. i, 344; S.D. iv, 35.

<sup>2</sup> 711 A.H. Maq. i, 122; ii, 177, etc. See Darh es Surriyat, S.D. iv, 21, 25, 49, 80.

<sup>3</sup> S.D. iv, 39, 105.

<sup>4</sup> This would seem to be the meaning of Zujâj in the first passage cited.

<sup>5</sup> p. 245.

<sup>6</sup> A writer whose date I do not know, quoted by Maq. i, 287.

<sup>7</sup> S.D. iv, 91.

spot, which is very far away from the place referred to by Mr. Butler, viz. *Er Raṣad*. The allusion is one of a kind, however, to which but little weight can be attached.

The tent of 'Amr, left standing during his campaign against Alexandria, is supposed to have given Fustât its name. There is some difference of opinion as to the exact spot where it was pitched, and this may be looked on, perhaps, as having a bearing on the authenticity of the traditions connected with it. Four places, at least, are mentioned. *Dâr el Hisâd*.<sup>1</sup> *Dâr Isrâ'îl*.<sup>2</sup> The latter was in *Buin el Qaşrain* and next door to the former. *Durb Hammâm Shamûl*,<sup>3</sup> which must have been between *Buin el Qaşrain* and *Jâmi' 'Amr*. *Dâr 'Amr ibn el 'Âṣi es Ṣughra*.<sup>4</sup> The site of the last house is now included in the mosque of 'Amr<sup>5</sup>; the other three places mentioned as the site were not far off to the N.N.E. The differences amount to yards only. Between *Buin el Qaşrain* and the mosque 'Amr built his two houses,<sup>6</sup> and around the site of the mosque on every side lay the *khittah* occupied by himself, his kindred, and his immediate followers. This was called *Khittat Ahl er Râyah*; it reached from the north-east wall of the fortress of Babylon<sup>7</sup> to Kanâ'is Abû Shanûdah<sup>8</sup> (Abû Saifain) and to Hammâm Shamûl in *Buin el Qaşrain*. One of the limits of this *khittah* was Sûq el Hammâm.<sup>9</sup> This was the position from which Ez Zubair is said to have escaladed the fortress.<sup>10</sup> In it was Hammâm Ibn Naṣr es Surrâj,<sup>11</sup> and this bath was between Maḥras Banânah and the fortress.<sup>12</sup> The place of

<sup>1</sup> Various spelt *Hisâ*, *Hisâr*, *Hisâd*, *Abû el Mahâsin*, i, 73; *Suyûtî*, i, 79; *Maq.* i, 296. *Dâr el Hisâd* was the same as *Dâr Ibn Abî Razzâm*, *S.D.* iv, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Suyûtî*, i, 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Maq.* i, 296; for the position see *S.D.* iv, 101.

<sup>4</sup> *S.D.* iv, 3.

<sup>5</sup> *S.D.* iv, 64. This is perhaps the same spot as that referred to in *Maq.* ii, 249.

<sup>6</sup> v. *S.D.*, index.

<sup>7</sup> *Maq.* i, 297.

<sup>8</sup> *S.D.* iv, 106.

<sup>9</sup> *Maq.* i, 297.

<sup>10</sup> *Maq.* i, 290; *Suyûtî*, i, 65.

<sup>11</sup> *Suyûtî*, i, 77.

<sup>12</sup> *S.D.* iv, 105.

Mahras Banānah has been shown before to have been near the north-east angle of Qaṣr eṣh Sham'.<sup>1</sup> *Khittat* Ahl er Rāyah was limited to the south-east by the *khittah* of *Mahrah*,<sup>2</sup> and by the *khittah* of *Tujib*, from which it was separated by a space.<sup>3</sup> The *khittahs* of *Mahrah* and *Tujib* were adjacent to one another, and touched the south-east wall of the fortress.<sup>4</sup> Two darbs, or alleys, are mentioned in such a way as to show that they were close together; the *sharqî* (N.E.) of them was in *Mahrah*, the *gharbî* (S.W.) one in *Tujib*.<sup>5</sup> A building connected with one of the extremities of *Khittat Khaulân*<sup>6</sup> is described as situated in a lane opening into the *khittah* of *Tujib*.<sup>7</sup> It could be shown that the junction between the two was somewhere abreast the middle of the south-east side of the fortress, if the fact were of sufficient interest to merit a statement of the rather long process by which it might be established. In the direction of the junction may be placed *Khittat el Ju'alytn*,<sup>8</sup> to be looked upon, perhaps, rather as a subsidiary part of *Khaulân* than as separate from its parent. In another direction *Khittat Khaulân* began at the main (S.W.) gate of the fortress.<sup>9</sup> The *khittah* of *Wa'lân* met that of *Khaulân* at this point, namely, at Es Sûq el Kubîr,<sup>10</sup> and lay evidently between it and the Nile, extending southwards.

*Khittat Rīyah* is described as having been to the east of Kanîsat Mikâ'il,<sup>11</sup> a church which is still standing. *Khittat Yahsub* was north of the last named, being represented subsequently by mounds reaching to Er Raṣad<sup>12</sup>; the

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S. 1903, p. 803.

<sup>2</sup> Maq. i, 297.

<sup>3</sup> S.D. iv, 17.

<sup>4</sup> S.D. iv, 33, 80, 82, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Darbâ Zanîn: S.D. iv, 29.

<sup>6</sup> S.D. iv, 24.

<sup>7</sup> Saqîfat b. Suds: S.D. iv, 49.

<sup>8</sup> S.D. iv, 25, 35.

<sup>9</sup> S.D. iv, 105.

<sup>10</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>11</sup> Maq. i, 297.

<sup>12</sup> Maq. i, 298.

mention of an 'Aqabat, or acclivity, of Yaḥṣub, north of Er Raṣad<sup>1</sup> and of Kanīsat Mikā'il,<sup>2</sup> fixes the place.

Khittat Wā'il, between Er Raṣad and Khittat Khaulān,<sup>3</sup> is placed with sufficient nearness. This khittah is connected with Khalīj Banī Wā'il, on which was Bāb el Qanṭarah,<sup>4</sup> and which was near Kanīsat Mikā'il.<sup>5</sup>

Khittat Rāshidah, adjoining Khittat Rīyah, south of it,<sup>6</sup> and described as near Birkat el Ḥabash,<sup>7</sup> evidently occupied the ground between Er Raṣad and the bank of the river towards Dair et Ṭin. The Khittah of el Qabad—the name has possibly been corrupted, as it seems unknown to the genealogists—was situated between that of Wā'il and Birkat el Ḥabash.<sup>8</sup> It must have been close to the preceding. Khittat el Fārisīyūn was from the foot of the hill called the hill of Babylon, resting on the khittah of Khaulān,<sup>9</sup> and it was near Banī Wā'il.<sup>10</sup> It has been remarked before, elsewhere, that the mention of Babylon in the passage of El Maqrīzī referred to above leaves no doubt that the Sharaf with which Khittat el Fārisīyūn was connected was that of Er Raṣad, not that of El 'Askar. The passage goes on to identify the hill of Babylon with Sharaf el 'Askar, but this is an obvious mistake. Khittat el Fārisīyūn was clearly between the north end of Er Raṣad and Khittat Khaulān.

North of Khittat er Rāyah the khittahs near the river bank can be located, not generally so closely as those to the south, but nearly enough for practical purposes. The northernmost of all was Khittat Yashkur, marked by the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn,<sup>11</sup> and extending, it would seem, as

<sup>1</sup> Maq. ii, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Maq. ii, 517.

<sup>3</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>4</sup> Maq. ii, 159.

<sup>5</sup> Maq. ii, 517.

<sup>6</sup> Maq. i, 297.

<sup>7</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>8</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>9</sup> Maq. i, 298; S.D. iv, 4.

<sup>10</sup> S.D. iv, 126.

<sup>11</sup> Maq. i, 125.

far as El Kabsh,<sup>1</sup> close to the old line of the bank. In the time of the early Arabs the whole of the ground from El Kabsh southward to the neighbourhood of Kanâ'is Shanûdah and inland from the river for some way was divided into three districts, known as the Ḥamrâs, El Ḥamrâwât.<sup>2</sup> They were distinguished as the near, middle, and far Ḥamrâ, respectively—El Ḥamrâ ed Dunyâ, El Wustâ, and El Quşwâ. The near was the nearest to Fustât; the far that up by El Kabsh. It may be useful to point out that El Maqrizî confounds El Ḥamrâ el Quşwâ with El Ḥamrâ ed Dunyâ more than once,<sup>3</sup> with the result that some of his descriptions are puzzling, until the error is apprehended. The extreme north limit of *El Ḥamrâ el Quşwâ* is given as Qanâtîr es Sibâ.<sup>4</sup> These bridges were the same, in position at any rate, as the recently removed Qanâtîr es Saiyidah Zainab, just north of the mosque of Zainab. The southern extreme of El Ḥamrâ ed Dunyâ is placed as far south as El Ma'âriġ;<sup>5</sup> from other passages it would seem that El Ḥamrâ ed Dunyâ began at Ḥâyiz el Iwazz and 'Aqabat el 'Addâsin,<sup>6</sup> places that were some distance to the north of El Ma'âriġ, not far apart, and in the neighbourhood of Kanâ'is Shanûdah, south of these churches; the exact point is of small importance. It may be worth while to give a little attention to the limits that divided El Ḥamrâ el Wustâ on each side from the other two. There seems to be a mistake on this subject in the statement of Ibn el Mutaawaj, which it will be useful to correct. Each of the Ḥamrâs is described as being about equal in its length and breadth. The author referred to gives the limits of El Ḥamrâ el Wustâ as from Darb Naqqâshî el Balât to Darb [?Ibn] Ma'ânî.<sup>7</sup> The former street

<sup>1</sup> Abû Sâlih, fol. 32b.

<sup>2</sup> The most probable derivation of this word seems to be from the meaning 'foreigners' attached to El Ḥamrâ. See Qāmûs (Aḥmar), Balâḍuri, p. 372; Maq. i, 298; S.D. iv, 5, etc.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Maq. i, 299; cf. Maq. i, 304, and Maq. i, 343.

<sup>4</sup> Maq. i, 298; S.D. iv, 91.

<sup>5</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>6</sup> Maq. i, 298; S.D. iv, 91.

<sup>7</sup> Maq. i, 298; cf. S.D. iv, 91.

was near El Qashshâshîn and the latter near El Kabbârah.<sup>1</sup> Without being able to locate the two streets with precision, one may say that they were so close together as to leave El Ḥamrâ el Wustâ hardly any length or breadth at all. Abû Ṣâlih, however, mentions that El Ḥamrâ el Wustâ was known as El Ḥamrâ bil Qanṭarah.<sup>2</sup> The Qanṭarah in question must have been the bridge built by 'Abd el 'Azîz ibn Marwân over the Khaliġ near its mouth,<sup>3</sup> as the subsequent Qanṭarat es Sadd was not in existence in Abû Ṣâlih's time. It was opposite El Kaum el Aḥmar.<sup>4</sup> Among the churches of El Ḥamrâ el Wustâ described by Abû Ṣâlih is that of Bû Mina, which still exists.<sup>2</sup> Its site corroborates the above.

The Qanṭarah of 'Abd el 'Azîz was, it will be seen from what is said of the *khittah* of Bani el Azraq, the north limit of El Ḥamrâ el Wustâ, and taking the division between it and El Ḥamrâ el Dunyâ as running from the shore straight inland of a point a little south of El Kabbârah, with a similar division from El Ḥamrâ el Quṣwâ starting from the Qanṭarah referred to, one gets the three Ḥamrâs as sections more or less equal, in the limits which appear to be the right ones. This explanation enables the *khittahs* of El Hamrawât to be traced. We have in El Ḥamrâ el Quṣwâ the *Khittah of Banî Rubîl*,<sup>5</sup> "reaching to Dair Maryam N.W. of Jinân Huwaiy and Masjid el Khalûq, on the flat below where Yashkur made their *khittah*."<sup>6</sup> *Khittat Banî el Azraq* also was in El Ḥamrâ el Quṣwâ;<sup>7</sup> it adjoined *Khittat Banî Rubîl* at Dair Maryam, and reached to El Qanṭarah,<sup>6</sup> i.e. Qanṭarat 'Abd el 'Azîz. Although the exact position of Dair Maryam does not appear, it can be seen that the latter *khittah* was to the north of the former.

<sup>1</sup> v. S.D., index; Journal R.A.S., 1903, pp. 800, 803. Darb Ibn Ma'ânî and Darb Ma'ânî were distinct streets. They do not seem to have been very far apart.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 29b.

<sup>3</sup> Maq. ii, 113, 146.

<sup>4</sup> Journal R.A.S., 1903, p. 799.

<sup>5</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>6</sup> Abû Ṣâlih, fol. 32b. (This seems to be the correct translation.)

<sup>7</sup> Maq. i, 298, etc.

Coming now to El Ḥamrâ el Wustâ, all that is said about the *khittâhs* of *Banî Yannah*<sup>1</sup> and *Banî Salâmân* is that they were in that Ḥamrâ. It is reasonable to suppose that Banî Yannah settled to the north near the two other non-Arab tribes, Banî el Azraq and Banî Rûbîl, and that Banî Salâmân placed themselves to the south towards the kindred Azd tribe of Baḥr, and one must be content with the conjecture. Although *Khittat Fahm* is stated specifically to have been in El Ḥamrâ ed Dunyâ,<sup>2</sup> it seems that the assertion is incorrect. Some land sold by Banî Fahm for the site of the church of Abû Qultah was situated in El Ḥamrâ el Wustâ,<sup>3</sup> and the *khittah* contained a lane also which was opposite the church of Bû Mina.<sup>4</sup> 'Adwân was a tribe nearly related to Fahm. From a passage which is obviously corrupt it would seem likely that *Khittat 'Adwân*, which was in El Ḥamrâ el Wustâ,<sup>5</sup> lay between *Khittat Fahm* and *Jabal Yashkur*.<sup>6</sup> Ḥamrâ el Wustâ contained also the *Khittah of Hudail*,<sup>7</sup> a well-known tribe whose home in Arabia was not far from those of 'Adwân and Fahm. It is mentioned that this *khittah* included an open space called Raḥbat Bârazkûr, and it appears that not far from this space was another called Raḥbat Şabrah.<sup>8</sup> This last is associated with the *khittah* of Buḥr in El Ḥamrâ ed Dunyâ. Esh Şauqîyah, a *siqâyah* or cistern, built by El Maḍarâ'î, was in the *khittah* of Hudail,<sup>9</sup> and what is the same cistern, doubtless, is described as in El Mauqif.<sup>10</sup> El Mauqif, sometimes called Mauqif et Tuḥḥânîn, is a site that is frequently mentioned. It was in El 'Askar, between Jâmi' Ibn Ṭûlûn

<sup>1</sup> v. Qâmûs, iv, 274. The name is corrupted to Nabah, Yanad, etc., in the texts.

<sup>2</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>3</sup> Abû Şâlih, fol. 32a.

<sup>4</sup> Abû Şâlih, fol. 32b. Here it is stated that *Khittat Fahm* was in El Ḥamrâ el Wustâ.

<sup>5</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>6</sup> Abû Şâlih, fol. 32b.

<sup>7</sup> S.D. iv, 37.

<sup>8</sup> S.D. iv, 34.

<sup>9</sup> S.D. iv, 56.

and Kaum el Jârih.<sup>1</sup> Bain el Kaumain, which is described by Abu Šâlih<sup>2</sup> as one of the limits of Khittat Hudail, was near Esh Shauqiyah,<sup>3</sup> and Bain el Kaumain would seem to have been near Zain el 'Âbidin.<sup>4</sup>

Passing on to El Hamrâ ed Dunyâ, one finds Khittat Bahr ibn Sawâdah,<sup>5</sup> mentioned above as touching Hudail in the next Hamrâ. It is stated that Khittat Bahr was opposite Masjid el Qurûn, and that it reached to Saqifat es Sari.<sup>6</sup> The former was in an open space apparently between El Hamrâ el Wustâ and El Hamrâ ed Dunyâ,<sup>7</sup> and the latter towards the south, being connected with El 'Addâsin.<sup>8</sup> Khittat Baltî, in the same Hamrâ,<sup>9</sup> was to the south and east. Ez Zajjâjîn and Zuqâq Abî Farwah, which are given as limits,<sup>10</sup> were both near Sûq Wardân. Khaukhat el Istabil, another point on its borders,<sup>10</sup> must have led into Bain el Qaşrain; <sup>11</sup> Khittat Baltî therefore met Khittat er Râyah at this point.

Tharâd seems to have been an unimportant tribe. Its settlement was doubtless insignificant. All that is said of Khittat Tharâd is that it was in El Hamrâ ed Dunyâ.<sup>12</sup> Khittat el Lafîf was also in El Hamrâ ed Dunyâ. It extended northerly from Khittat er Râyah by Sûq Wardân to Darb Naqqâshî el Balât.<sup>13</sup> This khittah was separated by a lane from Khittat Lakhm,<sup>14</sup> and the latter stretched also northerly from Khittat er Râyah<sup>15</sup> to Sûq el Wihâf or

<sup>1</sup> Maq. i, 343; S.D. iv, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 32b.

<sup>3</sup> S.D. iv, 51. Sharqiyah is a mistake in the text.

<sup>4</sup> Maq. ii, 436.

<sup>5</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>6</sup> Abû Šâlih, fol. 32b.

<sup>7</sup> S.D. iv, 86.

<sup>8</sup> S.D., index.

<sup>9</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>10</sup> Abû Šâlih, fol. 32a.

<sup>11</sup> S.D. iv, 31.

<sup>12</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>13</sup> Maq. i, 297.

<sup>14</sup> S.D. iv, 22.

<sup>15</sup> Maq. i, 297.

El Aḥāf,<sup>1</sup> which was not far from Kaum el Jāriḥ. *Khittat* el Lafif must have been to the west of Lakḥm and adjoining *Khittat* Baḥr; *Khittat* Lakḥm evidently had points of contact with *Khittat* Bally.

All the *khittahs* of Fustāt which were in the neighbourhood of the Nile bank have now been enumerated. Those which lay further inland are harder to place, owing to the disappearance of the marks referred to in the accounts of their positions. Information as to these *khittahs* is, moreover, in general scanty, probably because the writers who have transmitted the original accounts to us did not think it worth while to repeat what they did not understand themselves. Even in their times the greater part of the ancient buildings and monuments in this direction had vanished. They were not much better situated than we are now as regards tracing the inland topography of the time of the conquest. For both reasons one has to be satisfied in most cases with a much less precise indication of the sites.

Beginning again from the south, one finds *Khittat* el Ma'āfir extending from Er Ruṣad easterly<sup>2</sup> (along the shore of Birkat el Ḥabash) to the Siqāyah of Ibn Ṭūlūn ('*Aḥḥat* el Kubra'),<sup>3</sup> and reaching to Muṣalla Khaulān and to the mound overhanging the Muṣalla.<sup>4</sup> *Khittat* el Ma'āfir included the sites of Jāmi' el Qarāfah and Masjid el Aqdām, besides other buildings which need not be particularised, for nothing can be said about their positions. It is well known that El Qarāfah was the name of a section of the tribe of El Ma'āfir. It is said that the *khittah* of El Qarāfah comprehended both El Qarāfat el Kubrā and El Qarāfat es Ṣuḡhrā,<sup>5</sup> but the area of the two together is so large that the statement can hardly be accurate.

*Khittat* Di el Kalā' reached to Baḥrī (N.W.) Masjid el

<sup>1</sup> S.D. iv, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Maq. ii, 289.

<sup>3</sup> R.A.S. Journal, 1903, p. 810.

<sup>4</sup> Maq. i, 298; cf. ii, 444.

<sup>5</sup> Maq. ii, 445.

Aqdām, and joined *Khittat Dī Ru'ain*. The latter was Qiblī (S.E.) of *Khittat Maḍhij*.<sup>1</sup> The *khittāhs* of Dī el Kalā' and Ru'ain are described also as *Sharqī* of er Raṣad.<sup>2</sup> In this passage *Sharqī* may be explained as anything between east and north-east, as can be seen by the context. Again, it is indicated that the *khittāhs* of Er Ru'ain and Dī el Kalā' were to the north of the conduit (*majra*) of Jāmi' el Fīlah, which mosque was on Er Raṣad, and to the east.<sup>3</sup> From these indications one gets something in the nature of a crossbearing, which would give a good 'fix,' if the position of Masjid el Aqdām was known more precisely.

Occasion may be taken to draw attention to El Ukḥūl and El Uksā',<sup>4</sup> names of places in the same direction as Dī el Kalā', El Uqhūb in El Qarāfat el Kubrā,<sup>5</sup> and El Uḥmūr,<sup>6</sup> also in the same neighbourhood. These names are of a peculiar form. The first and last appear to have been the names of tribes, and doubtless all four places were subordinate *khittāhs*.

*Khittat es Ṣadīf* was "after passing Maḥras en Nakhlah."<sup>7</sup> The Maḥras is connected with a certain Ḍār Umm Qais,<sup>8</sup> and this house was either in or just outside the *khittah* of Tujīb.<sup>9</sup> It is perhaps not incorrect to describe the *khittah* of Es Ṣadīf also as in El Qarāfah,<sup>10</sup> according to the later use of the latter term to denote the cemetery of Miṣr, a much wider area probably than that which it originally covered.

*Khittat Ghāfiq*, some distance further north, joined the *khittah* of Lakhm,<sup>11</sup> and is associated with Hammām el

<sup>1</sup> S.D. iv, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Maq. ii, 289.

<sup>3</sup> Maq. ii, 451.

<sup>4</sup> Maq. ii, 289, 451, 453. Perhaps Akḥul, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Maq. ii, 448.

<sup>6</sup> S.D. iv, 53; Maq. ii, 458.

<sup>7</sup> S.D. iv, 51.

<sup>8</sup> S.D. iv, 25.

<sup>9</sup> S.D. iv, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Maq. ii, 454.

<sup>11</sup> Maq. i, 298.

Maghâzîlî,<sup>1</sup> which was near Zuqâf el Jauf and opposite Masjid 'Abdullâh.<sup>2</sup> Now Masjid 'Abdullâh was on the road between Jâmi' Ibn Tûlûn and Jâmi' 'Amr,<sup>3</sup> marking the division between the civil areas 'Amal Asfal and 'Amal Fauq.<sup>4</sup> 'Amal Fauq seems to have included all the town of Mişr south of El 'Askar,<sup>5</sup> and while the exact position of Masjid 'Abdullâh remains uncertain, it is indicated closely enough in this way to show the whereabouts of the *khittah* of Ghâfiq.

*Khittat Hadramaut* was near Hawânîl 'Absûn.<sup>6</sup> It was also not far from Siqâyat el Labûd,<sup>7</sup> and Siqâyat el Labûd was near El Manâmah.<sup>8</sup> *Khittat el 'Absiyîn* is associated with the latter<sup>9</sup> and with *Khittat Jaishân*.<sup>10</sup> It appears thus that the three *khittahs* of Hadramaut, El 'Absiyîn, and Jaishân were not far apart, and we have a clue to the position of the group, as Hawânîl 'Absûn were in the *khittah* of Ghâfiq.<sup>11</sup> It would seem likely that they were to the east of Ghâfiq, and not very far from Kaum el Jârih. The *khittah* of *Er Rahbah* b. Zur'ah b. Ka'b<sup>12</sup> may be assumed to have been located round the mosque of the same name, which is described as situated between Zuqâq el Qanâdil and Kaum el Jârih.<sup>13</sup>

*Khittat Ahl ez Zâhir* lay Sharqî (N.E.) of *Khittat Lakhm*, reaching to El 'Askar.<sup>14</sup> El Mauqif was reckoned to belong to it,<sup>15</sup> and between Lakhm and Ez Zâhir was Ghâfiq.<sup>16</sup> The general position seems to be sufficiently clear.

<sup>1</sup> S.D. iv, 51.

<sup>2</sup> S.D. iv, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Maq. ii, 282.

<sup>4</sup> Muqaddasî, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> Maq. i, 299.

<sup>6</sup> S.D. iv, 51.

<sup>7</sup> S.D. iv, 25.

<sup>8</sup> S.D. iv, 51.

<sup>9</sup> S.D. iv, 53.

<sup>10</sup> S.D. iv, 35.

<sup>11</sup> S.D. iv, 35.

<sup>12</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>13</sup> S.D. iv, 84.

<sup>14</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>15</sup> Maq. i, 346.

<sup>16</sup> Maq. i, 298.

El Maqrîzî tells us that there was a khittâh of Mahrah situated at the foot of Jabal Yashkur towards El Khandaq.<sup>1</sup> The latter was the moat that defended Miṣr in its early days from the north.<sup>2</sup> It had its origin near El Kabsh,<sup>3</sup> and consequently must have joined El Khalîj near its mouth. The same author speaks of a khittâh of El Fârisîyîn<sup>4</sup> and a khittâh of Tujîb,<sup>5</sup> both situated on the Sharaf of Zain el 'Âbidîn, and thus near this khittâh of Mahrah. Again, he speaks of a khittâh of Wa'lân marked by mounds overlooking the tomb of El Qâdi Bakkâr.<sup>6</sup> The place indicated is near the existing Mashhad of El Saiyideh Nafisah.<sup>7</sup> This khittâh of Wa'lân rested on a khittâh of Khaulân,<sup>8</sup> not the same evidently as the khittâh of Khaulân described above as touching the south side of fortress, since the distance is too far to have been covered by a single khittâh. We have here five second khittâhs, that is khittâhs belonging to bodies which had duplicates elsewhere, and the existence of each one rests on a passage from the same writer. That several tribes should have been split up in this way is not at all likely in view of the manner in which Fûṣṭât was formed. It has already been shown above that the second khittâh of El Fârisîyîn is imaginary, and there seems to be ground for believing that the rest are due to mistakes. El Maqrîzî places the second khittâhs of Wa'lân and Khaulân far outside the khittâh of Ahl ez Zâhir, and this of itself is almost conclusive evidence of an error, since the name of Ahl ez Zâhir, the outside folk, would have been altogether misapplied had there been other khittâhs beyond.

There are some other circumstances that point in the same direction. Muṣalla Khaulân was, as mentioned above, one of the limits of Khittat el Ma'âfir. This Muṣalla is also

<sup>1</sup> Maq. i, 297.

<sup>2</sup> Maq. ii, 458.

<sup>3</sup> Abû Ṣâlih, fol. 32b.

<sup>4</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>5</sup> Maq. i, 125.

<sup>6</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>7</sup> Journal R.A.S., 1903, p. 814.

<sup>8</sup> Maq. i, 298.

described as in El Qarâfah, to the west of the tombs and near the road to a quarry.<sup>1</sup> Hereby a position is indicated near Er Raşad, as the only spot in this quarter of the Qarâfah where quarries exist. It must be supposed that the Muşalla of Khaulân was connected with the khittâh of Khaulân, and the place assigned to it is indeed close to that khittâh of Khaulân the existence of which is clearly established. Ibn Duqmâq mentions a lane called Darb Sâlim.<sup>2</sup> Although he does not expressly define its position, the context shows quite clearly that it was situated near the genuine khittâh of Khaulân and Sharaf er Raşad, and consequently near Muşalla Khaulân. Thus we have the following group as to the existence of which there seem to be no doubt:—Khittat Khaulân, Khittat Wa'lân, Darb Sâlim, Muşalla Khaulân.

El Musalla el Qadîm was situated near the tomb of El Qâdî Bakkâr. According to Abû el Maḥâsin there was a Darb Sâlim near this tomb.<sup>3</sup> With the second khittâhs of Khaulân and Wa'lân also in the neighbourhood one gets a second group, on the sole authority of El Maqrîzî and his follower, similar to the first:—Khittat Khaulân, Khittat Wa'lân, Darb Sâlim, El Muşalla el Qadîm.

Now El Maqrîzî describes El Muşalla el Qadîm in an article entitled Muşalla Khaulân, and though he cites passages from El Kindî which say plainly that the two were distinct, he quotes others from El Qudâ'î in a way that makes it seem that he did not realise that they were not the same.<sup>4</sup> If he has confused the two Muşallas, as he appears to have done, one can account for the identities in the two groups by supposing that those in the second are the result of the mistake. That El Maqrîzî gives two khittâhs to El Fârisîyî through confusing Sharaf er Raşad with Sharaf Zain el 'Âbidî shows that he is capable of an error of this sort; and on the whole one need have little hesitation in concluding that the second khittâhs of Khaulân and

<sup>1</sup> Maq. ii, 406, 453.

<sup>2</sup> S.D. iv, 29.

<sup>3</sup> En Nujûm, i, 46.

<sup>4</sup> Maq. ii, 454, 455.

Wa'lân and the second Darb Sâlim had no existence in reality. The positions stated for the second khittâhs of Tujib and Mahrah are on ground which is traversed pretty closely by Ibn Duqmâq and Abu Şâlih. That these writers do not refer to them, and the *primâ facie* improbability of a tribe having two khittâhs, added to the fact that direct proof against three out of five of the second khittâhs can be given, justify one in excluding them also. El Maqrîzî's statement about Mahrah is, however, of such a kind that possibly there may have been here an exception to the ordinary rule, and this tribe may have had two khittâhs, the earlier one by Jabal Yushkur having been soon abandoned. To eliminate the spurious khittâhs of El Fârisîyîn, Khaulân, and Wa'lân is important for the topography of El Qarâfah, and the true place of Darb Sâlim is of particular moment in connection with this. It is the key to the limits of El Qarâfat el Kubrâ, the eastern boundary of which was Ibn Tûlûn's aqueduct. In the article on Mişr in the Journal for 1903, which has been referred to here, the writer and Mr. Richmond, misled by Abû el Maḥâsin, showed the aqueduct as ending near Mashhad es Saiyidah Nafisah, giving it a direction too much to the east, and making it much too long.

Returning to the khittâhs, one may now place *Khittat es Sulaf* between Muşallu Khaulân and Khittat el Ma'âfir, instead of between the tomb of El Qâdi Bakkâi and that khittâh.<sup>1</sup> If the Masjid el Qubbah that was close to a Siqâyah in the *khittâh of Zauf*<sup>2</sup> is to be identified with Jâmi' el Qarâfat, which was originally known as Masjid el Qubbah,<sup>3</sup> Khittat Zauf must have been among the khittâhs of El Ma'âfir. Information as to the whereabouts of the *khittâh of Ghathîf* is wanting, but it is mentioned that a chief of this tribe had a khittâh which can be placed somewhere near that of Khaulân,<sup>4</sup> and this gives some

<sup>1</sup> Maq. i, 298.

<sup>2</sup> Maq. ii, 152; S.D. iv, 55.

<sup>3</sup> Maq. ii, 451.

<sup>4</sup> S.D. iv, 53. 'Âbis b. Sa'id, † 68 A.H.

ground for supposing that the tribe may have settled in the vicinity. It would seem that Masjid Sabâ, which was to the south of Kaum el Jâriḥ, was not connected with the khittah of Sabâ.<sup>1</sup> If not, there is no clue to the place of this khittah, and it is the only one on the east side as to the position of which there is no sign at all. The khittahs of Jizah have been placed, by way of completing the plan, according to their relative positions on the west bank, where the existing town stands. There appears to be nothing to mark the exact spot of any of them, or to show the area which they occupied.

The statements that have been brought together above make it possible to reconstruct the plan of early Fustât with some degree of exactness. The length of the site occupied, about 5,000 metres, is well marked by Dair et Tin and Jâmi' Ibn Ṭûlûn. The Jâmi' fixes the distance the town extended inland at its north end; to the south there is no mark to show the exact inland limit. Probably none of the khittahs would have been placed very far from the shore of the Nile at a time when the absence of facilities for getting water from the river would have made the position very inconvenient. Assuming a general breadth of about 1,000 metres for the site, one gets an area of a little under 3 square miles. The whole of the site was not covered evenly. Many open spaces are mentioned. There was one at the south-east door of the mosque of 'Amr;<sup>2</sup> another north, Faḍa er Râyah, near the church of Shanûdah;<sup>3</sup> a third divided Er Râyah from Tujîb;<sup>4</sup> others were Faḍâ [El Ḥamrâ] el Dunyâ,<sup>5</sup> Faḍâ el Ḥamrâ el Wustâ,<sup>6</sup> Faḍâ el Qabâ'il,<sup>7</sup> a Faḍâ of Sûq Wardân,<sup>8</sup> Faḍâ Khaulân,<sup>9</sup> Faḍâ

<sup>1</sup> S.D. iv, 84.

<sup>2</sup> S.D. iv, 5, 7.

<sup>3</sup> S.D. iv, 106.

<sup>4</sup> S.D. iv, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Abû Ṣâlih, fol. 323.

<sup>6</sup> S.D. iv, 86.

<sup>7</sup> Abû Ṣâlih, fol. 33a.

<sup>8</sup> S.D. iv, 106.

<sup>9</sup> Abû Ṣâlih, fol. 323.

el Mauqif.<sup>1</sup> One may add the market-places whose names make it seem that they dated from the foundation—Sûq Wardân,<sup>2</sup> Suwaiqat 'Adwân,<sup>2</sup> Sûq el Wihâf<sup>2</sup> (El Hâfi), Sûq Yahsub.<sup>3</sup> One or two of these names are probably alternatives for others. The list would doubtless be larger if all the site had been treated of by the topographers with equal minuteness; but as it is it seems enough to show that the arrangement of houses at Fustât resembled that at Jizah. Of the latter it is said that there were at first spaces between the tribes (i.e. the khittâhs) from one tribe to another. When reinforcements arrived, in the time of Uthmân b. 'Affân and later, and the people became numerous, each party made room for its relations, till the building so increased that the khittâhs of Jizah closed into one.<sup>4</sup> The space usually taken up by an individual does not seem to have been very extensive,<sup>5</sup> and the houses, to judge from the number of individual khittâhs mentioned by Ibn Duqmâq as having been in Khittat Ahl er Râyah and the neighbourhood, seem to have been gathered together pretty closely within the various khittâhs. Names such as Banî Jumâh,<sup>6</sup> Banî Fulaih,<sup>7</sup> Tanûkh,<sup>8</sup> Banî Saum<sup>9</sup> show that internal divisions existed.

The arrangement of khittâhs with intervals would have enabled regular roads to be dispensed with at first. The plan of later Fustât shows no trace of even one direct main thoroughfare that may have dated from the foundation, and its tortuous streets and ways are just such as would have been formed if left to produce themselves as the town grew up.

<sup>1</sup> S.D. iv, 34.

<sup>2</sup> S.D., index.

<sup>3</sup> S.D. iv, 55. It would seem that El Ya'qûbî is wrong in saying that the markets of Fustât were grouped by 'Amr round his mosque (p. 331).

<sup>4</sup> Suyûtî, i, 81.

<sup>5</sup> 'Amr's two houses and that of Qaisabah, which was exchanged for the mosque, are examples. The larger house of 'Amr seems to have been smaller than the mosque (S.D. iv, 62).

<sup>6</sup> S.D. iv, 83.

<sup>7</sup> S.D. iv, 22.

<sup>8</sup> S.D. iv, 51.

<sup>9</sup> Maq. ii, 246.

One may turn now from the plan to the buildings first erected. The founders appear to have left the town unenclosed. It is clear that the wall of Fustât, of which there is a record, was not built by them, though its date is not stated, since the wall took in only a portion of the site that has been described. When Marwân invaded Egypt in 64 A.H. Ibn Jaḥdam, the governor on behalf of Ibn ez Zubair,<sup>1</sup> dug a moat to defend Fustât from the north. The extraordinary exertions by which the moat was finished in a month became proverbial; and they would hardly have been called for if Fustât had been surrounded with a rampart. Besides, a wall nearly five miles long would have been required to include all the site, and it is difficult to suppose that so important a work could have been passed by without any mention. Abu Ṣâlih speaks of a breast-work (zarîbah) extending from Khatt el Farr to Duwairat Khalaf, "where the Arabs [at the conquest] assembled."<sup>2</sup> Duwairat Khalaf was to the south-east of, and not far from, Jâmi' 'Amr.<sup>3</sup> The zarîbah was of reeds or cane, and seems to have been a temporary structure, connected probably with the investment of the fortress of Babylon. About the fortress of Jîzah, there is the bare fact that it was built and the date; there is not the least description, and it is not mentioned again. Before the state of Fustât as regards defence is left, reference may be made to some buildings mentioned incidentally by Ibn Duqmâq and others. Maḥrus as a noun of place is a general term; used to denote a building it may mean a guardhouse or watch tower. Upwards of ten buildings are named under this title, without anything being said as to the purpose they served. It is to be remarked, however, that those of which the positions can be identified more or less nearly were situated on something like an alignment between the fortress (Maḥrus Banânuh and Maḥrus Qusṭantîn) and Zaiu el 'Âbidîn (Maḥrus el

<sup>1</sup> El Khandaq, Maq. ii, 458.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 216. Zarb = Zarîbah, and Daurat appears from S.D. to be a misreading.

<sup>3</sup> This can be seen from S.D.

Khaṣī).<sup>1</sup> The first two names are not Arab. Maḥras el Khaṣī and Maḥras Qusṭanṭīn both appear to have been in existence in the early part of the second century of the Hijrah. El Ya'qûbī<sup>2</sup> says that 'Amr established a Maḥras for each tribe. It is possible that these buildings may have been connected with a line of defence, of which part may have been formed at or before the conquest.

Fustât contained one public bath ascribed to 'Amr, Ḥammâm el Fâr,<sup>3</sup> which was remarkable for its smallness; two others, Ḥammâm Wardân<sup>4</sup> and Ḥammâm Buṣr b. [Abî] Arṭah,<sup>5</sup> must have been early, as they are called after two of 'Amr's companions. These buildings may have dated from any time within twenty years or so of the foundation. The only kind that clearly existed from the first, besides individual dwellings, are the mosques. Each khittâh appears to have had one or more masjids of its own<sup>6</sup>; there was a muṣalla or oratory, to which the people resorted for common prayer on special occasions, outside the town<sup>7</sup>; and there was the jâmi' or congregational mosque of 'Amr. The jâmi' is the only building that is described. It measured some 75 feet by 30; it had a very low roof with nothing above it—a minaret was a later addition; the whole of the mosque seems to have been roofed in; the floor was laid with pebbles; the walls inside were not even plastered. There was no internal decoration beyond a qiblah and a pulpit; there was probably no furniture. That the mosque was not properly oriented was a sign of the founders' want of skill.<sup>8</sup> The masjids of the khittâhs must, of course, have been inferior in pretensions to the mosque; the remark to

<sup>1</sup> Other Maḥrases are 'Khuwâ'i b. Huwâ'i; En Nakhl; El Hâris; Abû Qirbah; El Huṣr; 'Ammâr; Abû el Mahâjir.

<sup>2</sup> p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned several times, e.g. S.D. iv, 105.

<sup>4</sup> S.D. iv, 32.

<sup>5</sup> S.D. iv, 106.

<sup>6</sup> Maq. ii, 246; S.D. iv, 62. Many masjids are described in S.D. as 'khittâ.'

<sup>7</sup> Maq. ii, 454.

<sup>8</sup> See S.D. iv, 59; Maq. ii, 246, for minute descriptions of the mosque.

the effect that minarets were ordered to be added to them at the time that the mosque was first furnished with a minaret<sup>1</sup> makes it likely that they resembled the mosque in type. Of the Muṣalla, the place only is given. Where the principal building was so utterly devoid of any claims to architecture as was 'Amr's mosque, it is to be expected that the ordinary habitations would have been humble in the extreme. Two facts about the houses appear—that the area covered was not large and that they had but one story. Reasons for the former statement have been given above; the latter rests on an anecdote concerning *Kḥḥarijah* ibn Hudāfuh which need not be repeated here.<sup>2</sup> It is evident from various other passages that the Arabs of the time had an objection to high buildings.<sup>3</sup>

One may compare what has been said about Fustāt with the accounts of Kūfah and Baṣrah in their earliest stages. Kūfah differed in having been built round a space with the chief mosque as the centre, and in having been marked with regular highways and byways. It was a larger town and the organisation altogether was more developed, extending to a division into districts.

El Balāḍurī does not include a description of the plan of Baṣrah in his account of the town. At Kūfah and Baṣrah there was a system of *khittahs* as at Fustāt, and intervals filled up as time went on are mentioned at the former. Tribal mosques at Kūfah are also referred to. A few early baths are spoken of at each place. Each had a *Dār el Imāruh*, a house appointed for the governor; it seems doubtful whether there was a regular residence of this kind at Fustāt until the time of Marwān.<sup>4</sup> The principal mosque at Kūfah and that at Baṣrah must have resembled 'Amr's

<sup>1</sup> S.D. iv, 62.

<sup>2</sup> S.D. iv, 6. The context seems to require that '*ghurfah*' should mean an upper chamber rather than a balcony.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Balāḍurī, p. 349; Ṭabarī, i, 2488.

<sup>4</sup> El Kindī, fol. 19a, gives the idea that Marwān was the first to institute a governor's house. On the other hand, El Ya'qūbī, p. 330, says that *Dār er Raml*, which S.D. iv, 5, refers to also as having been used by the governors, was the *Dār el Imārah* founded by 'Amr.

mosque closely. At Baṣrah the structure was first of mud brick with a roof of thatch; the process of rebuilding and improvement of the mosque of Baṣrah in the first fifty years or so resembles closely that of the mosque of Fustât. The dwellings at Kûfah and at Baṣrah were made of reeds to begin with, and later of mud brick. At Baṣrah at first they used to be taken down when the owners were absent. In the convents of Kûfah,<sup>1</sup> its camel ground or Munakh, its *Ḥamrâs*, and in the *Ḥânirah* of Baṣrah, one notices further resemblances with Fustât. It is clear that, with some differences, the three towns were much alike in their general character; and what is wanting in the description of one may be filled up from the accounts of the others with some confidence. The busy commercial town described by Ibn Ḥauqal, with its crowded markets and its blocks of buildings, some containing as many as two hundred people, belongs to the tenth century. This state must have been reached gradually. A long straggling colony of mean houses and hovels, or more likely of huts and booths, such as one may see nowadays attached to some town to which semi-nomad Arabs resort; arranged irregularly in groups in loose order concentrated to some extent about the mosque of ‘Amr, as the focus formed by the centre of authority; the mosques in the various groups being practically the only constructions to be distinguished from the rest, but so insignificant as to be in no way remarkable—this is the picture that our accounts of Fustât in the days of ‘Amr enable us to draw.

<sup>1</sup> Kûfah is described by Balâduri, pp. 275-289; Tabarî, i, 2486-2491; Ya‘qûbî, p. 310; Baṣrah by Balâduri, pp. 346-372.

# LIST OF THE KHITTAHS OF FUSTÂT AND JÎZAH,

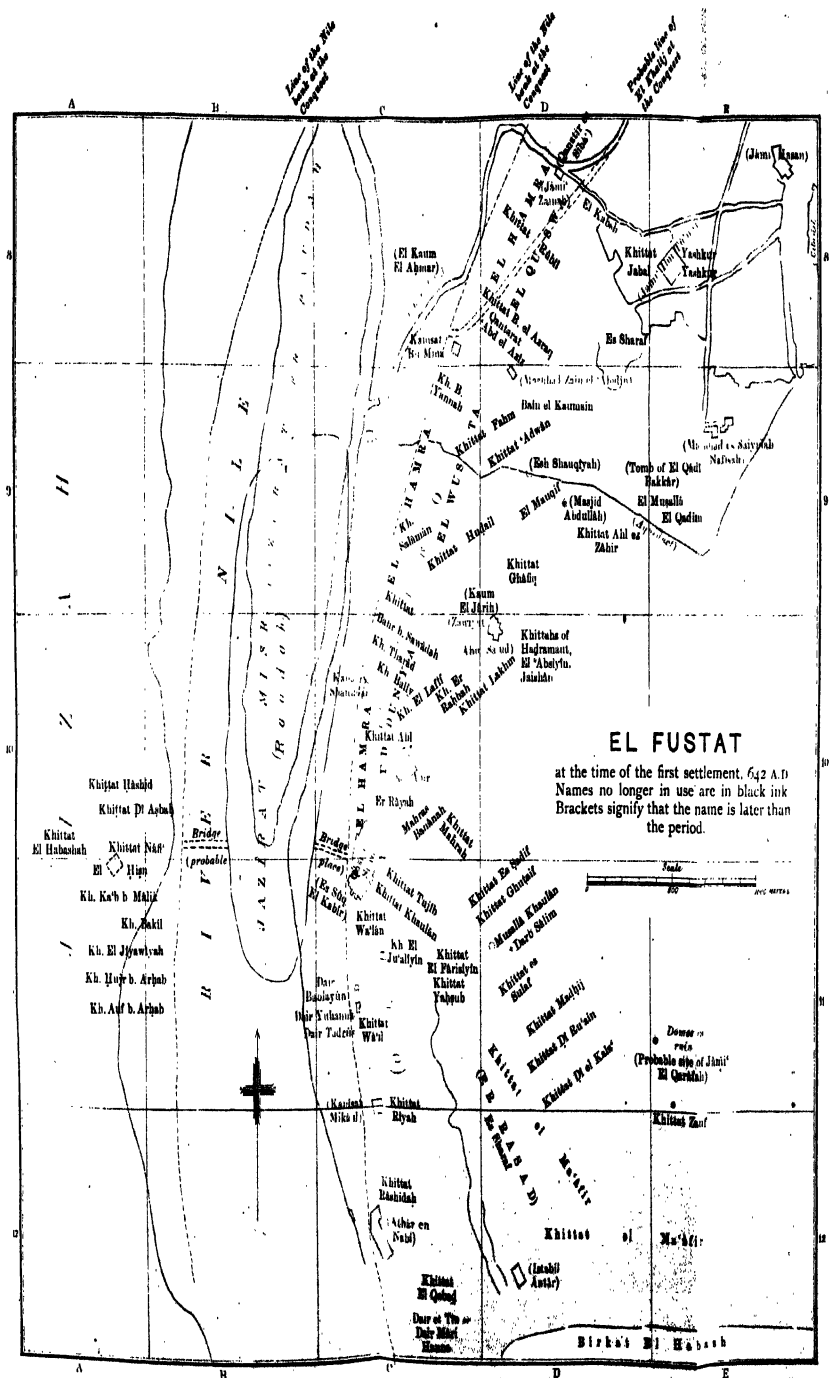
SHOWING THE PLACES ASSIGNED TO THEM IN THE ACCOMPANYING MAP.

NAME OF <u>KHITTAH</u> .	SQUARE.	NAME OF <u>KHITTAH</u> .	SQUARE.
Banî el Azraq .. ..	D 8	Es Sulaf .. ..	D 11
Bahr b. Sawâdah .. ..	C 10	Es Sadif .. ..	D 11
Baktl .. ..	B 11	Ahl ez Zâhir .. ..	D 9
Baliy .. ..	C 10	El 'Absîyîn *	D 10
Tujîb .. ..	C 11	'Adwân .. ..	D 9
Tharâd .. ..	C 10	'Auf b. Arḥab .. ..	B 11
El Ju'aliyîn *	C 11	Ghâfiq .. ..	D 9
El Jiyâw[îy]ah .. ..	B 11	Ghuṭaif .. ..	D 11
Juîshân *	D 10	El Fârisiyyîn .. ..	C 11
Hâshid .. ..	A 10	Fahm .. ..	D 9
El Habashah .. ..	A 10	El Qabaḍ .. ..	C 12
Hujr b. Arḥab .. ..	A 11	Ka'b b. Mâlik .. ..	B 11
Haḍramaut *	D 10	Lakhm .. ..	C 10
Khaulân .. ..	C 11	El Lafif .. ..	C 10
Ḍû Aṣbah .. ..	B 10	Maḍhiy .. ..	D 11
Ḍû Ru'ain .. ..	D 11	El Ma'âfir .. ..	D 12
Ḍû el Kalâ' .. ..	D 11	Mahrah .. ..	C 10
Ahl er Râyah .. ..	C 10	Nâfi' .. ..	B 10
Râshidah .. ..	C 12	Hudail .. ..	D 9
Rûbîl .. ..	D 8	Wâ'il .. ..	C 11
Er Raḥbah .. ..	C 10	Wa'lân .. ..	C 11
Riyah .. ..	C 12	Yahsub .. ..	C 11
Zauf * .. ..	E 12	Yashkur .. ..	E 8
Subâ .. ..	—	Banî Yannah .. ..	C 9
Salâmân .. ..	C 9		

\* Signifies that the khittah, not being included in the chapters of S.D. and Maq. referred to in the text, may be a minor division.









## V.

THE PAHLAVI TEXTS OF YASNA XXII,  
FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TRANSLATED.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

## YASNA XXII.

*The Holy Sacrifice in its Progress ;  
the Invocation of Consecration of the various Objects to be  
Offered, or used in the Ceremony.\**

WITH the barsom (now) brought [forward ; it is here (at this point in the ceremony) brought forward and put upon the barsom-holder]<sup>1</sup> together with the *zoaθra* water of Aūharmažd,<sup>2</sup> the Creator, the resplendent,<sup>3</sup> the glorious, and of the Amešaspendas, and for their sake (I desire (or 'I invoke') the consecration of this II(a)oma plant). [ . . . It has (now) been prepared<sup>4</sup> (as I speak). (Not at all impossibly meaning 'it has now ; as I pronounce the prayer for it to be consecrated in this present ceremony, —it has now been made ready.')] ]

(2) (With this) I desire (i.e. 'I invoke the sanctification of') this II(a)oma (here present awaiting my official acceptance)<sup>5</sup> for [this] sacrifice as (to be at once) uplifted with

\* The text from which this translation is made was published as edited with all the MSS. collated in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, Band LVIII, p. 428, 1904.

<sup>1</sup> Nēr. račitena, as if 'laid in order,' using the same word for the Pahl. yedrūnt' or būrt', and for the Pahl. sāxt.

<sup>2</sup> Nēr. does not notice the genitive form of Ahuruhya, his dative plurals express the rāi.

<sup>3</sup> The Parsi-Pers. has 'nūrmand,' as we may notice in passing, so adding another item of evidence against the meaning 'rich' for the original, which adjective would indeed not so naturally be applied to the Supreme Being.

<sup>4</sup> It seems as if one priest or assistant lifted up the objects while the reciter pronounced the text.

<sup>5</sup> Notice that the Pahl. trlr. first saw a dative in i in yeštī, here not warranted.

aša<sup>1</sup> (as that is to say, 'with' the exact ritual functions). [It has been prepared with correctness; (but perhaps again meaning 'now, that the uplifting has taken place, it has been arranged with correctness').]<sup>2</sup>

(3) And I desire (that is to say, 'I pray for the sanctification of') this fresh (lit 'living') meat<sup>3</sup> (or is it 'milk'?) offered up with Aša (as the ritual exactness), [that is to say, as it has been (now) prepared and treated with correct regularity] for this sacrifice . . .

(4) And I desire (the sanctification of) this plant Haḍā-naēpatā<sup>4</sup> offered with (ritual) sanctity, [that is to say, it has been (now) thoroughly prepared (and treated) with correctness] for this sacrifice; (5) and (for the sake of) the (other) good (that is, 'clean') waters (of the general creation); [that is to say, for the sake of<sup>5</sup> the good waters it has been (now) prepared and treated]. And I desire the sanctification of these Zaoθra-waters accompanied with that Hōm, and with that fresh meat (or 'milk'?), and with that haḍānaēpatā and offered with ritual exactness, [that is to say, with correct regularity it has (now) been prepared (and treated)] for this sacrifice.

(6) And (for the sake of) the good (or 'clean') waters<sup>6</sup> (of the general creation) [as it has been prepared]; and I desire also the Hōm-water to this sacrifice; (7) and I desire (that is to say, I invoke the reconsecration of) the silver mortar,<sup>7</sup> and of the iron mortar<sup>8</sup> to this sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> Aša not rendered 'for a reward'?

<sup>2</sup> Nēr. has sadāčaratayā račitum āste.

<sup>3</sup> Nēr. recoils from the meaning 'meat' here, doubtless on account of the strong prejudice in India against the consumption of cow's flesh. He renders as a proper name with jivananāmnīm, glossing 'dugd'am' . . . The Parsi-Pers. has gōsfend i jivām.

<sup>4</sup> Nēr. has hīnavānāmānam; C., the Parsi-Pers., has anār. Nēr. adds a curious formation uruarāmam.

<sup>5</sup> Rāi in the gloss expresses the datives of the original. Nēr. has the genitive for dative (?) apām uttamānām . . .

<sup>6</sup> Rāi again in the gloss; Nēr. again gen.

<sup>7</sup> Nēr. has the form raupiyām for asimin' and the gl. g'antām = 'bell,' as the mortar was also used for a bell. The fine dual forms of the original are neither reproduced by the Pahl. nor by Nēr.

<sup>8</sup> The Parsi-Pers. has nuḡrah.

(8) And I desire the plant of the kind for Barsom<sup>1</sup> which has arrived (here) in accordance with the official recital<sup>2</sup> of the Chief's (formula); and I desire the memorised recital<sup>3</sup> (of the offices) of the Dēn (about to be intoned) and the (fulfilment of the other) ceremonial functions<sup>4</sup> of the good Dēn of the Maždayasnians: (that is to say, I accept it here as consecrated to this holy function); (9) and (I invoke) also the delivery<sup>5</sup> of the intoning of the Gāθas [the bounteous (or 'august')] which has arrived in accordance with the holy pronouncement of the (reciting) Chief (the officiating Priest) as a Chief of the ritual (procedure);

(10) And this wood also and incense (these all) do I desire for the sacrifice for the sake of (or 'to') Thee, the Fire,<sup>6</sup> O Aūharmažd's Son. [It (that is, all the foregoing items collectively considered) has (i.e. 'have') been carefully prepared (and treated).<sup>7</sup>]

(11) And also every benefit which is derived from Aūharmažd which<sup>8</sup> is a manifestation from<sup>9</sup> (or 'of') Aša (as this ritual, or as 'a production of it') I desire for this sacrifice (12) for the propitiation of Aūharmažd and of the Amēšaspendis, (and for the propitiation) of Srōš the Holy, and of the Fire<sup>10</sup> Aūharmažd's Son, a Chief both holy and exalted.

(13) And I desire (that is, 'I bid') the Asnya<sup>11</sup> as the

<sup>1</sup> The Parsi-Pers. has *ahūn*.

<sup>2</sup> Nēr. has *vānaspatyām* (?) here.

<sup>3</sup> Nēr. has *gurbanujñayā* for *pavan rat' fravāmešnūh*.

<sup>4</sup> He, Nēr. has *aḍ'ayanamēnā* for *hōsmūrešnūh* and *āvarapamēnā* for *varžešnūh*.

<sup>5</sup> Nēr. : *gāt'ānām ēa uktiṁ* (omitting *daheśn'* and *dehāk*) *suṁpraptām punyāt-manvā punyagurvyā gurbanujñayā*. So the Parsi-Pers. omits the superfluous *daheśn'*. Does not the redundant presence of this *daheśn'* here distinctly show that it is auxiliary elsewhere? It is, however, simply gloss. Nēr. om. both it and *dehāk*; so the Pers.; but see A. (DJ., J. 2), Sp., and M.

<sup>6</sup> Nēr.'s 'te agne' is more tasteful and correct as tree; but see the original. We may read the *i* before *lak*, or read *ātaxš*, as if gen. in apposition. A. (DJ.) and Nēr. omit *i*.

<sup>7</sup> Nēr. has *yam tub'yam samāraçitam āste'* in the gloss.

<sup>8</sup> The Parsi-Pers. omits *man'*.

<sup>9</sup> So for *çiōra*; Nēr. *punyāt prakatāh*.

<sup>10</sup> Nēr. 'agneh.'

<sup>11</sup> Nēr. has *tat yat saṁd'yāvāh* (so) *antaḥ saṁd'yāvām çakyate gantum prab'ā-venā'sya* (so); 'for the propitiation of (the particular) time within the time when it is possible (or 'permissible') especially to approach the sacrifice.' For *āsnām* Nēr. has literally the gen. *ahnām*.

Chief(s) of Aša to this sacrifice for Havānī, the Holy Chief of Aša [and so (forth on) as (it stands) written in the Srōš Drōn (as far?) as to<sup>1</sup> (?) (ašahya (not ašahe)) raθvō berezatō—inclusively—to raθvō (*sic*).]

For Y. XXII, 14–23, see Y. XXII, 2–10 above.

(24) (yea) for the propitiation of Aūharmažd the Radiant,<sup>2</sup> the Glorious,<sup>2</sup> and of the Amēšaspendas, [the well-ruling, the beneficent], (25) and of Miθra of the wide pastures<sup>3</sup> and of Rāman Hvāstra,<sup>4</sup> (26) and for the propitiation of the Sun, the Immortal, the Radiant, of the swift horses,<sup>5</sup> [that is to say, his horse(s) are sound (literally 'good'); some hold that the meaning is 'he will give good (that is, 'sound') horses'],<sup>6</sup> (27) and of Vayu, the one effective (who works) on high,<sup>7</sup> the most overwhelming<sup>8</sup> of (all) the other creatures; so (is the propitiation) for Thee, O Vayu; so (i.e. for this reason) it is thine (aētōn' lak), O Vayu (to Thee it is fully due) since Thine it is (as due) (man' lak aīt' = yat tē asti); that is, Thou art Thyself the property of the August Spirit

<sup>1</sup> One would suppose that 'min' was meant here: 'so far as from ašahya raθvō (meaning 'raθve'—so ends Y. III, 21, in the Srōš Drōn to) āyese ye-ti raθvō berezatō yō, ašahya-raθvō,' Y. III, 60. Nēr. has yat'ā črošadrūpeṇa yavat.

<sup>2</sup> Nēr. čudd'imatah, črīmatah.

<sup>3</sup> Nēr. ins. the gloss matripatih; and has ānandaḥ nirbhāyatvam āsvādaçça (so) for the genitives.

<sup>4</sup> Nēr. glosses: 'sa iñdah ye (yena) manušyāḥ k'ādyasya svādām jūnanti' (yena is to be read for ye).

<sup>5</sup> Nēr. tejāsvī vegavadaçvāḥ.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly in return for an offering of horses; see Y. XLVI, 8. Nēr. omits ll glosses.

<sup>7</sup> The hurricane seems indicated here; recall also the Maruts.

<sup>8</sup> Nēr.'s vīnaštām, to -vi + naš, is difficult to explain, as corresponding to turvēnītārtūm, which is likewise difficult for tarad'āta; for this hardly means more than 'placed beyond.' Was 'tara-' before the trlr. in the shape of 'tarō-' as often, and did this stand in a quasi-Pahlavi-Av. character as tarv = 'to overcome,' (ō and v having the same sign in Pahlavi) and so the vīnaštām? Nēr. takes the vāe of the Pahl. text in both cases in the sense of 'bird'; his pakšīnā (read -nah) must be so understood in this somewhat ridiculous sense. How can we avoid the following rendering for Nēr.?—'The destruction of the bird active on high (living or 'soaring in the atmosphere') is effected; of all the creation the birds(?) are just the property of the Creator of the good creation,' meaning that they do not belong to the creation of Angra Mainyu. We are, of course, neither obliged nor permitted to render the Pahl. vāe in this sense of 'bird,' unless indeed we so translate the original. Nēr. has vātām at Y. I, 45; Y. XVII, 33; and vātāḥ at Y. XLIII (Sp.), 4. The Parsi-Pers. has no sign of the meaning 'birds' either here or at Y. I, 45.

(and not that of the Evil Spirit; that is, Thou art not the evil Vayu; Thou art (His, the Spenta Mainyu's) own), (28) and for the propitiation of the righteous Enlightenment<sup>1</sup> by Aūharmažd given and of the good<sup>2</sup> Dēn of the Mazdayasnians, (29) and of (or 'even of,' as if the Āisti and the Manθra were recognised as one) the Manθra Spenta, the Holy, (given) by the Lord of Desire<sup>3</sup> (*sic*) with great error), the Demon-severed Law of Zartūšt (his 'law against the Demons'; that is, distinctly 'the Vendīdād'<sup>4</sup> by name), and (for the propitiation) of the long (progressive) pre-dominance<sup>5</sup> [(of the Dēn) of the August Spirit (the Spenta Mainyu)], even of the good Dēn of the Mazdayasnians; and (for the propitiation) of the Knowledge<sup>6</sup> of the Māθra Spenta, and of the innate understanding given by Aūharmažd, and of the understanding acquired from experience (i.e. 'heard with ear,' also) Aūharmažd-given, (30) and (again) for the propitiation of the Fire, Aūharmažd's son,<sup>7</sup> (Yea) of Thee, O Thou Fire,<sup>8</sup> Aūharmažd's Son [who art here (especially) present in this sacrifice<sup>9</sup>] together with all the

<sup>1</sup> The Āisti. Notice the prayer for religious light as being 'God-given.' The point cannot be said to be absorbed away into a mere technical allusion to the Dēn, as so often analogously in the case of other expressions. D(a)enāyāo has an additional adjective; but this should make little difference in our impression received.

<sup>2</sup> Nēr. does not report the genitives, so losing the point of the original. He has *cudd'ā nirvāpajūnini* . . . . *dīuīh*, nominatives.

<sup>3</sup> *Verežāihahya* (not -ūhahe) was divided *vere(ž)* = to 'var' = 'to choose' (*sic*), (and from this the *kāmak*), and *aūha-* to *aūhu* (*ahu*) = 'Lord' (*sic*). The Parsi-Pers. follows the Pahl. Nēr. follows with an inversion *svāmikāmām* and neglecting the genitives. He glosses: 'kila, kāmān yat manasā saha svāminā tulyam karoti'; 'his mental desire he brings into harmony with the Lord'; see my explanation slightly varied elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> *Vi-d(a)eva-dātā* = 'Vendīdād.'

<sup>5</sup> Its traditional life (as canonical). Nēr. *dirg'am uparipravrttīm*, [*cik'sam adcyarūpim*]. Nēr. continues in the accusative, his *samīhe ijsnau* being understood. The Parsi-Pers. trl. *dir avar raftanī*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ākāsīh* is better for *vacōm* (*sic* (?) = -yam), and the important words *žarāzdātōis* and *uōidareθrem* (are they interpolations from 31?) are not rendered by the Pahl. Nēr.'s *suprabudd'am mānt'rim vāpim* should refer to *ākāsīh*, etc. The Parsi-Pers. here follows the Pahl.

<sup>7</sup> Nēr.'s *putrasya* should be *voc.*; see the original.

<sup>8</sup> Here Nēr. has *putra*.

<sup>9</sup> Nēr. om. this pointed gloss., but has an extremely long interpolation referring to the *Sīrōz*. The Pers. omits both.

Fires (wheresoever they may be); (31) and for the propitiation of <sup>1</sup> Mount Ušidarena, <sup>2</sup> the Aūharmazd-made, which has the brilliance <sup>3</sup> of Aša (?), (32) and of all <sup>4</sup> the holy Yažats of Heaven and of Earth, (33) and <sup>5</sup> (for the propitiation) of the Fravašis of the Saints, the heroic, the victorious, of the Fravašis of the primeval saints, and of those of the next of kin, <sup>6</sup> and of the Fravaši of the Yažat of the Spoken Name (having an especial Yašt).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here Nēr. has the accusative girim followed by nominatives with *sa āste* (so) understood (?).

<sup>2</sup> Nēr. has a proper name transcribing *hoç'sjadāstārah*.

<sup>3</sup> The idea of 'comfort' is here excluded by *hōš-*; see also above. Nēr. has *puṇyacuḥ'al*, and renders *hoç-* (*hoš-*) *yaç čaitaayam manu-yanām st'āne dad'āti raksatiča* 'which puts the (human) intelligence in place and preserves it.' This recalls *uši-dareθrem* in 29, which is not apparently rendered by Pahl. or Nēr. I cannot accede to the translations here. The name is 'Bearer of the Dawn,' i.e. 'the Sun rising over the mountain.'

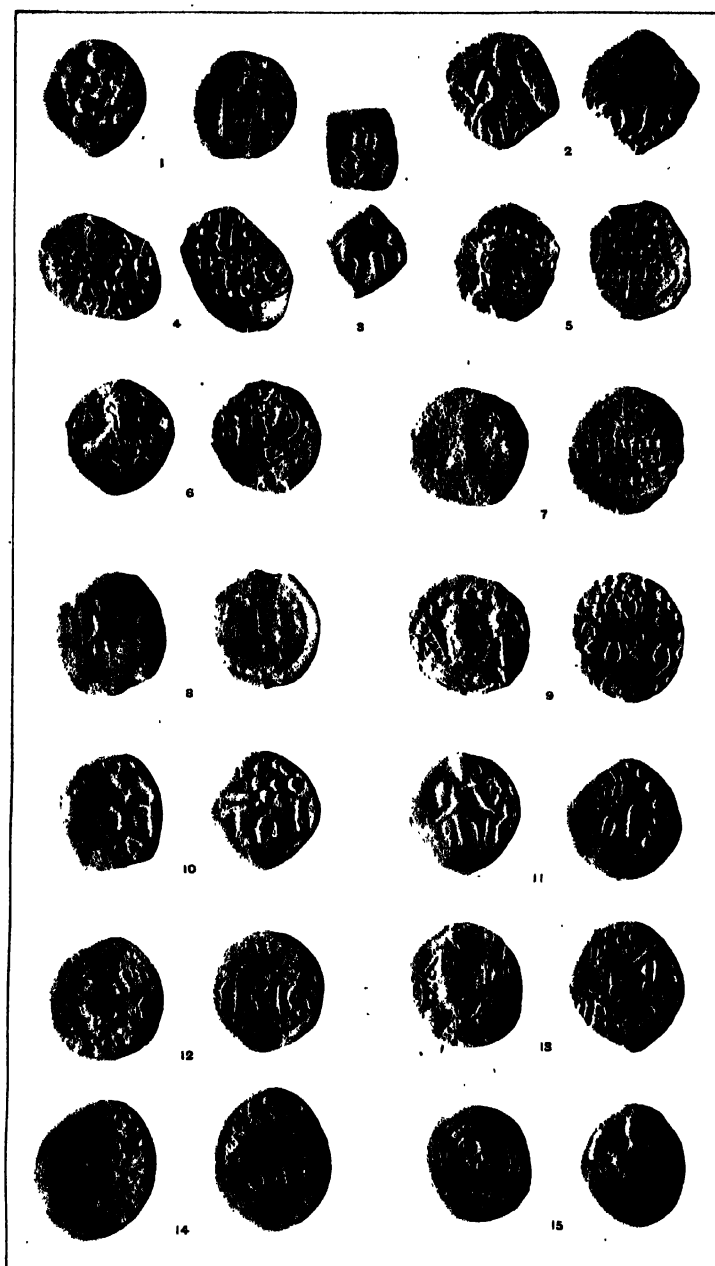
<sup>4</sup> Nēr. *saṃagrām iajdanām* (so).

<sup>5</sup> Nēr. changes the form of the syntax with *puṇyena dadāmi* . . . what does the . . . reciter . . . 'give'?

<sup>6</sup> Nēr. *navānvanikaṭānām* (so), 'the relation of the first nine degrees.'

<sup>7</sup> Nēr. adds the interesting gl. '*kila, nāma anuyā diuyā uktam āste*,' showing that 'spoken name' meant especial mention in a text, if not a special Yašt, here the Fravardin.





WHITE HUN (EPHTHALITE) COINS FROM THE PANJĀB.

## VI.

**WHITE HUN (EPHTHALITE) COINS FROM THE  
PANJAB.**

By VINCENT A. SMITH.

(With a Plate.)

**M**R. J. P. RAWLINS, late of the Panjāb Police, who is well known to Indian numismatists as a successful collector of rare coins, some time ago sent me for publication a batch of curious copper coins which he obtained while serving in the Hoshiyārpur District. These coins all come from a very remarkable locality, which has been explored by Mr. Rawlins, but seems to be unknown to other archæologists.<sup>1</sup> It is described as the Plateau of Manaswāl, situated on the outer range of the Siwālik Hills, at an elevation of about two thousand feet, in the Hoshiyārpur District. This plateau is extensive, being about ten miles in length and six in breadth. The principal village is Manaswāl, distant about thirty miles in a south-easterly direction from Hoshiyārpur, between that town and Rūpar in the Ambāla (Umballa) District. Other villages, or hamlets, enumerated by Mr. Rawlins are Biniwāl, Hanand, Daleywāl, Kharali, and Bhawānipur. The whole region is full of ancient sites, marked by mounds, and all the villages named are included in the area containing the remains of ancient settlements, which may have formed one great city.

The coins found are numerous and interesting. Mr. Rawlins has obtained from the villagers specimens of the coinage of Eukratides, which certainly came from the mounds, and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rawlins sent a copy of his notes to the Director General of Archæology for India.

prove that the site must have been occupied as early as 200 B.C. Several classes of coins are specially distinctive of the locality. "Silver punch-marked coins turn up by the *seer* [2 lb.] and more, buried in the ground." Small thick copper coins of Gondophares,<sup>1</sup> and closely similar coins of the Satrap Rañjubula are equally abundant, but, excepting one small silver coin of Rañjubula, no other types of those two kings are met with. A debased type of the Vāsudeva coinage is said to be the commonest of all. The issues of Kadphises II (Wima), Kanishka, and Huvisika occur, but not those of Kadphises I (Kujula). The coins of the Nameless King are not found. The Kāngrā coins naturally are common.

The debased Indo-Sassanian pieces of silver, copied from the money of Firōz (*C.Med.I.*, pl. vi, 13-15) are "very plentiful,"<sup>2</sup> as also are the copper coins with the legend generally read as *Śruta*, but which may be read *Ata* (*C.Med.I.*, pl. vi, 1).

The coins classed by Cunningham under the head "Mathurā" (*C.Anc.I.*, pl. viii) are not numerous, and are represented "especially and almost solely" by the Rājāñya coinage, wrongly described as that of "Rājā Janapada" (*C.Anc.I.*, pl. viii, 19). By an odd mistake everybody has read the legend on these small copper (bronze) coins as *Rājā* (*Rajña*) *Janapadasa*. The legends occur in both the Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī character, but are much more frequent in the former than the latter. Whichever alphabet is used, the first word always is written in three characters (*aksharas*), which, beyond all doubt, are *Rajaña*. When I was working at the Indian Museum coins this correction forced itself upon me, and I drew to it the attention of Professor Rupson, who at once accepted the emendation of the reading, and pointed out that *Rajaña* is the Prākṛit equivalent of *Rājāñya*, a well-known synonym of *Kṣatriya* or *Rājpūt*. The coins,

<sup>1</sup> Specimens of such coins of Gondophares will be published in the Indian Museum Catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Taylor's article on the Hūna coinage in *Num. Suppl. to J.A.S.B.*, part 1, 1904.

consequently, are assignable to the "Rājanya country." Hitherto they have been associated with Mathurā, because Cunningham procured his in the bazaar of that city, and I have been disposed to look for the Rājanya country in the portion of Eastern Rājputāna, perhaps the Dholpur State, near Mathurā. Mr. Rawlins' information that these coins occur in noticeable numbers on the Manaswāl Plateau some 220 or 230 miles further north than Mathurā is of importance, and indicates a considerable northern extension of the Rājanya country. I obtained a few specimens while in India, but did not learn their place of origin. It is desirable that collectors in India should verify the find-spots of the Rājanya coins; and, indeed, generally, should pay much more attention than has been bestowed on a minute record of the find-spots of coins. Without such a record the positions of the ancient mints and the relations of the early kingdoms and tribal territories among themselves cannot be determined. The Rājanya coinage was evidently tribal, like the Mālava, Yaudheya, and Audumbara (Odumbara).

The last-named coinage has always been regarded as rare, and as obtainable only in Kāngrā. Mr. Rawlins declares that the Odumbara coin, with elephant to left on obverse, and *bodhi* tree with name of Rājā Bhānu mitra on reverse (*C.Anc.I.*, pl. iv, 12), is "quite common" on the plateau, where he has found many other specimens of the coinage of the dynasty, including some new types. Coins of the Kuninda tribe (Rājā Amoghabhūti), like *C.Anc.I.*, pl. v, 2, occur occasionally. The most characteristic coins of the locality are the Odumbara and the Ephthalite. Dr. Hoernle long ago showed that the debased Indo-Sassanian silver imitations of Firōz, which are common on the plateau, almost certainly must have been struck by the White Hun or Ephthalite invaders of India. The copper (bronze) coins which form the special subject of this paper, undoubtedly are Ephthalite. The abundance and variety of White Hun or Ephthalite coins of small value on this plateau is convincing evidence that the locality was a principal seat of

the White Hun power, which in the days of Mihirakula had its capital at Sākala, the modern Siālkoṭ.<sup>1</sup> Manaswāl is distant not much more than a hundred miles from Siālkoṭ. Mr. Rawlins states that while the Ephthalite coins are found actually on the plateau, the Odumbara ones are found in the plain at its foot.<sup>2</sup> This fact is of special interest as a proof that the edge of the plateau formed an ethnic and political frontier. Of course, the Odumbara coins are much earlier in date than the Ephthalite, and in the sixth century, to which the latter belong, the Odumbara tribe probably had ceased to exist as a political unit; so that this coin distribution must not be interpreted as meaning that the Odumbaras held the plain, while the White Huns occupied the plateau. It merely indicates a probability that the White Hun stations kept as close as possible to the line of the hills, while the lower ground was left to the administration of local Rājās. But that interpretation, of course, does not affect the fact that for a brief period in the early part of the sixth century the White Huns were the dominant power in North-Western India, and enjoyed a paramount position with regard to the local native princes.

The coins selected for description and reproduction are the best of the set submitted to me. They were associated with the ordinary *jayatu vṛṣa* coins of Mihirakula (Class I in "History and Coinage of the Gupta Period," *J.A.S.B.*, part i, 1894, p. 206) and some of the commoner anonymous coins bearing the Ephthalite symbol (*ibid.*, Class II, p. 210). They all seem to be of nearly the same date, that is to say, contemporary, or almost contemporary, with Mihirakula in the first half of the sixth century. The shape is irregular, and the execution extremely rude. I have noted the weight of each specimen figured, but nothing is to be learned from the record of the weights of such coins. Weights are given in English grains, and dimensions in decimals of an inch. I cannot either affirm or deny the identity of the new name

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, "Sagala, Sakala, the City of Milinda and Mihirakula," in *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès Intern. des Or.*, tome i.

<sup>2</sup> For discussion of Odumbara coins see Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 112.

*Mihiradata* (*Mihiradatta*) with Mihirakula, but the reading is certain. The title *Prakāśāditya* occurs in the Gupta gold coins, which should be attributed probably to Puragupta (about 480-90 A.D.). On these White Hun coins, as on the Gupta pieces, the proper name of the king is not clearly legible. Of course, the White Hun chief must have been distinct from the Gupta king who used the same title, which means 'sun of splendour.' The reading of the name *Śrī Valhā* is not quite certain, although the characters *Val* are clear. The name *Jisnu* is boldly written and indubitable; and the title *Uditāditya* is equally beyond doubt.

The word *ryāghra*, 'tiger,' is certain on the last coin in the plate (fig. 15), and the characters following it seem to be *muśa*. Perhaps the full word was *muśala*, 'club' or 'mace,' and the king was described as wielding a mace with which he could destroy a tiger. I cannot think of any better explanation.

The new names and titles, so far as I am aware, are not mentioned in any of the few inscriptions or other documents which supply the scanty facts available concerning the Indo-Hunnic kings, and it is consequently impossible at present to fix definitely the historical position of the chiefs who struck these shabby little coins.

During the passage of this paper through the press, volume i of the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, has been published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. The tribal coins are dealt with in part ii, and the Indo-Sassanian and White Hun coins in part iii of that work. A small separate impression of each of those parts has been issued for the convenience of collectors who do not care to purchase the complete volume.

## WHITE HUN (EPHTHALITE) COINS.

## COPPER.

## TORAMĀNA.

No.	METAL, WEIGHT, SIZE.	ONVERSE.	REVERSE.
1	Æ 38·3 ·65	Outline of fire-altar above; <i>Śrī</i> <i>Ta</i> in large letters below.	Rude throned goddess; symbol to l. (Plate, Fig. 1).
2	Æ sq. 49·8 ·61	Standing king sacrificing.	(?) Solar symbol above; <i>Tora</i> below (Plate, Fig. 2).
3	Æ	Lion or tiger standing l. on horizontal line; below, <i>Toramāna</i> .	Rude cross-legged goddess, with r. hand raised; too much worn for reproduction.

## MIHIRADATTA.

1	Æ sq. 12·2 ·45	<i>Mihī</i> above; below, fire- altar between <i>da</i> and <i>ta</i> .	Elephant standing r. (Plate, Fig. 3).
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## PRAKĀŚĀDITYA.

1	Æ oval 27·3 ·76 × ·57	Degraded Sassanian bust r.; below (?) ( <i>Khi</i> ) <i>jara</i> .	(1) <i>Śrī</i> (2) <i>Prakāśāditya</i> (Plate, Fig. 4).
2	Æ oval 17·1 ·65	Extremely degraded bust r.; no legend.	Solar symbol, consisting of cross in circle surrounded by dots; legend below [ <i>Pra</i> ]- <i>kāśāditya</i> (Plate, Fig. 5).
3	Æ 26 ·67	Degraded Sassanian bust r.; traces of legend below.	Solar symbol above, imperfect; <i>Prakāśāditya</i> (Plate, Fig. 6).
4-9	Æ	Similar.	Similar.

## ŚRĪ VALHĀ (?).

No.	METAL, WEIGHT, SIZE.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
1	Æ 27·8 ·72 × ·65	Degraded bust r.; much worn.	Solar wheel above; legend <i>Śrī Valhā</i> (?) (Plate, Fig. 7).
2	Æ	Similar.	Similar; worn (Cunningham, <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1894, pl. vii (ix), 18; described as unique, and name read as <i>Śrī Vala...</i> ).

## JISŪ.

1	Æ 47·1 ·7	Standing king, facing, hold- ing spear in r. hand, l. hand on hip.	Legend in large characters occupying field, <i>Jisū</i> (Plate, Fig. 8).
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## UDITĀDITYA.

1	Æ 34·5 ·75 × ·67	Sassanian bust r.; symbol in front.	Solar symbol; legend <i>Uditā- ditya</i> (Plate, Fig. 9).
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## VARIOUS UNCERTAIN.

1	Æ 57 ·63	Rude standing king.	Solar symbol; legend (?) <i>kula</i> (Plate, Fig. 10).
2	Æ 57·5 ·65	Similar.	Similar; but only <i>la</i> distinct (Plate, Fig. 11).
3	Æ 35·2 ·7	Bust r.; characters before face.	Altar; legend (?) <i>Dhanetha</i> (Plate, Fig. 12).
4	Æ 30·5 ·7	Bust l.; (?) numeral before face.	Solar symbol, etc.; apparently double-struck; confused legend (Plate, Fig. 13).
5	Æ 35·8 ·8 × ·7	Bust r. ●	Trident; double-struck; <i>yoga</i> legible (Plate, Fig. 14).
6	Æ 30 ·65	Tiger l. on horizontal line, with trident in front of him; legend below, <i>Vyāghra mūśa</i> (?) = <i>mūśala</i> , 'club,' or 'mace'.	Animal l. (Plate, Fig. 15).



## VII.

**THE OLDEST RECORD OF THE RAMAYANA IN  
A CHINESE BUDDHIST WRITING.**

By K. WATANABE.

IN the Mahāvibhāṣā,<sup>1</sup> the well-known commentary on the Jūānaprasthāna<sup>2</sup> of Kātyāyanīputra, there is a short passage which is of importance in the history of Sanskrit epic literature. The great commentary mentions, as an example of the contrast between Buddhist and non-Buddhist books, the size and contents of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The following is a literal English translation from the Chinese version by Yuan Chwāng: "As a book called the Rāmāyaṇa, there are 12,000 ślokas. They explain only two topics, namely: (1) Rāvaṇa carries Sītā off by violence, and (2) Rāma recovers Sītā and returns. The Buddhist scriptures are not so simple. Their forms of composition and meanings are respectively immeasurable and infinite."<sup>3</sup>

The passage in the older version of Buddhavarman and Tao Tai<sup>4</sup> exactly corresponds to this, except only that its style is neither so skilful nor so clear as that of Yuan Chwāng.

<sup>1</sup> Nanjio's Cat. of Chinese Tripiṭaka, Nos. 1263, 1264; Takakusu, "On the Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāsthivādins" (Journal of the Pali Text Soc. 1905, p. 123 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Nanjio, 1273, 1275; Takakusu, p. 82 f.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xlv. 如 遍 摩 衍 拏 (Ra-ma-yen-na) 書, 有一 萬 二 千 頌。唯 明 二 事: 一 明 遍 伐 拏 (Ra-bat-na) 劫 私 多 (Si-ta) 去, 二 明 遍 摩 (Ra-ma) 將 私 多 逮。佛 經 不 爾。若 文 若 義, 無 量 無 邊。

<sup>4</sup> Vol. xxvi. The Sanskrit proper names are transcribed as follows:—羅 摩 衍 Rāmāyaṇa, 思 陀 Sītā, 羅 摩 Rāma. Rāvaṇa is here wrongly confused with 羅 摩 衍 by later editions of the text.

Here follows necessarily a difficult question: When was this valuable commentary composed? The tradition mentioned by Yuan Chwāng,<sup>1</sup> that the work was compiled by 500 Arhats during the reign of King Kaniṣka, seems highly doubtful. The late T. Watters has already pointed out its inconsistency with the fact that the book itself refers to an event in Kaniṣka's reign as having happened *formerly*.<sup>2</sup>

We require, therefore, to compare what is said about this tradition in other Buddhist writings. In the "Life of Vasubandhu,"<sup>3</sup> translated by Paramārtha, we read that a commentary on the Jñānaprasthāna was composed 500 years after the Buddha's death by 500 Bodhisattvas and Arhats, the author of the commented text acting as their chief, under the protection of a Kāśmirian king, its literary form being finished by the famous Āśvaghoṣa. The name of the king here is not mentioned; but it is not difficult to suppose that he means Kaniṣka, because Āśvaghoṣa is described in some writings<sup>4</sup> as a spiritual adviser of that great Scythian ruler.

The construction of the whole story in this text is substantially the same as the tradition held by the author of the Si-yu-ki. Only the text is distinguished by considerable Mahāyānist colouring. In it Āśvaghoṣa, a pre-dominant Mahāyānist sage, appears as an important actor, having his dramatic relation to Kātyāyanīputra. It adds 500 Bodhisattvas to the 500 Arhats of Yuan Chwāng's story. So the story in the text is nothing else than a modification of the other legend. Moreover, if the authorized commentary was written by Kātyāyanīputra

<sup>1</sup> Nanjio, 1503, vol. iii; Beal, "Si-yu-ki," i, pp. 151 f.; Watters, "On Yuan Chwang," i, pp. 270-7; Kern, "Manual of Indian Buddhism" (Bühler's Encyclopædia, iii, p. 8), p. 121. Having finished his translation, Yuan Chwāng composed two stanzas, mentioning the story, and added them at the end of the book (vol. cc).

<sup>2</sup> Watters, i, pp. 272-7. The passage of the Mahāvibhāṣā is in fasciculus cxiv of Yuan Chwāng's version. In the older version this part was lost.

<sup>3</sup> Nanjio, 1463; Takakusu's Eng. translation (Toung-pao, 1904), p. 10 f.; Wassilief's "Der Buddhismus," etc., p. 239 f.; Watters, loc. cit., i, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> Nanjio, 1340, vol. v; 1329, vol. vii, etc.

himself, it is simply impossible to imagine another compilation of the same kind.

In the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra*,<sup>1</sup> ascribed to Nāgārjuna and translated by Kumārajīva, we read the following clear description of our great commentary:—

“One hundred years after the death of the Buddha, King Aśoka had summoned a ‘Great Assembly held every five years’ (*Pañca-varṣa-parṣad* <sup>2</sup>). As many of the teachers there assembled held various opinions in theological discussions, there arose different names of sects. After this event, the age came down to the time of a Brahman monk of the Kātyāyana family, who had profound wisdom and acute senses. Having studied the whole Tripiṭaka, as well as other Buddhist and Brahmin literatures, and wishing to explain the words of the Buddha, he composed the eight skandhas of the Jñānaprasthāna, the first section of which is the ‘Lokottara-dharma.’<sup>3</sup> Afterwards his disciples compiled the Vibhāṣā,<sup>4</sup> as the people could not understand throughout the meaning of the eight skandhas.”

This description, in its character, is less legendary than the other two texts, but throws no light on the date of the compilation, showing only that the commentary was composed some little while after the time of Kātyāyanīputra, whose own date is most uncertain.

But if we accept the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra* as a genuine work of Nāgārjuna, who lived, according to Professor Kern,<sup>5</sup> about the middle of the second century, the Vibhāṣā it describes might be supposed to have been written at least some half a century before. This would bring us to about

<sup>1</sup> Nanjio, 1169, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> 般遮于瑟大會.

<sup>3</sup> 發智經八犍度, 初品是世第一法. Compare the passage with the contents of the Jñānaprasthāna as given by Takakusu, p. 68. 犍度 according to Nanjio “Khaṇḍa,” to Takakusu “Grantha.” I translate this word after Yuan Chwāng.

<sup>4</sup> 毗婆沙.

<sup>5</sup> “Manual of Indian Buddhism,” p. 123.

the time of King Kaniska, and we may be permitted to think that the narrative in the Si-yu-ki is not absolutely fictitious. But as many things remain to be further investigated, I will here refrain from any positive conclusion.

Laying aside this difficult question, we have reason to believe that the Mahāvibhāṣā must have existed at least half a century before the time of its older translation.

Kumārajīva began his work of translation in 402 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The date of the translated Śāstra, therefore, cannot be later than 400 A.D., and the Vibhāṣā therein described belongs naturally to an older time. Though we assume the latest possible date, still we cannot doubt its existence at the end of the first half of the fourth century; and it may be dated much before that. In any case, the description in the Mahāvibhāṣā is—along with the well-known Rāmāyaṇa portion of the Mahābhārata<sup>2</sup>—the oldest literary record of the Rāmāyaṇa yet known, and its clear mention of the size of the epic is especially valuable.

Beside this valuable information, there is nothing to be found concerning the matter of the Rāmāyaṇa or its great brother epic, the Mahābhārata, in the whole 200 volumes of the great commentary. But the passage relating to the Sitāyajña<sup>3</sup> is worthy to be mentioned here, because Professor Jacobi,<sup>4</sup> in his well-grounded Rāmāyaṇa theory, has pointed out the relation of the epic to this old ceremony. The passage in the older version runs thus:—

“If a farmer sowed the seeds and in the autumn gained a good harvest, he would say: ‘This is a grateful boon from the goddesses Śrī, Sitā, and Śamā.’”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nanjio, 1485, vol. v. See Nanjio, p. 496.

<sup>2</sup> Mbh. iii, 273–291.

<sup>3</sup> Hillebrandt's “Ritual-Literatur” (Bühler's Encyc. iii, 2), p. 87. S.B.E. xxix, p. 332; xxx, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobi's “Rāmāyaṇa,” p. 130 f.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. iv. The names of the goddesses are thus transcribed: 尸利夜, Si-ri-ya; 思陀夜, Si-da-ya; 舍摩夜, Sha-ma-ya. *ya* seems here to represent fem. genitive (ablative) °yāḥ or instrumental °yā. The corresponding passage in the new version, vol. ix, is slightly different.

As this ceremony was almost forgotten in later Sanskrit texts, the passage gives evidence of the ancient date of the Mahāvibhāṣā.

It may not be quite useless to add here another description of the epic in the "Life of Vasubandhu." I shall borrow the passage from the excellent English translation by Professor Takakusu:—<sup>1</sup>

"Now he would discuss in the assembly the principles of the Vibhāṣā, then he would inquire about the story of the Rāmāyaṇa."

This shows that the Rāmāyaṇa, even in the time of Vasubandhu, who, as is most likely, flourished about 420–500 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> was a popular book and widely known, even among the Buddhists.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Life of Vasubandhu, p. 14; Wassiljew, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Takakusu, "The Date of Vasubandhu": J.R.A.S. 1905. Watanabe, "On the Life of Dignāga" (Japanese): Oriental Philosophy, 1904, No. 5.

<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps referred to by Buddhaghosa in the Sumangala Vilāsini, vol. i, p. 84.



## VIII.

## THE INSCRIPTION ON THE PIPRAHWA VASE.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

## II.

I HAD not intended to write anything more about the inscription on the Piprahwa relic-vase, treated by me in this Journal, 1906. 149 ff., until I should have completed my examination of the tradition about the corporeal relics of Buddha,<sup>1</sup> and should be able to offer a facsimile of the record.<sup>2</sup> And it is only recently that the occasion has arisen for presenting sooner any further remarks, as the result of the criticism of my interpretation of the record advanced by M. Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1906, 1. 132 ff., and by M. Barth in the *Journal des Savants*, 1906. 541 ff. That two such distinguished scholars should differ from me so radically, is an important matter. And I wish that I had seen M. Senart's remarks sooner; but, though issued early in the year, they did not become known to me until towards the end of September. M. Barth's paper, issued in October or November,—in which he has reviewed all the principal previous treatments of the record and suggestions made regarding it, and has endorsed M. Senart's conclusions except in the grammatical analysis of the compound *sukiti-bhatinam*,—reached me after the writing of this article, but in time for me to make a few additions to it.

<sup>1</sup> The concluding instalment of this inquiry is held over in consequence of want of space.

<sup>2</sup> There have been unexpected difficulties in the way of doing this; one of them being that, of the two casts before me, the cast that belongs to this Society is the one that should be reproduced, but unfortunately at some time or another it was broken into six pieces. It is confidently hoped, however, that a facsimile can be given at a fairly early date from a fresh cast.

We may defer, until the issue of the facsimile, any further discussion of the period to which the framing of the record should be referred.

I must defer to another occasion a consideration of any of his observations which may not be covered by my present remarks.

M. Senart and M. Barth have recognized and accepted my point,—established, indeed, by clear and unmistakable proof (see this Journal, 1905. 680),—that the record commences, not with the word *iyam* as had previously been believed, but with *sukiti-bhatinam*. They have not, however, accepted the conclusions which I base on that all-important point. I am sorry for that. But I do not despair of bringing them round eventually to my view. Meanwhile, though I shall have more to say hereafter, it is convenient to make now the following observations: they may perhaps lead to a further ventilation of the matter before I write finally about it; they will at any rate materially shorten what I should otherwise then have to say.

\* \* \* \* \*

For the decipherment of the record I have now been able to use, in addition to Mr. Hoey's cast, the cast belonging to this Society (see this Journal, 1898. 868), which had been lost sight of for a long time. The text runs exactly as previously given by me. I repeat it here for easy reference. Given precisely as it stands on the original vase, without the expression of long vowels and double consonants, it is as follows:—

#### Text.

Sukiti-bhatinam sabhaginikanam sa-puta-dalanam iyam  
salila-nidhane Budhasa bhagavate sakiyanam.

The rendering which I gave—(to be modified in two details at the end of this article, page 130 below)—was as follows:—

#### Translation.

Of the brethren of the Well-famed One, together with (*their*) little sisters (*and*) together with (*their*) children and wives, this (*is*) a deposit of relics; (*namely*) of the kinsmen of Buddha, the Blessed One.

\* \* \* \* \*

First, as regards the category to which we must refer the language of the record.

The language is not what is called Pāli. This is shewn partly by the use of *l* for *r* in *dalanam* for *dālānam* = *dārāṇām*, and in *salila* for *satīla* = *śarīra*, and by the final *e* instead of *am* and *o* in *nidhane* for *nidhāne* = *nidhānam*, and in *bhagavate* for *bhagavato* = *bhagavataḥ*; partly by another detail which I mention just below.

The features specified above tend to stamp the language as Māgadhī; as also does the substitution of *u* for *ṛ* in *dalanam*. At the same time, it is not exactly the Māgadhī of the edicts of Aśoka. It differs from it, as also again from Pāli, in the substitution of *ṛ* for *u* in *sabhagiṇikanam* for *sabhagiṇikānam* = *sabhaginikānam*.

In remarking previously on this last-mentioned detail, I said (loc. cit., 149, note) that I had no object in differing from Dr. Bloch's opinion that the *ṛ* is only apparent and is due to an accident in engraving the record; and I stated that Mr. Hoey's cast pointed plainly to a different conclusion. At that time, however, I had not recognized the importance of this point. I certainly have now an object in maintaining my view about it. But I have to observe that the cast belonging to this Society also makes it quite certain that the writer had written, and the engraver intentionally formed, the lingual *ṛ*. The full and intended formation of the top stroke, which makes the difference between the dental and the lingual nasal, is clear and unmistakable, in spite of a small portion of the stone having peeled off along the whole of the top line. It might be argued that the lingual *ṛ* may be erroneous, and that we ought to have the dental *u*. But it is not open to assert that the *ṛ* was not intentionally formed. And I consider that the *ṛ* is correct; and that this feature removes the language of the record out of the category of the Māgadhī of Aśoka's edicts.

The Brāhmī versions of the edicts of Aśoka nowhere present the lingual *ṛ*, except at Girnār and in Mysore. Except in those localities, a Sanskrit *ṛ* is always represented by *u*, as in *dalanam* in our present record. In the edicts

published in those localities, the use of the *ṇ* and the *n* is somewhat peculiar. Sometimes an original *ṇ* was retained : for instance, Gīrnār edict 1, lines 10–11 and 12, *prāṇā* = *prāṇāḥ*, and edict 3, line 6, *gaṇanāyaṃ* = *gaṇanāyāṃ* ; Brahmagiri edict 1, line 5, *sāvaṇe* = *śrāvaṇāṃ*. In terminations, however, the original *ṇ* was at Gīrnār turned into *n*, as in the other Brāhmī northern versions of the edicts : for instance, edict 1, line 4, *priyēṇa* = *priyēṇa* ; edict 9, line 7, *mitrēṇa* = *mitrēṇa*. Sometimes the *ṇ* was used, as here, in the place of an original *n* : for instance, Gīrnār edict 4, line 3, *dasanā* (twice) = *darsanā* for *darśanam* ; Brahmagiri edict 1, lines 1 and 8, *dāvāṇam* = *dāvānām*. And peculiar cases, resembling our present text in apparent inconsistency, are the following. In Gīrnār edict 1, line 9, in the compound *prāṇa-sata-sahasrāṇi*, we have both the retention of the *ṇ* in *prāṇa*, and also the substitution of *n* for it in *sahasrāṇi*. And in Gīrnār edict 8, line 4, we have *dasanam* against *dasane* (twice) in the preceding line.

The usage of *ṇ* for *n* in the Mysore edicts was noted by Professor Bühler (EI, 3. 136) as being perhaps one of some features suggestive of a mixture of southern Prākṛit with Māgadhī. And M. Senart has said (*Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi*, 2. 431 f. ; IA, 21. 171 f.) that the use of the *ṇ* is one of several features which divide the Aśoka records into two main groups, and mark a dialectic difference of a leading kind.

I claim that the *ṇ* in *sabhaginīkanam* is a correct and instructive detail. There is nothing essentially peculiar in it, or requiring us to assume an error in it. That a Sanskrit *n* has frequently changed to *ṇ* in the Prākṛits, is notorious. The word *bhaginī*, 'sister,' itself became *bhāṇī* and *bahīṇī* in Prākṛit, and, while preserving the *n* in some of the modern vernaculars, has in others finally assumed the following forms with *ṇ* :<sup>1</sup> in Uṛiyā, *bhāṇī*, *bhāṇī* ; in Panjābī, *bhāṇ* (and *bāṇh*) ; in Sindhī, *bhēṇu* ; and in Marāṭhī, *bahīṇ*. In the form *bhaginī* which is at the bottom

<sup>1</sup> I quote them from Mr. Louis Gray's useful work, *Indo-Iranian Phonology*, § 314.

of the *sabhaginikanam* of our record, we have plainly one of the first steps—possibly the very first—in the transition to the later forms. And the presence of that form distinctly removes the language of our record from the category of the Māgadhi of the edicts of Aśoka, and marks it as a local Prākṛit,— a dialect, indeed, with some of the peculiarities of Māgadhi, but clearly separated from Aśoka's Māgadhi.

As regards something else that I said about the word *sabhaginikanam* (loc. cit., 150, note 1), I have to remark that of course the metro now shews, against my previous opinion, that the base is *sa-bhaginī* with the suffix *ka*; not *sa-bhaginika* from *sa* + *bhaginikā*, 'a little sister.' I have, therefore, to substitute 'sisters' for 'little sisters' in my translation.

\* \* \* \* \*

Next, as regards the word which stands in the original as *sakiyanam*.

I have taken the base of it as representing the Sanskrit *svakiya*, 'own, belonging to oneself, one's own man, a kinsman.' I still do so. But the following additional remarks must now be made.

Dr. Bloch has kindly drawn my attention to a point which might be considered an objection to my rendering of the record, as follows. On the analogy of Aśoka's Māgadhi, we should expect the *sv* of *svakiya* to remain unchanged, as in various other words in the edicts<sup>1</sup> which are too numerous to be cited, and mostly too well known to need it. Or else we should expect it to be resolved, as in *suvāmika* and *shavāmikya*, = *svāmika*, in the Dhauli edict 9, line 10, the Jaugada edict 9, line 17, and the Kālsī edict 9, line 25, and edict 11, line 30.

But we have now seen that the language of our record is not exactly the Māgadhi of the edicts of Aśoka; it is a dialect, a local Prākṛit, with some of the features of Māgadhi, but with at any rate one important difference in

<sup>1</sup> The Aśoka records do not happen, so far, to disclose any use of the words *sva*, *sviya*, *svaka*, or *svakiya* themselves.

presenting the lingual *ṇ*. The change, by assimilation, of *sv* to *ss*, *s*, is a regular change in the Prākṛits, as well as in Pāli. And a few instances, particularly apposite because they concern the word *sva* itself, which enters into *svakiya*, are as follows.<sup>1</sup> From *svaiṛa*, 'wilful, wilfulness,' we have the Prākṛit *sāira* (Vararuchi, 1. 36, commentary). From *svāmin*, 'lord,' we have the Prākṛit *sāmi*, the Pāli *sāmi* (beside *sudāmi*), the Uṛiyā and Bengālī *sāim*, the Hindī and Panjābī *sāim*, and the Sindhī *sāmim*. From *svāṅga*, 'mimicry,' we have the Hindī and Panjābī *sāṅg*, the Sindhī *sāṅgu*, and the Gujarātī and Marāṭhī *sōṅg*. And from *svaka*, 'own,' we have the Hindī and Marāṭhī *sagā*, the Panjābī *saggā*, the Sindhī *sāgō*, and the Gujarātī *saguṁ*. So, also, it need hardly be added, from *svakiya* we have *sakiya* in Pāli; and from *svaka* we have *saka*, not only in Pāli, but also in Prākṛit, as, for instance, in the Mathurā inscription P. (this Journal, 1904. 707 ff.; 1905. 155).

In all these circumstances, it is no matter for surprise that we should find in our text *sakiya* as the representative of *svakiya*. And M. Senart has agreed that there is no formal impossibility of that.

There is, however, a question as regards the length of the vowel of the second syllable. On the previous occasion, I treated the matter as if we could only have *sakiya* with the short *i*, as, in Pāli, in this word itself and in *dutiya* = *dvitīya*, *pāpiya* = *papīyas*, and various other words. The so-called Queen's edict, however, on the Allahābād pillar (IA, 19. 125), gives us both *dutiya* (line 2) and *dutiya* (line 5) as corruptions of the Sanskrit *dvitīya*. So, also, Professor Pischel's Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages, § 449, gives us both *dudia* and in verse *dudīa*, as = *dvitīya*, in Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī, with some other instances, in §§ 82, 91, 165, of a similar optional length of quantity in other words.

In these circumstances, we must, in proceeding further,

<sup>1</sup> These instances, again —(except the first),— I take from *Indo-Iranian Phonology*, § 905.

understand that the word may be *sakiya*, with the long *i*, quite as much as *sakiya*, with the short *i*.

\* \* \* \* \*

This last point brings us on to the consideration of the record as a verse, the recognition of which feature in it we owe to Mr. Thomas. It would greatly simplify matters if, carrying M. Barth's doubt a step further, I could dismiss the view that the record is a verse.<sup>1</sup> But I do not see my way to that. I quite agree with him, however, that the metrical question does not in any way prejudice the meaning that is to be given to the word *sakiyanam*.

The record is a verse in a metre of the same class with the well-known Āryā. And, with restoration of the long vowels and double consonants, omitted in the original, it may be scanned in two ways, according to the treatment of the last *pāda* or line, as follows :—

#### Text.

- 1    Sūkīti|bhāti|nam sabbhāgi|-
- 2    ṇīkā|nam sa-pū|tta|-dālā|nam|
- 3    iyaṁ sa|līlā-ni|dhānē|
- 4, a    buddhā|ssa bhāgavā|tē| sakiyā|nam|
- 4, b    buddhā|ssa bhāgā|vatē sa|kiyā|nam|

With the last *pāda* scanned as 4, a, so as to present fifteen *mātrās* or short-syllable instants, the verse is an Upagīti. With that *pāda* scanned as 4, b, presenting eighteen *mātrās*, it is an Udgitī.

Mr. Thomas (see this Journal, 1906. 452) has erroneously taken the verse as an Āryā, beginning with *iyaṁ* and having the real fourth *pāda* as the second line of it, and has scanned that *pāda* thus :—

- 4, c    buddhā|ssa bhāgavā|tē sākīyā|nam|

<sup>1</sup> This feature had not come to notice when M. Senart wrote.

To this scanning there is the strong, if not fatal, objection, that the spondee *tē sā* in the third foot (the sixth of the half verse) is quite contrary to the rule, which requires there, whether in the second or in the fourth *pāda*, either an amphibrach, or four short syllables, or one short syllable; and, as far as my observation goes, it is equally opposed to practice, even in Pāli and Prākṛit as well as in Sanskrit. However, we may waive this objection, in favour of admitting anything which cannot be actually stamped as impossible; and so we may find, hypothetically, an Udgīti with the last *pāda* scanned in this manner. The question remains, whether the sense could allow us to take the first syllable of *sakiyanam* as long, which can only be done by taking the word as a tribal name; to this we shall come further on.

At this point, I have only to add that, in presenting according to his own method (*ibid.*, 453) my scanning of the verse with the last *pāda* as 4, *a*, Mr. Thomas attached the remark :—“Possibly the last word might be scanned *sākyā(nam)*.” On that observation, I will only remark that I cannot see any such possibility, there being no reason for which we should double up two syllables into one; that such a scanning, if possible, is not necessary even from what seems to be his opinion about the meaning of the word; and that, if we were concerned here (as he appears to hold) with some form of the tribal name, that form would be either Sakiya or Sākiya, and neither Sākiya for Sūkiya, nor Sakya or Sākya for Śākya.

In view of what has already been said by Mr. Thomas and myself (this Journal, 1906. 452, 714 f.), there is no need to comment further upon the metrical peculiarities in the composition of this verse;<sup>1</sup> except as regards the last *pāda* taken as 4, *b*, with a lengthening of the final *a* of *buddhassa*. This is justified by the following two exactly similar cases in Pāli verses of the same class :—

<sup>1</sup> They may be called “peculiarities;” but it seems hardly correct to continue to mark them as “irregularities:” because they were plainly recognized features of Pāli and Prākṛit verse.

In the Thēragūthā, verse 590, we have :—

chitta|ssa|sā|ṇṭhāpāṇaṁ|  
 ētaṁ|samaṇa|ssa|paṭirū|paṇi|

And in the Thērigūthā we have a stanza, verse 493, which may be quoted in full, because, in addition to the special point, it presents (1) a treatment of the *o* of *attano*, = *ātmanah*, as short, just as the *e* of *bhagarate*, standing for precisely the same *o*, has to be treated in our record scanned according to 4, *a*; and (2) an optional treatment of a final *e* as either long or short, in more marked circumstances than even in our record :—

Kim mama| parō ka|rissati|  
 āttaṇō| sīsa|mhi ḍayha|māna|mhi|  
 anuba|ndhē jūrā|-māraṇē|  
 tāssa| ghātā|ya| ghaṭita|bbam|

with actually the various reading *tāssā*.

At this stage, I have only to remark further as follows. With the last *pāda* scanned as 4, *e*, the base of the word which is presented in the original as *sakiyanaṁ* would be *sākīya*. That could not represent *śakīya*. It could only be *Sākīya* for *Śākīya* as a tribal name. But even setting aside the objection based on the general purport of the record, to which we shall come further on, the invention of that form of the tribal name of the kinsmen of Buddha can, in my opinion (see this Journal, 1906. 162 ff.), only be referred to a period very much later than that of our record.

With the last *pāda* scanned as 4, *a*, the base of the specified word is *sakiya*. This admittedly may be, and in my opinion must be, a corruption of *śakīya*. But of course it might (other things permitting) be an already established form of the tribal name, obtained by a resolution into *kiy* of the *ky* of a *Sakya* for *Śākya* = *Śākya*. As regards, however, the

form Śākya, my opinion is (see *ibid.*) that it was obtained from Śākīya through Śākiya, and must consequently be referred to a still later period.<sup>1</sup>

With the last *pāda* scanned as 4, *b*, the base of the same word is *sakiya*. This can only represent *svakiya*. We might have Sakiya from Śākya through Sākya and Sakya, but we could not have Sakiya.

\* \* \* \* \*

We come now to the meaning of certain parts of the record. And I must at this point introduce M. Senart's translation, which, adhering to the previous understanding that the relics are relics of Buddha, runs thus (JA, 1906, 1. 136):—

“Ce dépôt de reliques du bienheureux Bouddha [de la race] des Śākyas est [l'œuvre pieuse] de Sukiti et de ses frères, avec leurs sœurs, leurs fils et leurs femmes.”

That is:—‘This deposit of relics of the blessed Buddha (*of the race*) of the Śākyas is (*the pious work*) of Sukiti and his brothers, with their sisters, their sons and their wives.’

M. Barth's translation (*Journal des Savants*, 1906. 553) is the same, except in omitting the words “[de la race],” and in giving “the brothers of Sukīrti” in the place of “Sukiti and his brothers:”—

“Ce dépôt de reliques du Saint Buddha des Çākya est (l'œuvre pieuse) des frères de Sukīrti, conjointement avec leurs sœurs, avec leurs fils et leurs femmes.”

On the other hand, M. Sylvain Lévi, though writing while it was still thought that the text begins with *iyam* and with a different estimation of the meaning of *sukiti*, took a wider view, which, with the remarks attached to it, led me to form my opinion of the meaning of the record. Without actually discarding the view that the inscription registers a deposit of relics of Buddha, he regarded the

<sup>1</sup> From his footnote on page 134, M. Senart seems to have misunderstood me on this point. I have not suggested that Śākya was obtained by an erroneous restitution from the Prakṛit *sakiya* = *svakiya*. I have traced, separately, the form Sakya from *svakiya*, and the form Śākya from *śākiya*.

text (*Journal des Savants*, 1905. 541; and see more fully this *Journal*, 1906. 152) as equally capable of the following translation :—

“C'est ici les reliques des Çākyas, frères bienheureux du saint Bouddha, avec leurs sœurs, leurs fils et leurs femmes.”

That is :—‘Here are the relics of the Śākyas, the blessed brothers of the holy Buddha, with their sisters, their sons and their wives.’

\* \* \* \* \*

Now, first as regards the interpretation of the word *sukiti*, regarded as standing for *sukīti* or *sukitti* = *sukirti*, ‘possessed of good fame.’

I said (this *Journal*, 1906. 154) that I did not trace this word as a name in Pāli literature; by which I sought to convey, not that it might not at any time be found to occur even in that literature as a proper name, but that, so far, I could not find any person who might be recognized as mentioned in our record. And I took it as a special appellation of Buddha, used here, in a more or less sentimental or poetical fashion, to denote him as “the Well-famed One.”

Mr. Thomas has pointed out (*ibid.*, 452) that, in its Sanskrit form *Sukirti*, this word is found as a proper name in Buddhist literature in the *Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart, l. 136, line 14. It occurs there in the following circumstances. Mahā-Kāśyapa asks Mahā-Kātyāyana for the names of the Buddhas under whom the Blessed One, who was born in the race of the Śākya kings, had accumulated religious merit in the first seven Bhūmis or stages of progress of the Bōdhisattvas, which stages were each of immeasurable duration. And Mahā-Kāśyapa gives him, in reply, a long list, which is in many respects sufficiently startling, and suggests that the composer was occasionally rather hard put to it in making it out. It includes such appellations as *Mrigarājaghōsha*, “the Lion’s Roar;” *Ṛishabhanētra*, “the Ox-eyed;” *Vajrasaṃghāta*, “the

Hard-as-adamant," or <sup>1</sup> "the Diamond-cement;" Chaturasra-vadana, "the Man with the square mouth;" Gaganagāmin, "the Sky-traveller;" and Yōjanasahasradarsin, "the Ten-thousand-mile-seer." It presents choice selections of names ending with *dāman*, *makuṭa*, *gupta*, *kētu*, and other favourite terminations. And in the way of names ending with *kīrti* it presents those of Satyadharmavipulakīrti, with whom it opens; of Sukīrti, who stands actually second in it; and of Brahmakīrti and Udāttakīrti: and it only leaves us to wonder why the composer did not make much more use of this convenient termination.

There is no difficulty about taking *sukīti*, *sukīti*, as the proper name of an ordinary man. And, in now laying aside my opinion that the word was used in our record to designate Buddha, I do so, not because it occurs in the Mahāvastu as the name of apparently a somewhat fabulous person, but in recognition of two objections pointed out to me by a friend, who may remain unnamed unless he may come to take any part in the discussion of the record, to the following purport. If the author began his inscription with a word intended to denote Buddha, he must have chosen such a word as by his readers would at once be understood to refer to Buddha; and that cannot apparently be said of the word *sukīti*. Further (and this point has been urged by M. Barth), if *sukīti* does denote Buddha, there is tautology in the description of certain people both as "brethren of Sukīti" and as "kinsmen of Buddha."

For these reasons, I abandon my opinion that there is any reference to Buddha in the word in question. I cannot, however, alter my opinion as to the nature of the compound which we have before us; namely, that it is a Tatpurusha, in which *sukīti* is dependent on *bhātīnam*.

M. Senart would hold,—as did, optionally, Professor Bühler (this Journal, 1898. 388),—that in *sukīti-bhātīnam* we have a Dvandvu, a copulative compound:—"of Sukīti and his brothers." But, if the author had intended to

<sup>1</sup> See Brihat-Samhitā, 57/56. 8.

say that, he would certainly have used a totally different construction, giving us words which would yield:—"of Sukīti, and of his brothers, and of the sisters and children and wives of them."

Again, it has been informally suggested to me that, using a Dvandva, the author may have intended to say:—"of Sukīti and Subhatti (Subhakti)." That would be perfectly legitimate, whether in verse or in prose, from the point of view both of grammar and of construction.<sup>1</sup> But we can, I think, hardly attribute to the author of our record as much grammatical ingenuity as that; here, again, he would almost certainly have used a construction which would yield:—"of Sukīti, and of Subhatti, and of the sisters and children and wives of them."

The compound might of course be a Karmadhāraya, an appositional determinative compound, with *sukīti* qualifying *bhātinaṃ*:—"of the well-famed brothers." But to me, at least, that seems not appropriate; from any point of view some name is wanted here, to give force to the record.

I can only, as before, take the word as M. Barth takes it; namely, as a Tatpurusha, a dependent determinative compound, pure and simple and of the most common description, in which *sukīti* is dependent on *bhātinaṃ*, and is so in the sense of the genitive:—"of the brothers of Sukīti."

The question remains:—Who was Sukīti? It is presumed that there is no desire that we should find him in the Sukīrti of the Mahāvastu; that person seems to have lived (if he ever lived at all) somewhat too long ago. What I would suggest, pending our obtaining further light on this point, is as follows. Sukīti was plainly the principal personage of the group referred to in the record. Yet, by the expression "of the brothers of Sukīti," instead of "of Sukīti and his brothers," the text excludes Sukīti himself from any connexion with that which it commemorates; namely, according to my view, the great slaughter of the

<sup>1</sup> There is somewhere a good epigraphic instance of this. But I cannot find it on the spur of the moment; and it is not necessary to spend time in searching for it, because the permissibility of such an arrangement is undeniable.

Sakyas, the kinsmen of Buddha, by king Viḍūḍabha. Tradition tells us (this Journal, 1906. 173) that amongst those who were spared on that occasion there was Mahānāma, the maternal grandfather of Viḍūḍabha. The Mahānāma of this story was a paternal uncle of Buddha. His daughter Vāsabhakhattiyā, the mother of Viḍūḍabha, is styled *Sakyaṛājadhītā*, "daughter of a, or the, Sakya prince." And some texts seem to represent him (see Hardy, *Manual*, 298) as the successor of Śuddhōdana, the father of Buddha, as the chief of the tribe. It is not at all impossible that Sukiti was the original name of the person who figures as Mahānāma, literally "he of the great name," in the works from which I took the story, but who appears to be left altogether unnamed in the version of it which is given in the Avadānakalpalatā.

\* \* \* \* \*

We take next the term *salila-nidhane*, for *salila-nidhān* = *śarīra-nidhānam*.

M. Senart has expressed the opinion that the use of this term is not compatible with the notion of relics of any ordinary people; because (as I understand him) the word *nidhāna* implies an idea of 'a treasure, a valuable deposit,' and *śarīra*, in the sense of 'a relic or relics,' is elsewhere found in connexion with the name of Buddha, or with his appellation Bhagavat, the Blessed One.

The word *nidhāna* means 'a putting or laying down; an act of depositing; a place or receptacle for depositing anything; anything laid up; a store, hoard, treasure, deposit.' It may be used of anything sacred or not sacred, specially valuable or not so.

In the compound *śarīra-nidhāna*, the first component may represent either the genitive singular,—*śarīrasya nidhānam*, or the genitive plural,—*śarīrāṇāṃ nidhānam*. We have the word *śarīra*, in connexion with Buddha, and otherwise than in composition with a following word, in the singular in, e.g., the Wardak vase inscription (this Journal, 1863. 256, plate, line 1), and the record on the Taxila or Sir-Sukh plate (EI, 4. 55, line 3), and the Mathurā inscription A, II.

(this Journal, 1894. 533, line 6), and in the plural in, e.g., the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions I, A, and IV. (EI, 2. 326, 328), and the two inscriptions on the Bimarān vase (this Journal, 1863. 222, plate, fig. 3).

It is, of course, only by a free translation that we have all been rendering *śarīra*, here and elsewhere, by 'relic' or 'relics.' The word means in the singular 'body,' and in the plural 'limbs or bones.' The difference between the singular and the plural, and the meaning to be given to the latter, are well marked by the narrative of the cremation of the corpse of Buddha given in the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta (this Journal, 1906. 662 ff.): it was *sarīraṇi*, 'the body' of Buddha, that was burnt; and it was *sarīrāṇi*, '(some of) the (harder) bones,' which remained unconsumed and were treated as 'relics.' And, in all such cases as those that we have in the inscriptions, the word would be more strictly translated as meaning 'corporeal fragment or fragments.' But the rendering 'relic or relics' has become established, and seems unobjectionable as a convenient free translation.

For the rest, it may be fairly claimed that the kinsmen of Buddha were not exactly ordinary people: a special importance, if not any actual odour of sanctity, attached to them in virtue of their kinship; and neither here nor anywhere else in the discussion must we overlook the point that tradition, as reported by Hiuen-tsiang and indicated by Fa-hian (see this Journal, 1906. 166) claimed that the bones of the slaughtered people were collected and buried. And the use of *śarīra* was not confined to the cases of remains which were to be made sacred objects of worship; in at any rate the Aitarēya-Bṛāhmaṇa, ed. Haug, 7. 2, we find *śarīrāṇi* used to denote the bones, by similar free rendering "the ashes" (translation, 444), of any person who had maintained the sacred household fire.

I can really see no reason why the word *śarīra* should not have been used to denote remains, relics, of the kinsmen of Buddha, just as readily as to denote relics of Buddha himself there was used, in addition to *śarīra*, the word *dhātu* (see, e.g., this Journal, 1906. 883, and note 2, and 895, 904),

which, meaning 'a constituent part, an element,' seems to have derived its free meaning of 'relic' from denoting the constituent parts, including the bones, of the human body.<sup>1</sup> Besides, having regard to the particular nature of our record, it is difficult to see what other word would have suited the author's verse: neither would *dhātu* suit it; nor would *asthi* or *kikasa*, 'bones,' nor any other word, that can be traced, meaning either 'bones' or 'remains' or 'relics.'

\* \* \* \* \*

We come next to the expression *budhasa bhagavate sakiyanam*.

M. Senart has agreed that there is no formal impossibility that *sakiya* might represent *śakīya*. But he has preferred to follow the previous interpreters of the record, and to find here a tribal name. And he has translated these three words as meaning:—"of the blessed Buddha (*of the race*) of the Śākyaas." So, also, M. Barth has translated them as meaning:—"of the sainted Buddha of the Śākyaas."

Except in the detail that the text would not give us the form Śākya (see page 112 above), there is no actual impossibility attending such an interpretation; we might (other things permitting) quite well take these words as giving us:—"of the blessed Buddha of the Sakiyas, *or* of the Sūkiyas."

It must, however, be observed that, in prose, such a collocation of words could only mean—(with *sakiyanam* left for the moment untranslated)—"of the *sakiyā* of the blessed Buddha;" and that, to give us the sense desiderated by M. Senart and M. Barth, the author ought to have written *sakiyanam budhasa bhagavate*.

To this it might be replied that we are here dealing with a verse, the framing of which necessitated a placing of the genitives *sakiyanam* and *budhasa* in inverted order.

But there was, in fact, no such necessity. If the author

<sup>1</sup> We have *dhātu* in a passage with two meanings in the Harshacharita, Kashmir text, 370, line 1. From one point of view it there means 'mountain minerals:' from the other it means *laghāni asthīni*, 'the small bones' (commentary),—"the ashes" (trans., Cowell and Thomas, 159),—of king Prabhākara-vardhana.

had wished to give us the meaning "of the blessed Buddha of the Sakiyas, or of the Sākīyas," he could have done so in unmistakable and strictly correct terms, retaining the grammatical prose order, by framing his last *pāda* thus:<sup>1</sup>—

4, *d*    *sākīyā|nām bhāgāvā|tē| buddhā|ssa|*

Or thus:—

4, *e*    *sākī|yānām| bhāgāvātē| buddhā|ssu|*

Or, again, while there is no objection to the employment of the genitive plural of a tribal, etc., name in the manner in which M. Senart would take *sakiyanām*, the same sense could have been obtained, and in a certainly more natural way, by the author speaking of Buddha as "the Sakiya, or the Sākīya." The genitive singular *sakiyassa*, instead of *sakiyānām*, would have suited equally well the scanning of the *pāda* as 4, *a* (page 111 above), and would have stood in a place quite permissible for it in prose; so also *sākīyassa*, instead of *sākīyānām*, would have suited equally well the hypothetical scanning of it as 4, *c*.

However, the author used, not a genitive singular, but a genitive plural. The actual expression given to us by him is *budhasa bhagavate sakiyanām*. And this arrangement of the words, taken as it stands, distinctly makes *budhasa* dependent on *sakiyanām*, not *sakiyanām* on *budhasa*, and indicates that the intended meaning was:—"of the *sakiyā* of the blessed Buddha."

\*         \*         \*         \*         \*

With *budhasa* thus marked, by the arrangement of the words, as dependent on *sakiyanām*, it follows, as I said on the previous occasion (this Journal, 1906. 157), that the base of *sakiyanām* cannot be a proper name. Any such expression as "of the Sakiyas, or Sākīyas, of Buddha" would be inept. It becomes obvious that the base of that word can only be

<sup>1</sup> It need hardly be remarked that, with *bhagavat* simply qualifying *buddha*, any case of *bhagavat* might stand either before or after the appositional case of *buddha*.

a noun or adjective expressing some relationship or connexion of that sort. And we find the required explanation of it (see page 109 ff. above) in the Sanskrit *svakīya*, 'own, belonging to oneself, one's own man, a kinsman.'

As an objection to this, however, M. Senart has claimed that, while *svakīya* might be used in that way with the subject of a sentence, it could not be so used in the phrase which we have before us.

Put into the form of an illustration, this means that we might say in classical Sanskrit:— *Dēvadattaḥ svakīyān=arakshat*; "Dēvadatta protected his own people, his kinsmen;" but we may not say:— *Dēvadattō Buddhasya svakīyān=arakshat*; "Dēvadatta protected the own people, the kinsmen, of Buddha"<sup>1</sup>

But the use of *sva*, *sēya*, *svaka*, *svakīya*, all of which mean 'one's own, belonging to oneself,' and may in any given sentence mean 'one's own people, one's kinsmen,' must have been uniform. In this record, we are not dealing with classical Sanskrit, but with a Prākṛit; and, whereas we have from *svaka* the present vernacular form *sagā* (see page 110 above), it is — (unless my memory betrays me badly) — quite as customary and correct to say in Marāṭhī:— *tō tyāchā sagā bhāū*; "he is that man's full-brother," as it is to say:— *tō ām'chā sagā bhāū*; "he is my full-brother." Further, it is questionable whether even in classical Sanskrit the use of *sva*, etc., is as restricted as is claimed. The word *sva* enters into various compounds, such as *dēvasva*, 'the own belongings, the property, of a god,' and *brahmasva*, 'the property of a Brāhmaṇ.' For the construction of sentences in which such terms figure, I will not fall back on epigraphic records, but will quote the following instance from the *Mahābhārata*, 3. 225:— *Ēśhā dharmah paramō yāt=svakēna rājā tushyēn=na para-svōshu gridhyōt*; "this is the supreme law, that a king should be content with his own, and should not covet the own belongings, the possessions, of others."

<sup>1</sup> I am using, of course, the customary Dēvadatta, whose lot it has been to be chosen as the subject of so many grammatical illustrations. The Dēvadatta of the Pāli books, though he was a cousin of Buddha, would apparently have done anything to the kinsmen of Buddha rather than protect them.

With such instances before us, we might, I claim, anywhere meet with such a sentence as :— *Dēvadattō Buddhasya svakīyān=arakṣhat* (or its vernacular equivalent), or with any phrase analogous to the *budhasa sakīyā*, = *Buddhasya svakīyāḥ*, of our record.

\* \* \* \* \*

The points may be held to remain, that, in the sense of “kinsmen of Buddha,” we might in classical Sanskrit meet more freely with the expression *Buddhasya jñātayah* than with *Buddhasya svakīyāḥ*, and that throughout the Pāli story about the slaughter of the Sakyas (this Journal, 1906. 167 ff.) the words used to denote “kinsmen” are *ñāti*, *ñātaka*, *ñātika*.

The question then arises : that being so, why did not the author of our record use the word *ñāti* = *jñāti*?; especially in view of the fact that *ñātinām*, in the place of *sakīyānām*, would have suited equally well his last *pāda* scanned as 4, *a* (page 111 above).

The answer may be one of two. It seems to me probable that there had arisen a current term *Buddhasa sakīyā*, “the kinsmen of Buddha,” having its origin in some such habitual expression as :— *Buddhaḥ svakīyān=arakṣhat* (or its vernacular equivalent), “Buddha protected his own people, his kinsmen.”

Or there may be another reason. Mr. Thomas has observed (this Journal, 1906. 452) that the record is not only a verse but also a rhyming verse. And *ñātinām* would not have given a two-syllable rhyme with *dālānam*; whereas *sakīyānam* gives it.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

We come now to the meaning of the record as a whole. And, to save some inconvenient repetitions, I would point out here again, as on the previous occasion, that, if we

<sup>1</sup> We all know that rhyme plays a considerable part in vernacular Indian poetry. It figures in also Sanskrit lyrical poetry : see remarks by Colebrooke, *Essays*, 2. 58, and Wilson, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 434, *b*; and for some instances see Colebrooke, 68 f., Wilson, 449, and Brown's *Sanskrit Prosody*, 22. And we have a two-syllable rhyme, whether intentional or not, in the verse on the Peshāwar vase (see this Journal, 1906. 453, 714).

exclude from our record the appositional genitives of *sukiti-bhatinam* and *budhasa* which embellish the sense of it but are not in any way essential to the construction, the record reduces itself to :—

Short text.

Sukiti-bhatinam iyaṃ salila-nidhane Budhasa sakiyanam.

Short translation.

This is a deposit of relics of the brethren of Sukiti, kinsmen of Buddha.

\* \* \* \* \*

In support of one of the leading features of his interpretation, M. Senart has said that there are numerous inscriptions, comparable with this one, especially in the western caves, which determine precisely the function of the opening genitive *sukiti-bhatinam* ; because, as far as he remembers, when the subject of a donation is expressed and the word *dāna*, 'a gift,' or *dēyadharma*, 'an appropriate religious gift,' is not presented,<sup>1</sup> the genitive with which such a record opens always designates the donor.

It might be wished that M. Senart had specified some of the inscriptions which he had in view. I am not able to recall, from amongst any class of inscriptions, any record really analogous to this one in offering an opportunity of so easily altering its meaning by making a simple addition to the text of it. And it does not seem necessary to search a large number of records with a view to discovering any such instance: partly, because we must judge our record as it stands; partly, because, if the author had wished to mark this deposit of relics as one of relics of Buddha given or made by his kinsmen or tribesmen, nothing would have been easier than for him to do so, in one or other of more ways than one.

<sup>1</sup> Or, of course, any other suitable word of that class, or some such term as *pratishṭhāpita*, 'caused to be set up, erected,' or *kārita*, 'caused to be made.'

In the first place, the author might, surely, have written in prose, and so might have used any word or words, or construction, which he could not conveniently handle in a verse.

In the second place, there was nothing in the metre to prevent the author, writing in verse, from beginning the record with *iyam*. He would then have given us either an Upagiti verse with the second *pādu* scanned as 4, *a* (page 111 above), or an Āryā with that *pādu* scanned as 4, *b*, or, hypothetically, as 4, *c*. And that would have given us, in outline :—

*Iyam salila-nidhane budhasa sakiyanam sukiti-bhatinam.*

Even this text, indeed, is at least capable of being translated thus :—

“This is a deposit of relics of kinsmen of Buddha, the brothers of Sukiti.”

Still, such an arrangement of the words might be held to go far towards indicating an intention that we should “understand,” i.e., supply, something which is not in the text, so as to render it thus :—

“This deposit of relics of Buddha is (*the gift, act, etc.*) of his kinsmen,—or of the Sakiyas, or Sākīyas,—brothers of Sukiti.”

And, certainly, no reproach attaches to previous translators for having interpreted the record on those lines; considering that, with the belief that the opening word is *iyam*, they had in view, as a guide to the meaning of the record, only the statement in the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta that the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu did enshrine at that place some of the corporeal relics of Buddha. We have only to protest against that understanding of the record being allowed to create a bias strong enough to prevent its being considered from another point of view.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As M. Barth has indicated (*loc. cit.*, 551, note 1), I myself at first translated the record (this Journal, 1905. 680) under the influence of that understanding of it. But I felt, at the time, that that was a strained translation in view of the

In the third place, the author, even beginning with *sukiti-bhatinam*, might have made such a meaning clear by introducing the required word *dāna* itself, by framing his last *pāda*, in the Udgīti metre, thus:—

4, *f* bhāgavāte | buddhā | ssā dāne | śakīyā | nām |

Or, apparently, using a somewhat unusual metre of the same class, Anugīti,<sup>1</sup> he might have made it run thus:—

4, *g* bhāgavāte | buddhā | ssā dāne | śakī | yānām |

That would have given us, in outline:—

Sukiti-bhatinam iyam salila-nidhane budhasa dane saki-  
yanam.

And then, without having to supply anything, we could translate:—

“Of the brothers of Sukīti, this deposit of relics of Buddha is the gift; of them who are his kinsmen, or who are Sakiyas, or Sākiyas.”

According, indeed, to another view, it is not necessary either to understand *dāna* or some other word, or to find a means of actually inserting it in the text. Another distinguished Continental scholar, Professor Pischel, has drawn attention (ZDMG, 56, 1902. 157 f.) to the point that the word *kṛiti* is used to mean ‘a work,’ in the sense of a Stūpa, in a certain passage in the Divyāvadāna (see my translation, this Journal, 1906. 889). He has therefore proposed to break up the opening syllables of our record into two separate words, *sukiti* and *bhatinam*, and to take *sukiti* as standing for *sukṛitiḥ*, ‘a good work, a pious foundation.’ And he has thus arrived at the following meaning:—

corrected order of the words. I did not, however, then see exactly how to improve upon it. As I have said elsewhere (this Journal, 1906. 149), I subsequently obtained the required clue from what M. Sylvain Lévi wrote about the record.

<sup>1</sup> See Colebrooke, *Essays*, 2. 138, No. 9. But, is this only a theoretical variety of these metres?

‘This receptacle of relics of the sublime Buddha is the pious foundation of the Śākya, of the brothers with their sisters, with children and wives.’

This, again, could be made to suit the metre perfectly; because (I understand) the final vowel of the Prākṛit *sukiti* may be taken as either short or long, and so we have only to scan the first *pāda* thus:— *sūkīti| bhātī|nām*, etc

But, even apart from other points, it is questionable whether the form *sukiti* for *sukṛiti* can be justified for the place and period to which the record belongs (see this Journal, 1906. 153 f.). And it seems unnatural to take the first six syllables of the text as anything except a compound, in which the first member is a proper name or an appellation of that class, and stands for *sukīti* or *sukitti* = *sukṛiti*.

\* \* \* \* \*

The gist of the matter is this. Are we to take the words of the record precisely as the author gave them to us? Or may we transpose the order of them, and make additions to them, to suit our own views?

Even if it should not be admitted that the author of the record had the option of writing in prose, there was nothing in the metre to prevent him from beginning his text with the words *iyam salīla-nidhānē*. And, even apart from any suggestion deducible from such an arrangement of the text, the metre permitted him to actually introduce the word *dāne*, and so to mark this deposit of relics as one of relics of Buddha given by the other people mentioned in the record.

But the proof is clear and unmistakable that the author actually commenced his text with the word *sūkīti-bhātīnam*; and he did not include *dāne* or any such word. We must surely credit him with sense enough to have known what he was about in doing that, and to have used all the words which he thought necessary to express his meaning clearly. And we must, at least *primâ facie*, accept the text exactly as he gave it to us.

Still, he wrote in verse. And words in a verse do not necessarily follow what would be the proper order of them in prose.

But the best versification, even when rhyme is a feature in it, is always that which adheres most closely to the natural prose order. And, before rearranging the words of a verse and making additions to them, we are bound to consider whether the words of the verse give any proper construction and sense as they stand. The words of this verse do that.

If, however, we treat this verse otherwise, we can find various meanings in it, in addition to that accepted by M. Senart and M. Barth.

Without even any transposition of the words, but by supplying something which is not in the text, we might make this record say, in outline:—

“This deposit of relics of the brothers of Sukīti is (*the gift, act, etc.*) of the kinsmen of Buddha.”

And when once we begin, not only to supply something which is not in the text, but also to transpose the order of the words, we can obtain at least two other interpretations which have not been indicated above. We might say, in outline:—

“This deposit of relics of the kinsmen of Buddha is (*the gift, act, etc.*) of the brothers of Sukīti.”

Or, with an unquestionable use of *sakīya* as = *svakīya*, we should have no difficulty in finding in our text the record of a tribute paid to the memory of his kinsmen by Buddha himself; thus, in outline:—

“This deposit of relics of the brothers of Sukīti, his kinsmen, is (*the gift, act, etc.*) of Buddha.”

Or, following the application given to *sakiyanam* by M. Senart and M. Barth, we might say:—

“This deposit of relics of the brothers of Sukīti is (*the gift, act, etc.*) of the Buddha of the Sakiyas, or Sākīyas.”

But, in order to obtain any of the above meanings or the meaning accepted by M. Senart and M. Barth, we have at least to supply something which is not in the text, even if we do not transpose the order of the text.

On the other hand, the arrangement of the text actually given to us, prominently assigns the first place to the word *sukīti-bhātinām*. In doing that, it distinctly indicates that that word, and not *buddhassa*, is the genitive which is dependent on the first component of the directly following *salīla-nidhāne* = *śarīra-nidhānam* = *śarīrāṇām nidhānam*.<sup>1</sup> The phrase *buddhassa sakīyānam* was purposely separated from *sukīti-bhātinām*, not to tell us anything about the tribe to which Buddha belonged, but to emphasize the reason for which it was found appropriate to enshrine relics of the brothers of Sukīti; namely, because of the fact that they were kinsmen of Buddha. And the phrase does that in a thoroughly grammatical as well as an artistic manner.

\* \* \* \* \*

Taken exactly as they stand, the words of our text distinctly mean, and can only mean, in outline :—

### Short translation.

This is a deposit of relics of the brothers of Sukīti, kinsmen of Buddha.

To account for the record and the Stūpa or memorial mound in which it was found, we have, not only the story of the massacre of the kinsmen of Buddha (this Journal, 1906. 167 ff.), but also the tradition, reported by Hiuen-tsiang and indicated by Fa-hian (ibid., 166), that, “prompted by the gods,” men collected the bones of the slaughtered people and gave them burial, marking the place by one Stūpa according

<sup>1</sup> This is the grammatical construction according to either view of the case. According to the view of M. Senart and M. Barth *buddhassa*, according to my view *sukīti-bhātinām*, is dependent, not on *salīla-nidhāne*, but on *salīla*. This construction, of case-nouns standing outside a compound and to be construed not with the entire compound but with one of its members, is of frequent occurrence; see Speijer's *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 231.

to Fa-hian, or, according to Hiuen-tsiang, by Stūpas which could be counted by hundreds and thousands.<sup>1</sup>

And in view of the vagueness with which words denoting relationship are used in India and<sup>2</sup> were already used in early times, I can see no objection to taking the *bhāti* = *bhrātri* of our record in a wider sense than that of simply actual 'brothers.'

In these circumstances, I can only translate the full record as follows ; with (as compared with my previous translation) the alterations in detail, which I have explained above, in the rendering of *sukīti* and *sabhaginīkānaṃ* :—

### Full translation.

This] is a deposit of relics of the brethren of Sukīti, kinsmen of Buddha the Blessed One, with their sisters, with their children and wives.

<sup>1</sup> I have made some remarks on this point in this Journal, 1906. 179. Dr. Grierson, however, has suggested to me that the explanation is that there was one large prominent Stūpa, with a great number of miniature Stūpas, like the "model Stūpas" found in large numbers at Bōdh-Gayā (see, e.g., ASI, 3. 87), lying all about the place.

<sup>2</sup> See remarks by Professor Kielhorn in EI, 8. 30, note 3.

## IX.

## FURTHER NOTES ON THE BABAR-NAMA MSS.

## THE ELPHINSTONE CODEx.

By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

THE missing Elphinstone Codex of the *Bābar-nāma* having been found in the Advocates' Library by the Keeper, Mr. William K. Dickson, a first-hand description of it can be offered in supplement of the earlier notices published in the R.A.S. Journal in July 1900 and 1902, and in October 1905.

To this description the following letter of Mr. William Erskine, which covered the gift of the codex, and which the courtesy of the Curators of the Advocates' Library enables me to reproduce, will be found an interesting introduction.

*"To the Curators of the Library of the  
Honourable Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh.*

"GENTLEMEN,—At the desire of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, I have the pleasure of sending you five Toorkee Manuscripts, for the purpose of being deposited in the valuable Library of which you have charge.

"The first contains the Memoirs of the Emperor Baber, (*Toozook e Bāberee*), written by that prince in his native language, the Jaghataee Toorkee. It was procured by Mr. Elphinstone when on his embassy to Caybul, and is perhaps the only copy of the work that has been brought to Europe. Indeed, I know of no other copy, even in the East, though I have heard it vaguely suggested that there is one, which Dr. Leyden consulted, in the Library of the College of Calcutta. The Persian translation of these Memoirs is sometimes to be met with. There is one in the Royal Library at Paris, and there are others in England.

"The Toorkee volume now sent was the foundation of the late Dr. Leyden's translation of Baber's Memoirs recently published,

and is mentioned in the Preface to that work. It is unfortunately imperfect.

"The second volume is a Vocabulary, Persian and Hindoostanee, printed at Calcutta, I believe under Dr. Leyden's inspection, for the purpose of collecting Comparative Vocabularies of the Indian Tongues. In the copy now sent, Mr. Elphinstone got inserted in Manuscript, three corresponding Vocabularies of different Toorkee Dialects, the first that of the Toorkee Dialect of Constantinople (which is the modern Turkish or Osmanlee)—the second that of the Jaghataee Tribes north of the Oxus (which is the old Tartar language, and corresponds with that of the Memoirs, allowing for the changes produced by upwards of three centuries)—and the third that of the Toorkee Tribes of Persia. These Vocabularies were compiled by the agency of Muhammed Ali, a native of Gunj, in Persia. The third Manuscript is a Toorkee and Arabic Grammar, by Moulana Salikh Effendi.

"The fourth is a Toorkee and Persian Vocabulary.

"The fifth Manuscript contains the Forms of the Toorkee Verbs with a Persian translation, and is imperfect.

"So little is known in Europe of the original Toorkee tongue, that these papers may be considered as curious, and will be found especially valuable to those who study the history of language.

"I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your Obed. Humb. Servt.,

(Signed) WM. ERSKINE.

"EDINBURGH, 14, MELVILLE STREET.

19 Decem. 1826."

The facts of the Elphinstone Codex dispel some hopes and negative some conjectures that had been aroused in its absence by Mr. Erskine's statement that with it were "marginal notes of Humāyūn." Some part of what it was hoped to find true of it must be relegated now to its archetype. It is the oldest known example of the *Bābar-nāma*, but it is not Bābar's original manuscript, as some statements about it had given ground to hope; with it is nothing in Humāyūn's handwriting, and the two "marginal notes" quoted as his by Mr. Erskine are copies and are interpolated in the text.

Nevertheless, it is a highly distinguished codex, and it is this for a reason apart from its age and apart from its association with men who had been born and bred where Turkī was a familiar tongue, and who, as such and as at home in its matter, were capable of criticizing and correcting it. Its great and unique distinction is given by its annotation, all of which, so far as it is in Turkī, may be referred, without stretch of probability, to Humāyūn. Of its numerous notes and glosses, Turkī and Persian, a few only have found their way through the Memoirs into European literature; two of these are attested as Humāyūn's; it has others so attested, and there are still more which are his with show of right.

### THE BOOK.

The existing covers of the book measure  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$  inches, and, within and without, are of clove-carnation leather. Like those of the Haydarābād Codex, they were found padded with two leaves of an account-book. These leaves Mr. Blumhardt has been so kind as to examine; they are written in Marwarī, probably in the Bombay Presidency, and their general appearance agrees with a date entered in the middle of one of them, Samvat 1836 (A.D. 1779). These two leaves, it may be said, will be placed now as 'exhibits' at the end of the codex.

Samvat 1836, then, is the approximate date of the re-binding of the book, at which time injury was done to marginal notes by shearing-down, and to the shrunken codex of flyleaves additions were made of the outer mount to the first folio (now removed), of f. 206, and of some nine leaves at the end of the original paper.

Another entry, however, may throw clearer light on the date of re-binding. Beneath a title, *Tārīkh-i-bābarī dar zabān-i-turkī*, inscribed on the first flyleaf, stand two numbers, ١٢٠٠, which, if read as A.H. 1200, would give 1786 as the year of re-binding and entry of title, and would allow an interval for accounts of 1779 to become waste-paper.

The manuscript is written on paper of good quality, dyed to an uncommon shade of terra-cotta pink. I am indebted to Sayyid 'Alī *Bilgrāmī* for the information that no chronological importance attaches to this colour, which implies merely the more henna in the dye, and occurs *à plaisir* or accidentally. The added leaves are of whitish, light and inferior paper. Some of the early pages of the book have been repaired more than once, at the stitching place and by outer marginal bands. The first folio has been injured; its frontispiece is mutilated, and its manuscript has lost a few letters, some of which were made good neatly on a lining paper, pasted behind it, presumably, before the rebinding. Of all those that remain, this is the only damaged leaf; the book is indeed well preserved; its margins are a little perforated and damp-stained, but its text is intact.

#### THE MANUSCRIPT.

The writing of the codex is clear and uniform *nasta'liq*, bordering here and there on *shikast*. Of it there remains as much as there was when Mr. Erskine enumerated its lacunæ in notes to the Memoirs. The book allows inference of the dates at which these losses had occurred. Retracing them in the order of time, it is clear that one—from within 935 A.H. to the recognized end of the *Bābar-nāma*—existed when the book was rebound, and is due to loss of pages. A few tattered but still legible folios seem to have been then with the rest, and to have supplied the short length of text which is inscribed on some of the newer leaves. This surmise fits f. 206 also, and is strengthened there by spaces left where material failed the copyist.

The second major lacuna must have occurred also in the archetype of the codex, because it is in mid-page. It is the one which loses material from a few sentences before Shaikh Zain's Persian account of the battle of Kānwāha in 933 A.H., and extends to 935 A.H. The scribe makes no remark on the loss, but a commentator who writes in Persian and frequently, has set in the margin of the page—

از این جا آنچا از ترجمه معلوم شد ۱۶ ورق افتاده اند

("Sixteen leaves of what is known by the translation have perished from this place.")

It may be said, in passing, that the word *tarjama* of this note allows its entry to be deferred to beyond 998 A.H. (1590), the time of the presentation of the 'Abdu-r-raḥīm translation to Akbar.

Also in the archetype must have been the gap of 908 A.H., which is in the Persian text and was first filled for European literature through the Kāzān imprint and its French translation. It is the one which draws attention to the fact that the Persian translations were made from a mutilated codex which had this gap and had not the Revenue Accounts of Hindūstān. Both losses occur in the Elphinstone Codex, and both are referable to its archetype.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE AGE OF THE CODEX.

When entrusted to me for examination, the book showed no definite marks from which to know its age except the surmised 1200 A.H. already mentioned as on the flyleaf, where it is near a "W. E(rskine), No. I," and a faintly pencilled *Waq'āt*.

A second item of its history was visible on the upper margin of the folio which was once the fourth and is now the second. This is an indistinct Persian inscription, entered before rebinding, and now sheared through. We have not deciphered it fully, but it seems to refer to the pledging of the book by a person of rank. We read provisionally *matn-i-bābarī* and *wa in az chizhā Šāhib Mihrbān Mirzā Jān* (or *Khān*) *Jiu kharidā budand*, and *agar āyinda* and *bāz mārā bidihand*.

<sup>1</sup> The fact of absent matter in the Persian translations is the more surprising that the Haydarābād Codex exists, competently estimated to be of later date than those translations and demanding a complete archetype. The explanation may lie in the vicissitudes of the royal family fortune and its resultant scattering of Bābar's sons and daughters, which would well allow his own original MS. to have been taken to Kābul and to have remained long there, or would have taken far from Āgra or Dihlī a direct transcript belonging to a son or daughter.

Visible written testimony as to age was given by these two items only, and of them the second has so far not given a definite date, because the persons named have not been identified. From the evidence of the handwriting and paper of the codex, Mir Musharrafu'l-haq, who in July 1906 catalogued the MSS. belonging to the Advocates' Library, judged that it dated from the tenth century of the Hijra. Mr. A. G. Ellis more definitely conjectured that it had been transcribed between 950 A.H. and 1000 A.H. (1543-1593), and later examination has proved the correctness of his judgment. What this examination was and how satisfactory will be told in detail.

The injured first folio had been cut down to its manuscript and frontispiece, and mounted on a leaf of lighter paper. By inserting an ivory knife it slipped easily off, and was then seen to be firmly affixed to a second mount which had been cut down with it and which was too opaque to be seen through. On damping this mount, a clear inscription was read, and a faint seal and some further writing were seen. The damped paper was then removed, with a good deal of difficulty but without injury to the entries, when a second seal and several other records were disclosed, some of the latter injured by cutting down. Happily, what is essential for deciding the age of the codex is intact and sufficiently clear, and will now be left uncovered and open to further interpretation.

The fragile condition of the frontispiece forbade examination of its reverse, and all the entries I shall enumerate are below its level. Of these the most conspicuous item is boldly written in excellent ink behind the upper lines of the manuscript. It is as follows:—

الله اكبر از بابت اموال ميرزا محمد سلطان

("Allāhu-Akbar! From the estate (property) of Mīrzā Muḥammad Sultān.")

The formula *Allāhu-Akbar* identifies the prince named as living or recently dead in Akbar's reign. It was used

officially in 983 A.H. (1575-6), but it might have been entered earlier in a private possession, or this inscription may not have been made promptly on receipt of the book.

The man whom the time would fit is that Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā, who was doubly a Timūrid, grandson and grand-nephew of Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā *Bāy-qarā* of Harāt, a follower of Bābar from 932 A.H., an amīr of Humāyūn, and the father of the rebel "Mirzās" of Akbar's reign. He died, a state prisoner, in Bāyāna Fort in or shortly after 974 A.H. (1567). His circumstances and the form of the inscription are in agreement; his goods would be confiscate to his sovereign; the entry may indicate reception into the royal library.

No other sign of his ownership has survived, but just below this one is a confused entry of a price or prices which it is more fitting to refer to his purchase of the book than to Akbar's succession to it. His name may have been behind the frontispiece, possibly is there still, or it may have been cut off with the margins.

This entry and the following item of evidence which is given within the codex, fix as the date of transcription a period of narrow limits. To the "shaving passage" the scribe has appended the words *انار الله برهانه*, which indicate the previous death of Humāyūn and give 963 A.H. (January, 1556) as the minor term for transcription. The major is that of Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā's death, and a maximum period of ten to eleven years (1556 to 1567 *circa*) is thus established within which the Elphinstone Codex must have been copied.

Disregarding for the present the less interesting entry of prices, which has already been mentioned, we find a library seal, now somewhat faint, on the upper part of which *Ghāzī*, a part of Akbar's style, seems legible, and on the lower of which is a clear *Ikhlaṣ Khān ḥājib*. This seal may be accepted with some security as that of the custodian of the harem library of Akbar. Humāyūn had a servant who was known by the title *Ikhlaṣ Khān*

and who was taken over by Akbar and became Commander of One Thousand. One of Abū'l-faẓl's anecdotes, told in illustration of the retentiveness of Akbar's memory, shows at the same time, that a servant so styled was a familiar presence in the royal household. At a date stated to be seventeen years after this man's death (16th Dai, 1004 A.H.—Dec. 1595 or Jan. 1596) the Emperor, who was inspecting the wardrobe-room, said of a certain coat that it looked like Ikhlāṣ Khān's, and his surmise was verified from the old registers. This incident would refer the impression of the Khān's seal to a date anterior to 1579.

Again passing over an intermediate and written entry, we come to a second seal stamped close to the bottom of the oblong of manuscript. It, too, is a librarian's, and on it are clear the words *Shāh-jahān* and *fidawī* and '*Ināyat*. Other seals of Shāh-jahān's reign bear the title '*Ināyat Khān*, and there is no difficulty in identifying the owner of it as Muḥammad Tāhir, the author of the *Shāh-jahān-nāma*, who was appointed superintendent of the royal library in Rabī' I. 1068 A.H. (November, 1657).<sup>1</sup>

Several other entries probably commemorate library inspections. There is a group of mutilated writings at the top of the oblong of manuscript; there is the sheared off and long note on the left side of it, and there is an interlaced puzzle about prices just below the *Allāhu-Akbar* inscription where may be read a *qimat rupiya* from above which figures seem to have been deleted; there seems to be a *kharīda shud* through which the pen has been passed with attempt to express *haftād* or *hashtād*; there is a *nūd* and, in figures, there is 98. I set down these inconclusive and tentative details because of the help careful conjectures, even if disproved, give to a next examiner.

It would be in order if a sign of ownership by Jahāngīr appeared between those of his father and his son, but no such sign has been definitely read. At this place is entered a name of which part is clear, *Huzūr Muḥammad Qutī* (f)

<sup>1</sup> "History of India," Elliot & Dowson, vol. vi, p. 340.

*Khān Bahādūr Isfurayīnī* (?) ; also *Ramṣān muazzam* (?) and a date which may be *sana* 11, or *sana* 111, i.e. 1011 A.H., or may represent the "eleventh year of the *jālūs*." Time and a revival of the ink will doubtless clear up at least some of the open questions of the page, and any help towards it will be welcomed by those who have worked thus far on it.

In all that has been said, about the seals and difficult entries, help has been given to me by three advisors : by my husband, who has brought to their elucidation his close acquaintance with the history of the time involved and the long and patient consideration that never fails me ; by our friend Mr. William Irvine, who has spared to them much time and close attention ; and by Mr. A. G. Ellis, whose expert knowledge has given weight to his doubts or corroborations of the suggestions of others.

#### THE ANNOTATION OF THE CODEX.

Of the numerous Turkī notes with the codex, two are attested by Humāyūn's copied signature. One is that which records his first use of the razor, and which has been so often referred to already in my "Notes on the Bābar-nāma MSS." that a few words further are needed now that it lies before our eyes. Until it was seen there was always the possibility that it varied much from its rendering in the Persian text, and that this variation allowed Mr. Erskine's reading of its contents. This is not so, however, as the subjoined copy of it shows, and as Mr. Erskine would no doubt have seen for himself if he had not worked at the disadvantage of not translating from the Turkī text. For here the note is clear in itself and in its additions ; the passage written by Humāyūn as for Bābar, is marked off by overlines ; after this, quotation marks distinguish Humāyūn's signed reason for making the entry that at such a date he first used the razor<sup>1</sup> ; the scribe's note following is in Persian, and, emphatic in import, a prayer for Humāyūn ends the interpolation.

<sup>1</sup> f. 216 ; Memoirs, 302 ; Ilminsky, 340.

An important variant here from the Persian text may be recorded in passing; 48 is the age Humāyūn mentions as his when he made the note, and not 46. This age brings his perusal of his father's book to the period at which he might have read it preparatory to attempting the reconquest of Hind or to that of his brief second rule in Dihli, apt occasions both.

To return now to the note itself; in the Persian text its place differs slightly from its place in the Elphinstone transcript, a variation which points to differing views of workers on the same marginal entry. The note is not marginal in the Elphinstone Codex, but was almost certainly so in its archetype; it is interpolated here in the text, in all its parts, and someone, who is not the scribe of the codex but the frequent commentator in Persian, has entered in the margin opposite its initial words—

این عبارت از همایون بادشاه است که کاتب در متن داخل کرد  
 ("This passage which the scribe enters in the text is Humāyūn Bādshāh's.")

(جمادی الاول آی نینگ یگیرمه سیکیزیدا آفتاب حمل برجی  
 غه تحویل قیلدی) اشبو (sic) یورتدا اشبو (sic) گون همایون یوزیگا  
 استره یا مقراض تیکوردی "چون حضرت مرحومی استره قویماقی  
 یوزگا اول وقایعدا ذکر قیلیب تورلار بنده داعی بتعاء آنی ذکر  
 قیلدی اول تاریخدا اون سیکیز یاشدا ایدیم ودر حالا قرق سیکیز  
 یاشدا من کیم بولغای حرره محمد همایون نقل از خط آنحضرت  
 انار الله برهانه (ابراهیم نینگ)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following is the only other known Turkī version of this note and is quoted from the Kāsān imprint:—

(تحویل قیلدی) \* اون سیکیز یاشدا ایدیم او شبو یورت ته

The second note attested by signature is written in the margin of the manuscript, is in the first person, and gives Humāyūn's experience in Bengal of the lime as an antidote to poison.<sup>1</sup> It is in the scribe's handwriting, is introduced by *ايضا*, is somewhat damaged by shearing-off, and is not known elsewhere.

Of another class of notes are two attributed by the scribe of the codex to Humāyūn. One is written in the margin and is parallel to the last in giving the personal experience of the writer. Its topic is the occurrence of ice in Hindūstān,<sup>2</sup> and it contains the words "the year when I conquered Gujrāt" (1535). The scribe has prefaced it by *نقل خط همايون بادشاه* and followed it by *صحیح* (correct). It appears to testify to direct copying from Humāyūn's autograph note.

The second of this class is that on the amrat fruit, which Mr. Erskine reproduces in the Memoirs.<sup>3</sup> It is inserted in the text and there partly misplaced, perhaps because its length confused its marginal form. It is begun in the middle of a sentence about the *amil-bid* fruit,<sup>4</sup> and it runs on nearly to the end of Mr. Erskine's first paragraph.

همايون يوزيكه استره يا مقراض تيكوردی تاريخ سنه بولغای \*  
(ابراهيم نینگ)

The asterisks denote difficulties with Dr. Kehr's transcript. I doubt if it is safe to base any opinion about the note on this form of it, and unfortunately Dr. Kehr's manuscript has not yet been lent to me to examine.

<sup>1</sup> f. 238; Mems. 328 absent.

<sup>2</sup> f. 208b; Mems. 293 absent.

<sup>3</sup> f. 236b, l. 6 from foot, to f. 239, l. 3, and f. 239, l. 6, to f. 239b, l. 1; Mems. 329 n.

<sup>4</sup> In an earlier mention of this note, I made the mistaken conjecture that it was Shāh-jahān's. I had chanced upon it, without context and in Persian, in a volume of Mr. Erskine's literary remains. Imagination failed to warn me that it might be a translation; it was open to suppose it 'marginal' in the Elphinstone MS., and propriety forbade the thought that a son would strengthen the case for the merit of a fruit by recalling the depravation of his father's taste through inebriety. Therefore I absolved Humāyūn from this reproach, passed over Jahāngīr because he made his additions to the *Bābar-nāma* in Turkī, and surmised Shāh-jahān. I am proved wrong (though the last-named emperor owned the codex), because the note is incorporated, is in Turkī, and the age of the transcript is known.

Three lines of text follow, about the flowers of Hind, after which the note resumes and runs to its end.

Opposite its first words, the Persian commentator has written in the margin of the manuscript,

این عبارت حاشیه همایون بادشاه است

(“This passage is a marginal note of Humāyūn Bādshāh’s.”)

At the break in it another person—if the scribe, his upstrokes are less firm than usual—has set in the margin,

این عبارت زایدۀ غالباً از همایون بادشاه است از راه سهو کاتب  
در متن نوشت

(“This additional passage seems to be by Humāyūn Bādshāh; the scribe writes it in the text by mistake.”)

A third class of Turkī notes supplements the text in a way that allows their attribution to Humāyūn as to a person better acquainted with their topics than Bābar was.

The first to mention explains Humāyūn’s delay in joining his father in 932 A.H.<sup>1</sup> It is selected from numerous others parallel in supplementary aim and in form, and like it in having been washed over and hereby removed from the text. The scribe wrote it into the text with prefix of the mark (V) he uses to indicate transfer, actual or due, from margin to text. He also placed a part of its information in the margin, lower in the same sentence, and to this also prefixed the sign for insertion (V). Both glosses explain Humāyūn’s delay, for which his father blamed him; a time is mentioned as that at which the joining was desired; the purport of Bābar’s correspondence is defined and delay attributed to the unpreparedness of the Badakhshān army. All is written as if for insertion in the text, not as by Humāyūn, not in the first person, and not attested. The passage is parallel to the one about Humāyūn’s first use of the razor; it is the gloss of a person who knows supplementary matter, and it pleads excuse for Humāyūn. Unfortunately

<sup>1</sup> f. 207; Mems. 291 absent.

loss of text prevents reference to another instance where Humāyūn must have wished to excuse himself, namely, that of his unauthorized removal of treasure from Dihli. Though this illustration of the character of the notes fails, others do not and are easy to find.

I have examined all the longer glosses, and I find that their erasure brings the text into agreement with the Haydarābād Codex. Their removal indicates collation with Humāyūn's annotated *Bābar-nāma*. Of all it can be said that they supplement the text with fuller information and that their erasure purifies it from foreign matter. Their occurrence raises a difficulty in accepting the Elphinstone Codex as arbiter amongst variants of contents; their best place would be with the notes of a revised English text.

The codex is abundantly annotated in Persian also, and this mostly has been done before the rebinding. The Persian notes are rarely entered by the scribe, and their writers have not used ink that withstands deletion so well as his. Many are so faint as to need longer study than so far could be given to them. Down to the end of 908 A.H. there is much interlinear and marginal Persian explanation of the Turkī; there are supplementary biographical details, and there are many notes of which no more can be said than that they are not clear.

One important Persian note (ff. 198-9) throws light upon the history of the Elphinstone Codex. It has been expunged from the text, and can be taken safely as copied from one which was marginal in the archetype. It is as follows:—

تا اینجا در دیگر رسالها بود باقی از مسودۀ اصل یافته شد

("Up to this place was in other writings (*rasālahā*, perhaps letters from Bābar to Humāyūn); the rest was taken from the original draft.")

The well-known remark at the broken end of 908 A.H. is in Persian and written contemporaneous with the text and by its scribe. Where in 933 A.H. the great loss of text occurs,

the Persian commentator has written the note I have quoted in the account of the lacunæ. I have described another Persian note, the one read as referring to a pledging of the book. It is clear that until all have been deciphered, there is no certainty that the interest of this precious codex has been exhausted.

#### THE ELPHINSTONE AND HAYDARĀBĀD CODICES COMPARED.

Amongst known transcripts of the *Bābar-nāma*, the Elphinstone has but one rival, the Haydarābād Codex. A few words of recapitulation will define their respective positions.

The first is the older, and it is known to have a merit not known of the second, viz., it had in source and early ownership the advantage of Turkī atmosphere; it is unique in its preservation of royal annotation; its history is varied, interesting, and in great part known.

The second is unique in being complete and also by allowing a fair inference that it is a direct copy of Bābar's original and finished manuscript.

The recovery of the first is a matter of great congratulation to all who care for the study of Turkī, for the history of the *Bābar-nāma*, and for records of Humāyūn. Its return to light, however, in no way endangers the legitimacy of its rival's claim to be the fitter for the honour of multiplication; it must yield place not only as incomplete, but because of its special excellence as the preserver of valuable notes and glosses. These annotations lower its purity and lessen its authority as a *Bābar-nāma*. It alone could not over-rule the Haydarābād MS. in any divergence of their contents, since the presumption of accuracy must remain with the unannotated transcript.

For the present I leave untouched the comparative linguistic rank of the two manuscripts. I hope at a later date to offer material that will allow the formation of opinion upon the matter.

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## X.

**THE TABLET IN CUNEIFORM SCRIPT FROM YUZGHAT.**

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

**I**T has more than once been said that the domain of Assyriology is one of surprises, and the more one follows the discoveries which are constantly, but for the most part unobtrusively, being made, the more one becomes convinced of the truth of this statement. The first texts deciphered were those of Persia—important documents for the history of that country, especially the great text of Behistun, gained for students at the risk of his life by that pioneer of research, the late Sir Henry Rawlinson, one of the most illustrious members of this Society, who afterwards brought to light many other important facts in “our glorious science,” as the Germans call the study of Assyrian texts. The reading of this document, with the other trilingual inscriptions of Persia, enabled the tablets found in the palaces of Assyria to be deciphered, and showed that the language was the same as that of the third system of writing in the records of the early Persian kings, opening out a literature which, at the present time, occupies many volumes, and is constantly and steadily increasing.

The light which it threw on the history of civilization in the East at once brought Assyriology to the forefront as one of the most promising sources of history, the more so that it revealed to us two non-Semitic dialects whose very existence had been altogether unsuspected. At first there was much mistrust of the interpretations proposed by Assyriologists, but the bilingual lists drawn up for the ancient students of these two dialects have rendered the interpretation of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions so sure that very little remains to be done but polish the renderings

now current. The bearing of these records upon Old Testament history has placed them on a pinnacle from which they will never, in all probability, be dislodged.

Further surprises, however, were in store for us—the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets and the monuments of Susa, both recent enough to be in the recollection of everyone. These last came upon us as sudden revelations—dazzling, almost blinding, in their brilliant and unexpected results. Susa has bestowed upon us a new language and a new script, with more light upon early Semitic history, and consequently upon that of the earliest periods touched upon by Jewish records.

But all the while a fresh domain of research in the wedge-writing was making itself known. In 1876 or earlier, texts in the Semitic Babylonian language, and shown by their script to have been written as far back as 2000 B.C., or thereabouts, began to come to light. Cappadocia was the home of these records, and their appearance led scholars to expect records still more important than contracts and letters, for such they proved to be. Assyriologists were therefore hardly surprised when inscriptions of a later date and in an unknown language were brought from the same district. The first recognized were among the correspondence found at Tel-el-Amarna, in Egypt, and the dialect in which they were written was for a considerable time a completely unknown tongue, the name of the country of their origin—Arzapi, or, as it is now read, Arzawa—being wholly unknown. These texts are two in number, and have been studied by Knudtzon, the well-known Scandinavian Assyriologist, who has succeeded in giving an excellent rendering of the casier of the two documents. They have also been commented upon by Professors S. Bugge and A. Torp,<sup>1</sup> who agree with Knudtzon that the language in which they are written is Aryan, the earliest examples of an Indo-Germanic language which have yet come down to us.

<sup>1</sup> Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe, . . . von J. A. Knudtzon, mit Bemerkungen von S. Bugge und A. Torp. Leipzig, 1902.

Naturally the place to or from which these two documents had been sent in the time of Amenophis III, who reigned in Egypt from 1414 to 1379 B.C., was not long in furnishing other inscriptions—fragmentary, it is true, but unmistakably in the language of Arzawa. They were acquired by the well-known savant of Lyons, Ernest Chantre, in 1893. These showed that the district anciently called Arzawa was in the neighbourhood of Boghaz Keui in Asia Minor, six hours journey from Yuzghat. Boghaz Keui is the ancient Pterium, described in Murray's guide as one of the most interesting places in Asia Minor, the remains of the wall and the acropolis of which are still to be seen. The principal ruin of the place shows the ground-plan of a large and magnificent temple, regarded as being that of Jupiter mentioned by Strabo. Near are some extensive carved rocks with representations of deities and processions of personages carrying sacred emblems—the well-known and remarkable bas-reliefs of Yazli Kaiya, which are considered to be specifically Hittite. It may be regarded as a foregone conclusion that much light will be thrown on these important productions of ancient times when texts of a historical nature have been found and read.

But in all probability the most noteworthy document, excepting the letter sent to Tarhundaraba by Amenophis III of Egypt, already referred to, is that which forms the subject of this paper. It was first seen by Professor Sayce and myself on the occasion of our visit to Constantinople in May, 1905, and was afterwards acquired for the Archaeological Institute of Liverpool. From the reprints of my copies which have been distributed, it will be seen that it is a fragment of a large tablet, inscribed with 45 more or less complete lines of writing on the obverse, and 49 similar lines on the reverse. It is made of fine clay, well baked, and of a reddish colour, measuring 154 mm. (about 6 inches) high by 104 mm. (about  $4\frac{1}{8}$  inches) wide. The thickest part is the top right-hand corner of the fragment (looking at the obverse) as it now exists, and as this was the part nearest the centre, the original size of the document could not have


been less than 31 cm. (rather more than 12 inches) by 21 cm. ( $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches), and may have been even larger, as we do not know at what point the thickness began to decrease. If it had two columns on each side, we possess rather less than a quarter of the original text; if three columns (which seems unlikely), rather less than a sixth. The style of the writing is that of the Arzawa tablets in the Tel-el-Amarna collection, and those acquired by Chantre in Asia Minor, but the characters are small, being only about 2.5 mm. (about  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch) in height, which accounts for the large number of lines on the comparatively small surface which the fragment presents. The text is divided into paragraphs, separated from each other by a ruled line, and in one case the ruled line is doubled.

As the inscription does not begin, in its present state, until more than half-way down in the first column, the opening portion, which would in all probability have given a statement of the reason of the writing, is wanting. In addition to this, two columns at least are entirely lost, and the reverse has merely the upper part of the last column, so that we are likewise deprived of any indication of the nature of the contents which may have been at the end of the inscription. As, however, the last seven paragraphs are a list of offerings, it may be conjectured that the text is a long letter sent from one prince to another, accompanied by presents to the temples of the gods of the land. We shall see in the course of this short examination of the inscription to what extent the ancient inhabitants of the district from which the inscription came were indebted to the Babylonians, not only for their writing, but also for many of their deities and the ceremonies connected with their worship.

How far the vocabulary of the old Cappadocian language may have yielded to Semitic Babylonian usages is uncertain, but it is to be noted that when the writer refers to his sons, or to the children of the person to whom he was writing, he uses the ideographs and syllabic signs for *mārē-ia* and *mārē-ka*, 'my sons' and 'thy sons' (obv., lines 2, 5, and 7).

As, however, it is hardly likely that a noun and its possessive pronouns would both be borrowed, it may be supposed that these characters were used merely as ideographs, and pronounced with the words for 'son' or 'child' in the language of the country, with *-mu*, 'my,' and *-ti*, 'thy,' added, these being the possessive pronouns, according to the text translated by Knudtzon, of the 1st and 2nd persons singular. This paragraph (ll. 2-11) has also the words for 'mountains,' 'plantations,' and 'grain' (in Babylonian ideographs).

The next paragraph (the third) begins with the word *Nûhiân*, which, on account of the characters for 'king of the land' following, might be supposed to be a proper name. In all probability, however, it is merely an introductory word, similar to the word 'Now' in such a position, in which case the line might be rendered: 'Now the king of the lands possesses oxen, sheep, dogs,' and other animals (the character is broken). Farther on the god Hadad or Rimmon, the god of the atmosphere, is twice mentioned, and there is a reference to shepherds, and, apparently, to sheep.

The fourth paragraph has references to Hadad or Rimmon and the Sun-god, to Zagaga, one of the gods of war, and to Lamassu, the divine protecting spirit, all these being Assyro-Babylonian deities. A native deity (apparently) is likewise mentioned, *Telibinuš* (so I transcribe, with Professor Sayce, but the nom. may have been simply *Telibinu*). The last line of the paragraph has a reference to a stone called , *abnu* *bi-ru-lu*, possibly 'beryl.'

Further references to deities occur in the fifth and sixth paragraphs of the obverse—the native deity (apparently), *Gulaš* and the Sumerian goddess *Maḥ*, identical with *Aruru*, who, according to the bilingual creation-story, aided *Merodach* in the creation of the seed of mankind. The name of *Hadad* or *Rimmon* again occurs.

Coming to the reverse, we have in the first paragraph the name of the Moon-god *Sin*, a reference to city-gates, to 'men,' and to a woman named *Annannaš*. The remaining three paragraphs before the double line (the last of which has only one line of writing) mention the gods in general,

the Sun-god, the goddess Maḥ or Aruru, and the native deity Telibinuš.

The remainder of the inscription contains the lists of offerings—vases, apparently of bronze, together with various other objects of the same metal, one of them a waggon or chariot. After this come various jars for wine, certain precious stones, including lapis-lazuli, a product called 'sweet cane,' and some 'sweet oil.' The third paragraph of the list refers to tables, apparently for the gods, and in some cases at least probably similar to the *lectisternia* of the Romans. Vases are also referred to, as well as something having a door of bronze. Another object was made of 'arimpāš-wood' and bronze, and the whole seems to have been dedicated to the Sun-god.

The eighth paragraph (the fourth of the list of gifts or offerings) is similar to the preceding, and refers to bronze objects, tables, jars of wine, cups, and sweet oil. The deity's name is wanting. The ninth paragraph mentions a table dedicated to the Sun-god and to Telibinuš, and speaks of a *pahhu*-vase. This paragraph has also what are seemingly Assyro-Babylonian expressions, containing the words 'lord of the gods' and 'messenger of the gods.' The former phrase is repeated at the beginning of paragraph ten, with the addition of the words 'before the gods.' We have again offerings to the Sun-god, including a table and wine. There is also the same dedicated to Telibinuš, with a full-grown kid and a sheep, apparently to the two deities. The eleventh paragraph refers to animals and their parts, which were dedicated to the Sun-god and Telibinuš, and after two doubtful words the inscription breaks off.

With hardly an exception the only points certain in this important text are the words written by means of Sumero-Akkadian ideographs, and it is those which have furnished the details given in the preceding notes of the contents of the document. The outline thus obtained is filled in by the researches of Professor Sayce, a summary of whose notes I now give in a connected form, with a few additions to make it more readable :—

## OBVERSE.

II (lines 2-11). The writer refers to the sons [and perhaps to the daughters] of the person written to, and the god Hadad, whose name Professor Sayce reads Sandes, is mentioned. The writer speaks of the correspondence which apparently passed between him and another person, and afterwards of a man named Haḥḥimaš, 'the chief,' and of 'forests and gardens for conveyance,' with certain gifts.

III (ll. 12-20). This has further references to gifts, to 'a sacred talent of bronze in weight (?) by way of interest,' and to the registration of gifts. Haḥḥimaš declares to the Sandanian(s), that is, to the people of the land of Sandes, that something is the property of another, or of the sanctuary, 'since they loved (?) law and justice.' Shepherds, sheep, and oxherds are then spoken of, and these, apparently with the property, are stated to have been registered by Haḥḥimaš on a tablet and dedicated to Sandes or Hadad.

IV (ll. 21-31). Professor Sayce suggests the following as a tentative rendering of the first three lines:—

"Sandes invokes the Sun-god that he (?) would give (him) the Sun-god's temple . . . summoning (?) the Sun-god of the House of Life (?), that he might be (his) companion (or vicegerent); to the word of Sandes he replies at once (?), 'I will be a companion (?).'" All is uncertain, however, and Professor Sayce gives other possible renderings. The remaining lines mention the god Zagaga, the Sun-god, and something which 'our father Haḥḥimaš took.' There is then a reference to the deity named Telibinuš, and to 'the . . . ivory Haḥḥimaš [has taken] for our father by way of interest.'

He is probably correct in regarding Haḥḥimaš as a proper name, and this makes an important additional clue to the comprehension of the inscription. The rendering of *abnu bi-ru* as 'stone of elephant = ivory' is suggestive, and based on the fact that *piru*, in Assyro-Babylonian, means 'elephant.' But could a people living in an elephant-country (as it must have been then) regard an elephant's tusk as a kind of







stone, and was their word for elephant *piru*? Notwithstanding possible objections, however, the rendering seems very possible, and likely, therefore, to be correct. My suggestion that *birulu*<sup>1</sup> stands for 'beryl' might, in that case, need modification.

V (ll. 32-41). Professor Sayce renders *Gulaššan AN MAH hašišdin* as 'the daughter of Gula, the supreme deity of the city.' In the next line he regards *a-bi-e-el-um* as being a proper name, and renders it 'yearly Abielum the doors [belonging to] Haḥḥimaš,' but as the text is incomplete what was done to the doors does not appear. The next line he renders as containing the words 'Haḥḥimaš, by order of the Sandian,' and asks whether the words which follow mean 'I have married thy daughter.' Farther on there is a reference to 'Hašammiliaš (and) his brothers.' He makes *da-me-in-gir* in line 40 to be a man's name—'my [son] Damengir'—and suggests that *lie ribsi (lē ébēi)* ought to be translated 'let there be a document.'

This last phrase would be Assyrian, and seems strange, though the way in which short phrases from French are used in English would furnish an analogy.

VI (ll. 42-45). This is preserved in a very fragmentary state, and has the name of the god Sandes (Hudad), and refers to somebody's sons. There is also something about 'giving,' and the word 'ladies,' which may also be translated 'sisters.'

#### REVERSE.

I (ll. 1-3). This paragraph is also mutilated, but it refers to the Moon-god, to the 'great' gate,' and to priests (and) [priest]esses, according to Professor Sayce. He does not regard       -, <sup>sa</sup> *An-na-an-na-aš*, 'the woman Annannaš,' in line 3 as being a woman's name, but translates 'the woman of the land of Annaš.'

<sup>1</sup> See p. 149.

II (ll. 4-7). This refers to gifts or offerings to the gods. Line 6 contains, doubtfully, the word 'Hittite.' 'The gods' are referred to.

III (ll. 8-12). This contains an exhortation to the god (or goddess) Telibinuš to 'be friendly, like the gods who . . . .' 'At the bidding of the Sun-god, the gods in common give the *mugami* as thy portion.' The goddess Maḥ is mentioned, and also the Sun-god. Professor Sayce renders the last line of the paragraph: 'I, being a serf, will give to thee one sheep.'

IV (l. 13). Professor Sayce regards the single line, which terminates the inscription proper, as containing the words 'the list (?) drawn up (?)', seemingly for Telibinuš. This is a very probable rendering, and one would naturally expect it to refer to what follows. Against this, however, there is an objection, namely, that it has a double line *after* it, not before it. The apparent conflict between the rendering proposed and this double line emphasizes the fact that we need more light in the shape of explanatory inscriptions of some kind.

[The list of objects dedicated is divided into seven paragraphs as it now stands, and it is probable that, when the tablet was complete, it had several more. Professor Sayce's translation differs from mine in giving everywhere 'copper' instead of 'bronze,' but in many other respects it agrees.]

V (ll. 14-20). Vases of copper, one of them 'hammered,' a door of copper, a chariot of copper, a yoke (?) of white silver, a yoke (?) [of dark] silver, some small object or plant (?) 'produced in the desert' (my rendering is 'the produce of the plain'), '3 jars made with three holes (or, perhaps better, 'hollow stands') below.'

VI (ll. 21-24). 'A great strainer, one wine-cup, one *sinu*-cup, a beer-cup'; 'a *rabbu* of good oil, a *rabbu* (of oil) of the country,' three kinds of stone, including lapis-lazuli, baskets (?) of good reeds, these to be filled with good oil.

VII (ll. 25-28). Something to be given for two dishes of *luttia*-wood, and something belonging to Kuwabi, are

then referred to, and one *gar* of tubing was to be given for him (or for it) in exchange for one dish,<sup>1</sup> given 'as furniture.' The end of the line he translates 'for the plating of a door,' but if *nakdammi* really mean 'covering,' as he suggests, a better rendering would probably be 'one *girgir*-vase of bronze with a lid (or ?) door of b[ronze].' In the final line of this paragraph I would suggest that *ina* means 'for'—'a . . . of *arimpas*-wood (and) bronze, two boxes (?) of bronze for a table dedicated to the Sun-god,' but all is uncertain.

VIII (ll. 29–33). This paragraph refers to various objects of bronze (copper, according to Professor Sayce), and to a table of wood dedicated to a deity for (= apparently 'instead of') two wooden tables of a different kind. In line 31 the ideograph  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$ , 'stones,' occurs, followed by *sitišši*, the whole phrase reading *nu NA-ĦI-A sitišši*, which he translates 'for bright precious stones,' though the Sumero-Akkadian *na* means 'stone' in general (ĦI-A is the plural ending). III LUT ĦI-A GISTIN-NA *mar nu KAŠ-EDINA* he renders 'three cups of wine, the set offering for the Beer-god.' The final line of the paragraph refers to sweet oil and other similar things, as in line 24 (par. vi).

IX (ll. 34–39). This begins with references to tables for deities, in which Professor Sayce suggests that *unucanta* is a synonym of *kī unteš*, and means 'as furniture.' One of the deities is Telibinuš (l. 35), and the words *mān anlum* (*ilum*) which follow *dāi*, 'dedicated,' he suggests mean 'this god' or 'this the god.' The last word of the line he completes *zinnizzi*, with some such signification as 'provide.' LUT *pahhu inaliar pahhar pani anlim (ilim) dāi* (l. 36) possibly means 'a *pahhu*-vase, the work (?) of the potter, presented before the god,' *pahhar* meaning 'potter' and *pāni ili* 'before the god' in Assyro-Babylonian. *Nu SAL šugi bēl ilim* (l. 37) he renders, with much probability, 'for the priestess of the lord of the gods.' *Šu* in l. 38

<sup>1</sup> Sumerian *banūr*, also rendered 'table.'

Professor Sayce reads as QAT, and renders the phrase in which it occurs as 'plates of metal'—in any case the word will be the Ass. *qât* and *qâti*, 'money' (as in *bit-qâti*, 'the treasury,' etc.). The character I read *lah*, 'messenger,' he reads as *bit*, 'temple,' making the whole *bit anlim (līm) hat-ki*, 'in the beth-el (temple) of the Hittite land.' For the words which follow he suggests the rendering 'as was my father before me, so may I myself be (?).'

X (ll. 40–45). This refers to things to be taken 'by the lord of the gods in the presence of the gods,' and (in l. 42) 'for a gift to the Sun-god my mage in the dish of the Sun-god, for a set offering to the Beer-god.' Line 44 he renders at the beginning: 'for the dish of the goddess Telibinuš.'

XI (ll. 46–49). From some of the tablets of Babylonia referring to offerings to the gods, one would say that the ideographs in the first two lines of the paragraph indicate the names of certain portions of edible animals—sheep, oxen, goats, etc., but Professor Sayce apparently regards the first of the lines as referring to articles of jewellery worn by women. He completes line 48 similarly to myself, and renders, doubtless correctly, 'dedicated to Telibinuš and the Sun-god.'

I have purposely refrained from attempting any translation of this inscription, beyond giving the meanings of the ideographic groups, these being the portions which are the most certain as to their significations, except in the case of such as may have had two distinct meanings, or of which the meaning may have been changed in the course of the migration of the group from Babylonia to Asia Minor. It is needless to say, however, that Professor Sayce's provisional rendering is exceedingly suggestive, and may lead to the discovery of the true meanings of many words, and ultimately to correct renderings.

The point which, as I understand, Professor Sayce wishes to emphasize is the identity, more or less, of the language of the inscriptions hitherto found in Asia Minor with the


language of the hieroglyphic texts from Hamath, Aleppo, Jerabis, Marash, Boghaz Keui or Pterium, and other sites in the neighbourhood of those places. It is for the key to these inscriptions that scholars have been searching for the last thirty years, and anything which will throw light upon the interpretation of those mystic pictographs, rugged and rough-hewn like the people who originally carved them, will be eagerly welcomed.

It is on this account that the latest reports from Boghaz Keui, which Professor Sayce has been authorized to announce, are so important. In consequence of the interest which the German Emperor takes in antiquarian research in the East, especially in those districts whose ancient inhabitants may have come into contact with the Jews, Germany has excavations in progress in many parts of the Turkish dominions (notwithstanding the law against any one Society digging in more than one place at the same time), and the latest site is that which has long been recognized as an important centre, namely, Boghaz Keui. Here Professor Hugo Winckler has made what may be regarded as most unexpected discoveries, including not only a number of tablets in the ancient language of Cappadocia, but texts in Assyro-Babylonian, one of them a version in that language of the treaty of Ramesses II with the king of Kheta. This is naturally a discovery of the highest importance, and seems fully to confirm all Professor Sayce's contentions with regard to both the hieroglyphic and the cuneiform inscriptions found in the districts of old occupied by the tribe or tribes, nation or confederacy, at present regarded as Hittite.

My own study of the inscription has led me to a conclusion which, if by chance it turn out to be correct, will add to the startling nature of the discovery of these texts—though, to say the truth, I am not very sanguine that it will receive confirmation, notwithstanding the arguments which I am able to bring in support of it. Nevertheless, it is incumbent upon me to bring it forward, as it may lead to something, though I should probably have suppressed my remarks until

our knowledge was more complete had they not been in the printer's hands before the announcement of the discoveries at Boghaz Keui.





The conclusion to which I refer is based on a comparison with the Kassite, as far as that language is known, which is not saying much, as it is improbable that our vocabulary exceeds a hundred words. I was attracted first by the word *tanzi*, which occurs in line 7 of the obverse. This word has been treated of at length by Fried. Delitzsch in his book "Die Sprache der Kossäer" (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 29-38, on account of its occurring in the important vocabulary discovered by Rassam in 1882. The word, which is there written *ia-an-zi*, is explained by the Semitic *šarru*, 'king,' and Delitzsch shows that it occurs not only in the name of Ianzū, son of Hunban, king of Namri, whose dominions lay in the neighbourhood of the Diyālā, south-east of the lower Zab, but also by a king of the land of Nāiri, south-west of Lake Urumia. In both these cases Professor Delitzsch regards Ianzū as the native word for 'king,' provided with the lengthened Assyro-Babylonian nominative ending, and used by the Assyrians as a proper name. If this be the case, the Kassite or Cossæan language was not only spoken in what was possibly its aboriginal home on the east of Assyria, but also in the district on the north of that country. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that its use may have extended still farther westwards, and embraced the neighbourhood of Boghaz Keui. This is not much to base a connection upon, but a few additional details may be noted which seem to support it.

It is exceedingly doubtful whether the word *iaš* in the 28th line of the obverse of the inscription which we are now considering may be compared with the Kassite *iaš*, 'earth,' but it is worthy of note that in the letter from Amenophis III, translated by Knudtzon, the group  *MÂT ia-aš*, 'the land' (line 25), which is undoubtedly the same word, occurs—unless it be the Kassite *miriaš*, written with an ideograph and two phonetic complements. As, however,











read *lim*, would be also the Assyro-Babylonian genitive, in passages where the genitive would be required, but the forms are really singular.<sup>1</sup> Are *an-lum* and *an-lim* two different words?

But to come to something more to the point. In Kassite, as in the language of this tablet, the termination of the nominative is *-aš*, and *-u*, *-a*, and *-i* are also found, as well as several consonantal endings. Equally important, also, is the possibility, the almost certainty, that the possessive pronoun of the 1st person is *-man*, possibly dialectic for the *-mi* of the Tel-el-Amarna letter of Amenophis III, whilst the possessive pronoun of the 2nd person singular seems to be *-ti*, agreeing with the undoubted *-ti*, with the same meaning, in that document.

In Kassite the names of the Sun-god are *Sah* and *Šuriaš*,<sup>2</sup> and as     in the inscription now under consideration, has no termination, the name of that deity, if the language of the tablet be a dialect of Kassite, should probably be transcribed as *Sah*. In Kassite the god Hadad or Rimmon likewise has two names, *Ubriaš* or *Buriaš*, and *Hulahha* (or *Hudha*). The name of Hadad or Rimmon, in the Yuzghat tablet, has in two cases the ending *-aš*, implying that the best form to use when transcribing would be *Ubriaš* or *Buriaš*.

But there is still much to be learned about the tongue of this interesting document and those known to come from the same district—all that can be said is, that doubt may be set at rest when we know something of the results of the German excavations at Boghaz Keui. In all probability, therefore, we are on the eve of a great linguistic and historical discovery. Professor Sayce's paper and my own<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Native plural forms occur in lines 5, 8, and 9 of the reverse, and these are written differently:     *-an* (evidently an oblique case), and     *-aš* (nominative).

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Lyall pointed out the likeness of this word to the Sanskrit *Sūrya*.

<sup>3</sup> *The Tablet from Yuzghat in the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology*. London and Liverpool, 1907. This contains the complete text of the fragment, with transcription, such renderings as are possible, and notes.

will, therefore, be all too soon superseded, no matter what be the result of the discoveries in progress, but whatever may be found out, and however wrong in our surmises we may turn out to have been, an important addition has been made to the material brought forward by Knudtzon, and another step in advance has been accomplished towards the elucidation of an important subject, with far-reaching bearings upon the early history of the near East.

The foregoing paper is a summation of the contents of the work by the writer and Professor Sayce, published under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is referred to in footnote 3 on the preceding page. It contains an abstract of the author's notes on the text, and also of Professor Sayce's renderings, and will, it is hoped, not only give an idea of the nature of the inscription, but also of the difficulties attending its study at the present stage. Notwithstanding all efforts to render the copy of the tablet given in the above-named work as perfect as possible, improvements in at least some of the readings will doubtless be made. In addition to what is given here, Professor Sayce has appended to his portion of the monograph a vocabulary of about 660 entries, containing, besides the words of the text from Yuzghat, those of the two tablets studied by Knudtzon (footnote, p. 146), the texts published in Chantre's *Mission en Cappadoce*, and a fragment from Boghaz Kewi, published by Belck.

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## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

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### THE LOKESVARA IMAGE OF CANDI JAGO.

In his "Antiquarian Notes in Java," published in the April number of the Journal, Mr. R. Sewell mentions that the chief image, once worshipped in Čandi Jago, bears two Devanāgarī inscriptions. One, cut in the field on each side of the head, reads :—Bharāla Āryāmoghapāśa Lokeśvara ; the other above the head :—Bharāla Amitābha. "It was," the author says, "apparently intended to represent, or was afterwards taken as representing indifferently, either Amitābha or Avalokiteśvara." I do not remember in what manner the late Dr. Brandes accounts for the second inscription in the splendid volume dedicated to the description of this temple. The most natural explanation would be that the Lokeśvara image, the head of which is lost, bore in or on its head-dress a figurine of its Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha, marked as such by a separate inscription. In mediæval India miniature figures of Dhyāni-Buddhas were commonly shown in or on the *mukūṭas* of their spiritual sons the Bodhisattvas and also in the head-dress of other Buddhist deities. The custom, no doubt, prevailed also in Indo-Javanese sculpture.

J. PH. VOGEL.

### THE MINT-TOWN SHAHR-I-NAU.

The position of Shahr-i-Nau or Cernove has not been settled, though it has been supposed to be Gaur. Perhaps it is Rajmahal or in its neighbourhood, for in the 'Alamgīrnāma, p. 517, it is mentioned that one of Mīr

Jumla's officers was stationed with a large force on a high ground on the skirt of the hills (Dāman-i-koh) between Shahr Nau and Shahr Qadīm. On the following page it is stated that a causeway, passable in the height of the rains, led from the Dāman-i-koh to Shahr Nau. Either Shahr Nau and Shahr Qadīm were names for old and new Rajmahal or they were places in its neighbourhood, for the officer was stationed between them to protect Akbarnagar, i.e. Rajmahal, and to prevent Sultan Shujā' from advancing on it from Pitaura (?).

The chapter of the 'Alamgīrnāma in question contains a most detailed account of Mir Jumla's campaign against Sultan Shujā', and mentions the names of several villages between Rajmahal and Sooty.

H. BEVERIDGE.

#### THE DESTRUCTION OF NATIVE LIBRARIES.

The truth of Professor Macdonell's remarks in the second paragraph on p. 682 of the July number of the Journal was most forcibly brought before me about two years ago when touring in the states of the Central India Agency.

While making inquiries regarding the existence of libraries and collections of MSS. in the possession of Shastris and pandits in the Agency, I discovered that these collections were being rapidly destroyed by their owners, who were ignorant of the true value of their possessions.

The descendants of the pandits and Shastris of the last generation are seldom Sanskrit scholars, their energies being devoted to obtaining employment in Government offices.

The manuscript collections of their father or grandfather are, however, looked on with sufficient respect to give them value as heirlooms. On the death of the old pandit, therefore, his MSS. are equally divided among his heirs, not by MSS., but by pages! In order to effect an equal division, the MSS. are ruthlessly torn asunder and divided up. This mutilation, of course, makes it almost impossible to trace a complete MS. Moreover, as may be supposed,

those to whose share they fall have little care for them, and they soon find their way to the dust-heap. Mr. Bhandarkar found a large collection with the widow of a pandit kept in a sack in a corner of the house. It was mostly dust.

On discovering what was taking place I urged the necessity for a systematic search, and as a preliminary marked down various collections. The Agent to the Governor-General supported the suggestion, and applied to the Government of India, who appointed Mr. S. R. Bhandarkar to make a preliminary search, adding Rajputana to the area of his inquiries.

Though many collections (private) exist in the Agency, the results were unfortunately not very satisfactory, owing partly to the process of destruction, but more still to the objection owners have of allowing their possessions to be seen. I fear only personal influence will ever overcome this prejudice, and few officials have the inclination or time to take up such work.

I ought to add that these remarks apply to Hindus. Jain libraries are, as a rule, in excellent order, but the objection to produce MSS. is, if possible, stronger in their case than in that of Hindu owners.

C. E. LUARD,

*Superintendent of Gazetteer in Central India, Indore.*

#### ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS ON TEXTILES.

It may interest Mr. Guest<sup>1</sup> and other readers of the Journal to hear that the old Italian painters often copied in their pictures the Arabic inscriptions woven into the fabric of which the robes worn by their models were made, and also in some instances decorated the aureoles round the heads of saints with Arabic inscriptions taken perhaps from vases, dishes, or lamps.

<sup>1</sup> "Notice of some Arabic Inscriptions on Textiles at the South Kensington Museum," by A. R. Guest (J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 387 ff.).

An instance of the latter may be seen round the heads of two of the figures in Gentile de Fabriano's "Adoration of the Magi" in the Accademia dei Belli Arti at Florence.

Arabic inscriptions woven on robes may be seen in the following cases amongst others :—

The robes of the Madonna and angel in one of Perugino's pictures in the Pitti Gallery.

On a Madonna by the same master in the Uffizi.

In a picture by Francesco Fiorentini in the church of San Agostino at San Gimignano.

On the dresses of two monks in a picture in the church of the Ogni Santi in Florence.

On some scrolls in the hands of two priests in a picture by Giovanni di Milano in the Uffizi.

R. SEWELL.

#### THE USE OF THE PASSIVE GERUND IN SANSKRIT.

Dr. Rouse's note on the 'passive gerund' in the last number of the Journal (p. 992) seems to miss the point of my remarks on this subject (Journal, p. 693). My aim was to show that what Professor Kielhorn regarded as an unusual passive use of the gerund was really merely an example of the ordinary use of the gerund and in no way unparalleled. Dr. Rouse appears to agree in this view in so far at least that he evidently regards the instances cited as unusual by Professor Kielhorn as being normal illustrations of the use of the gerund. I am not, therefore, certain wherein my "misapprehension" lies, but perhaps it consists in the fact that I take e.g. *upakṛtya*, not as 'after the favouring,' but as 'when some one has benefited me.' I gather that Dr. Rouse considers that such a form was still felt as a mere verbal noun in the instrumental, and not as a participle with a subject understood, used in the active voice, and that the sentence *ālokyā kākenoktam* really meant to the writer 'the crow spoke after the looking,' instead of 'the crow, having looked, spoke.' I confess that such an

analysis appears to be very improbable in view of the history of the construction. The facts seem to show that in the earliest language known to us the gerund had come to have the force of an indeclinable participle qualifying the logical subject of the sentence. The R̥gveda gives us examples like *pitṛi somasya vāṛdhe* or *striyaṃ dr̥ṣṭvāya kitavaṃ tatāpa*, but it does not give us any parallels to *upakṛtya*, as it should do if the gerund were felt as a verbal noun. It is, I submit, much simpler to explain the later cases, not by a remarkable revival of knowledge of origins, but by the natural theory that when the gerund became as common as it is in later Sanskrit it was felt easy to let the subject be understood. Unless the gerund had become participial in sense at an early date, it would be difficult to understand the constructions found in the Brāhmaṇas, such as *himsitvā mene* and *ārabhya yanti*, to which exact parallels exist in *manyate papivān* and *dahann ait*.

It is, of course, quite true that a form like *kṛtvā* does not primarily imply any voice, but I am not aware that any word does so. What is true is that usage decided that *kṛtvā* should mean, not 'having been done,' but 'having done,' so that in taking *upakṛtya* = 'having been benefited' we would postulate a usage quite contrary to the testimony of the literature.

The parallel with the Latin gerund throws little or no light on the usage. The most prevalent view as to its origin is that it is later than the gerundive, which originally had a passive meaning, the gerund being the neuter of the gerundive used impersonally. But whatever its origin it is not until late and mediæval Latin that the gerund is used almost as equivalent to a present participle (e.g. *equitando venit*), and therefore its history is quite other than that of the Sanskrit gerund. A much more accurate parallel would, I think, be found if the later Latin use, e.g. *summoto aditus*,<sup>1</sup> of the past participle passive were explained as 'after the removing.' The word *summoto* is a close parallel to forms

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlv, 29, 2, etc.

like *krtvā*. It is an oblique case of a verbal noun, and the word implies no voice. But the history of the use renders it certain that the real rendering as felt by the users is either 'the people having been removed' or 'room having been made,' taking the word as an impersonal passive, the passive sense being in either case retained, just as I hold that the active sense of the Sanskrit gerund is never lost.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

### VETHADIPA.

In this Journal, 1906. 900, note 1, Dr. Fleet has mentioned as highly probable, with the reservation "if the true spelling of the modern name is such as to justify the connexion," a suggestion by Dr. Hoey that *Vēṭhadīpa* might be recognized in the Bettiah, Bettia, or Bettiā of the present day, in the Champāran district.

But *Betiya* (बेतिया or बितिया) can hardly be *Vēṭhadīpa* (वेढदीप), for the त in बेतिया is dental. The name of the town often occurs in literature, as it was the birthplace of Vallabhāchārya. Thus, from Hariśchandra's Vallabhāchārya-jivana-charitra, p. 31:— लक्ष्मण भट्ट (Vallabha's father) started from Ayōdhyā for Kāśī, and मार्ग में बितिया के हलाके में . . . . . चम्पारण (i.e., चम्पारण) में Vallabha was born.

G. A. GRIERSON.

### A NOTE ON THE *Nasabu'l-Khirqa*.

I wish to take the earliest opportunity of correcting an error, which Professor Margoliouth has kindly pointed out to me, in my rendering of the words قال الشعراوى فى كتاب نسب الخرقه (p. 806 *supra*, line 3 from foot). The نسب الخرقه is not, as I supposed (p. 799, l. 1), a work of Sha'ráwí or Sha'rání, but refers to the document showing the descent of Ibnu'l-'Arabi's *khirqā* (religious habit) from the Prophet

al-Khidr through certain intermediaries (whose names Professor Margoliouth informs me, are mentioned in the *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, i, 242) down to himself. Professor Margoliouth adds that the passage to which these words refer is to be found in Sha'rání's *Lawáqihū'l-Amḥār* (Cairo, 1291 A.H.), i, 251, and runs as follows: العربى بالتعريف كما رأيت بخطه فى نسب الخرقه "al-'Arabí, with the definite article, as I have seen it in his own handwriting in the pedigree of his *khirqa*." Such pedigrees frequently occur in Ṣúfí biographies; cf., for example, the *nasab* of Abú Sa'id b. Abi'l-Khayr (*Asrārū'l-Taḥḥid*, ed. by Zhukovski, p. 35, l. 18 sqq.) and of Abu'l-'Abbás Qaṣṣáb (ibid., p. 59, l. 5 sqq.). The same work supplies some interesting details concerning the significance of this investiture (p. 55, l. 4 sqq.): "The Pír, by laying his hand on the disciple's head and clothing him in the *khirqa*, indicates to all and sundry that he knows and has verified the fitness of that person for companionship with the Ṣúfis; and if the Pír is famous and enjoys credit among them, they all put confidence in his act of investiture no less than in the testimony of an approved witness or in the decision of a judge who is qualified to decide points of law. It is for this reason that the Ṣúfis, when a dervish whom they do not know comes into the convent or desires to associate with a party of dervishes, enquire of him: 'Who was thy "Pír of companionship"?' (*Pír-i suḥbat*), and 'From whose hand didst thou receive the *khirqa*?' The Ṣúfis hold these two *nasabs* in very high regard: indeed, there is no *nasab* in the Path (*Tariqat*) except these two. If anyone should fail to establish these two relationships to a Pír who is exemplary (*muqtada*), they drive him forth and will not admit him to their society."

Reverting to the lives of Ibnu'l-Fárid and Ibnu'l-'Arabí, I may perhaps be allowed to mention that Professor B. Moriz has compared the doubtful readings in my MS. with the copy in the Khedivial Library—"a quite modern one, transcribed in 1889 from a copy belonging to the library of

"Arif Hikmat Bey at Medina." The result of his collation confirms many of the emendations which I proposed, but in the following cases the Cairo copy agrees with my MS. or offers a new reading:—P. 803, l. 2, ليقرضه ; p. 803, l. 10, وتحقق أنه غير الله وأنه لا حلول ولا اتحاد قال ; p. 805, l. 3, وقلب ; p. 808, l. 9, بتبرية ; p. 809, l. 14, عشوى ; p. 809, l. 16, الخافى ; p. 811, l. 5, فلس ; p. 813, l. 11, omitted ; p. 817, l. 17, ملكه ; p. 817, l. 18, اختبار ; p. 819, l. 1, كما أن ; p. 820, l. 5, باحسان المعارف omitted ; p. 822, l. 1, قمر ; p. 822, l. 12, فهد آثاره ; p. 822, l. 16, لا يوجدده الآ عن ; p. 823, l. 7, لها ; p. 823, l. 14, خلى افتراك

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

MAY I ask for a few lines in the Journal to put forward a suggested emendation in the text of Book i of the Gulistān, Story 17, in the Qit'a commencing كس نيايد . The words commonly read يا بتمشوبش غُضّه راضى شو have never seemed satisfactory to me, nor have the translations of them offered any real clue to the sense of the words as I am disposed to think they were originally written.

My suggestion is simply this, to read غُضّه instead of غُضّه, when the sense becomes perfectly plain, i.e., *either be content to be in perplexity as to your daily bread (غُضّه)*.

The word غُضّه is, of course, equivalent to كفاف (see Lane, s.v. غُضّه), and I cannot help thinking that Sa'di used it in that simple sense, and that from time immemorial غُضّه has been erroneously substituted for it in printed editions.

GEORGE RANKING.

DR. PAUL BRÖNNIE has received a grant of £600 (= M. 12,000) from the Emperor of Germany for a journey to the East (Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Turkey), for the

purpose of finishing his work "Monuments of Arabic Philology." The work is to consist of eight volumes, and will be printed at Beyreuth. Dr. Brönnle left England in the beginning of December, and expects to be away about eighteen months.

### A CORRECTION.

In this Journal, 1906. 912, line 13 f., *for* "Pāvakū (*sic*), and Vēṭhadīpa, and caused," etc., *read* "Pāvakū (*sic*), Vēṭhadīpa, and Kusinārū, and caused," etc.

J. F. FLEET.

### THE EARLY USE OF THE ERA OF B.C. 58.

In adverting to the observations made by Mr. Vincent Smith in his note entitled "The alleged use of the Vikrama Era in the Panjab in 45 A.D.," issued in this Journal, 1906. 1003 ff., I need refer to only one of some extraneous matters which he brought into discussion, but which have nothing to do with either the date of the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription<sup>1</sup> or the history of the era of B.C. 58. In introducing those matters, Mr. Smith started by quoting and contradicting the remark made by me, in my note on the inscription on the Peshāwar vase, that for dealing with that record we were "dependent upon two reproductions of it." And he added:—"We have a third, Dr. Vogel's." But there was, surely, no error on my part in omitting to mention, and to describe as a "reproduction," the treatment of that record by Dr. Vogel, which is a "reading" and not a "reproduction," and which, being published at precisely the same moment with my own remarks, was not available for citation at all in those remarks. •

The substantial matter is the question of the origin of

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Grierson for the information that the second component of this place-name is evidently the Pashto word *bahāi*. 'a well with steps leading down into it.'

The exact date of the record, a day in the month Vaisākha, falls in A.D. 46 or 47 according as the year, commencing with Kārttika, is taken as current or as expired.

the era of B.C. 58, the so-called Mālava or Vikrama era, and the actual use of it from its very first year. The subject has been made very complicated by the great number of rival theories built up around it: we have already ten such theories about even one part of it, the initial date of Kanishka and the nature of the reckoning used in the records which mention him and his successors; and there are indications of at least one more being in contemplation. I can consequently only deal with it by degrees, as may be convenient. I make another step now towards an eventual presentation of the whole matter in a concise form.

Against my view —(a revival of the belief originally held and too lightly abandoned)— that the era of B.C. 58 was necessarily in use from its first year and was founded by Kanishka, Mr. Smith has now cited certain results arrived at by Professor Kielhorn. It is, however, difficult to agree with Mr. Smith in his interpretation of those results.

Beyond presenting to us the conclusion (IA, 20. 407), most important from a certain well-known point of view, that the era of B.C. 58 "was neither established by, nor designedly invented in memory of, a king Vikramāditya" who actually flourished at that time, Professor Kielhorn did not enter into the question of the origin of the era. He did not deal with doubtful matters, and did not handle at all the use or history of the era before A.D. 372. In words quoted by Mr. Smith himself, he said (*ibid.*, 404, lines 7 to 9 from the bottom):—"What special circumstances may have given rise to its establishment, I am unable to determine at present." But, so far as he did deal with that topic, he stamped the era as emphatically an era of Northern India; and he traced to Mālava and its neighbourhood the earliest instances of the use of it which he had under consideration.

So far, then, from there being in Professor Kielhorn's results anything "inconsistent with Dr. Fleet's theory," those results fit in exactly with my view that the era was founded by a king of Northern India, having a capital

at Mathurā, whose dominions must have included Mālava, and that it was handed on to posterity by the people of that territory.

Now, tradition places Kanishka in round-numbers 400 years after the death of Buddha, and, in doing so, carries him (see this Journal, 1906. 991) practically to B.C. 58. It further represents him as a king, not only of (Northern) India, but also of Gandhāra and Kashmīr. And in its claim for this wide extent of his rule it is borne out by epigraphic records, which give us contemporaneous notices of him, with dates, not only from Mathurā, and from Sārnāth (close to Bonares) towards the east, but also from Suē-Vihār near Bahāwalpūr on the north of Sind, from Māṇikiālā near Rāwalpiṇḍi in the Panjāb, and from Zeda in the Yusufzai country, beyond the Indus and in exactly the same territory with Takht-i-Bahāi. There can be no doubt that the reckoning according to Kanishka's regnal years was well known throughout all those regions. There is no reason why that reckoning, plainly established as an era by his immediate successors, —for one of whom, Huvishka, we have an epigraphic date in the year 51 from even Wardak, some thirty miles to the west of Kābul,— should not have been perpetuated in the north-western parts of the dominions belonging to him and them, quite as much as in the central provinces; especially if, as Mr. Smith has said (*Early History*, 227), "Kanishka's capital was Purushapura, the modern Peshāwar." From all the territories which I have indicated, we have a series of about eighty-five epigraphic dates,<sup>1</sup> ranging from the year 3 to the year 399, of which the earliest couple with the

<sup>1</sup> For most of these dates, see the list given by Mr. Smith in this Journal, 1903. 8 ff.; the reference for the date of the year 299 —(the unit is doubtful)— is *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 10. 171 f. For dates in the years 3, 19, and 40, see EI, 8. 176, 179, 181, 171. M. Senart has given us dates in the years 102 and 200: JA, 1894, 2. 511, 514; *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*, No. 5, pp. 33, 36. For a date which was read first as the year 191 and then as the year 179, see the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4. 255, and plate 70, No. 9: it is really the year 399; see further on, under a book-notice of the Report in question.

name of Kanishka the years 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, and 18. These dates are from records which are undeniably early, whatever may be the opinion as to the exact initial point or points of the figures presented in them. The number of them, about eighty-five for four centuries,—including four of the 2nd century, one of the 3rd, and three of the 4th,—compares quite favourably with the total number of one hundred and seventy-five epigraphic dates available to Professor Kielhorn for the period from A.D. 372 to 1302, which included only eight to cover the four centuries (almost) from A.D. 372 to 754. And, if they are referred to the era of B.C. 58, so that they range from B.C. 55–54 to A.D. 342–43, they practically fill the period antecedent to the point of time from which he took up the history of the era.

J. F. FLEET.

#### ITSING AND VĀGBHATA.

Towards the close of Dr. Hoernle's interesting remarks "On some obscure Anatomical Terms" in Indian Medicine, in the R.A.S. Journal for October—a forerunner of his admirable forthcoming work on the Osteology of the Ancient Indians—I have met with an incidental statement concerning Itsing which seems to require further explanation.

Among many other curious bits of information supplied by Itsing (673–695 A.D. in India) with regard to the condition of medical science in India in his time, there occurs the remarkable statement that *lately* a man epitomized the eight arts of which medical science consists, and made them into one bundle, so that all physicians in the five parts of India now practise according to this book. Dr. Hoernle thinks that the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* of Vāgbhata the elder is the textbook here meant, because that work, as indicated by its title, is an "Epitome of the Octopartite Science."

Now I am not prepared to question the possibility or even plausibility of this proposed identification. Indeed, I had suggested much the same thing myself in a paper on Itsing's observations on the subject of Indian Medicine, published in the Journal G.O.S. for 1902, where I said that "Itsing,

being a Buddhist, might *also* have meant to refer to the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* of Vāgbhata, a Buddhist writer, whose composition, as shown by its very name, is a summary of the eight parts of medical science." By 'also,' the opinion expressed by Professor Takakusu, the learned translator of Itsing, was meant that "this epitomiser may be Suśruta, who calls himself a disciple of Dhanvantari, one of the Nine Gems in the Court of Vikramāditya" (Takakusu's transl., p. 222).

It will be necessary to decide, then, whether Vāgbhata the elder or Suśruta has the better claim to be regarded as the medical writer alluded to by Itsing. Nor must we lose sight of Vāgbhata the younger, whose *Aṣṭāṅghṛdaya* is also a short compendium of the octopartite science, nor of those rather numerous medical writers whom we know from quotations only. Caraka's somewhat diffuse, though ancient, textbook is, I think, less likely than the other works to be the manual referred to by Itsing.

Fortunately, the Chinese Buddhist has taken care to give us some account of the alleged eight parts of the Indian science of medicine. They treat of: (1) all kinds of sores, (2) acupuncture for any disease above the neck, (3) diseases of the body, (4) demoniac disease, (5) *Agada* medicine (i.e. antidote), (6) diseases of children, (7) the means of lengthening one's life, (8) the methods of invigorating the legs and body. In another paragraph Itsing has explained each of these eight terms.

If we compare with these statements the eight sections as given by Suśruta, Vāgbhata (the elder and the younger), and Caraka, we find the following :—

SUŚRUTA, I, 1.	VĀGBHATA, I, 1.	CARAKA, I, 30.
(1) <i>śalyam.</i>	<i>kāya-</i>	<i>kūyacikitsā.</i>
(2) <i>śulākyaṃ.</i>	<i>bāla-</i>	<i>śulākyaṃ.</i>
(3) <i>kūyacikitsā.</i>	<i>graha-</i>	<i>śalyāpahartṛkaṃ.</i>
(4) <i>bhūtavidyā.</i>	<i>ūrdhvāṅga-</i>	<i>viṣagaravairodhika-</i>
(5) <i>kaumārabhṛtyam.</i>	<i>śalya-</i>	<i>bhūtavidyā   prasamanam.</i>
(6) <i>agadatantram.</i>	<i>daṃṣṭrā-</i>	<i>kaumārabhṛtyakam.</i>
(7) <i>rasāyanatantram.</i>	<i>jarā-</i>	<i>rasāyanam.</i>
(8) <i>vājīkaraṇatantram.</i>	<i>vṛṣa-</i>	<i>vājīkaraṇam.</i>

Here the only difference between Itsing and Suśruta consists in the relative position assigned to Nos. (5) and (6), i.e. antidotes of poison and infantine diseases. Moreover, Itsing refers to antidotes as *agada*, using the ordinary Indian term, just as Suśruta does. Vāgbhata, on the other hand, has a totally different arrangement of the first six titles, and only agrees with Itsing as to (7) and (8). Some of his terms are also very unusual. Caruka agrees with Itsing as to Nos. (2) and (6-8), and arranges the four remaining titles in a manner peculiar to himself, though partly agreeing with Vāgbhata, besides giving a strange, longish name to the title of antidotes (4). To this it must be added that the brief explanatory paragraph in Itsing may not unfitly be compared with the more ample paraphrases which Suśruta has added to his statement of the eight titles (p. 3 foll. in Dr. Hoernle's transl. of Suśruta).

It may be argued that Suśruta, being an ancient writer and quoted in the Bower MS. edited by Dr. Hoernle, is not likely to have lived shortly before Itsing, i.e. in the sixth or seventh century. However, Itsing's 'lately' may be accounted for in this way, perhaps, that Itsing had probably read the introduction to Suśruta—just as Alberuni (Sachau's transl., i, 159) shows himself acquainted with the introduction to Caraka—and looked upon his work as a recent compilation, because it purports to be an extract in eight parts (*aṣṭadhā prañītavān*) from an earlier work in 100,000 verses. This explanation, which would entirely divest Itsing's 'lately' of chronological significance, would indeed apply to other textbooks, or to some lost recension of Suśruta, as well as to the now extant work of Suśruta, supposing the latter to have been unknown to Itsing, since it was a generally prevailing practice with writers of medical textbooks to give out their compositions as an abridgment of some early work written by a divinely inspired sage.

However that may be, the claim of the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* to be regarded as the anonymous textbook referred to by Itsing does not seem to be sufficiently established to be used as a basis for fixing the date of the former work, or of the

Amarakośa, if that famous dictionary was actually preceded by the medical work of Vāgbhaṭa the elder.

J. JOLLY.

November 28th, 1906.

## TWO VERSES FROM INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In the Bagumrā plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Indrarāja III (No. 86 of my *Southern List*) this king is eulogized in the verse—

Kṛita-Gōvarddhanōddhāraṁ hēlōnmūlita-Mēruṇā |  
Upēndram=Indrarājēna jītvā yēna na vismitam ||

“Indrarāja did not boast, even though by uprooting with ease Mēru he had surpassed Upēndra (i.e. the god Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu), who (merely) lifted up (the mountain) Gōvardhana.”

The question here is, who that Mēru was that was uprooted by Indrarāja. An answer, in my opinion, is suggested by a passage in the Cambay plates of Gōvindarāja IV (ibid., No. 91), according to which Indrarāja completely uprooted his enemy's city Mahōdaya (*Mahōdayārinagara*), i.e. the well-known town of Kanauj.

According to the Purāṇas,<sup>1</sup> Mahōdayā is one of the towns on the fabulous mountain Mēru. The writer of the *prāśasti* therefore, purposely confounding the terrestrial Mahōdaya with that mythical town, tells the reader that the king uprooted (the mountain) Mēru, and he leaves it to him to guess that, in accordance with the maxim *tātsthyāt tāchchhabdyaṁ*, Mēru stands here for Mahōdayā, and that this is not the celestial town so named, but the terrestrial Mahōdaya.

In a Mount Ābū inscription, re-edited by Professor Lüders in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 208 ff., the Paramāra Dhārāvarsha of Chandrāvātī is eulogized in two verses, vv. 36 and 37.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. *I'āyu-purāṇa*, xxxiv, 90.

In the first of them it is said that, when Dhārāvarsha firmly held his ground on the battlefield, the ladies of the lord of Kauṅkaṇa shed tears from their lotus-eyes. The other verse is—

Sō=yaṁ punar=Dāśarathiḥ prithivyām =  
 avyāhataujāḥ sphuṭam=ujjagāma |  
 Mārīcha-vairād=iva yū=dhunāpi  
 mṛigavyam=avyagra-matiḥ karōti ||

“In him there clearly has again appeared here on earth the son of Daśaratha, of unrepelled strength, who, from onmity to Mārīcha<sup>1</sup> as it were, even now is pursuing the chase (*mṛigavya*) with an eager mind.”

When I first read the two verses together, it appeared strange to me that the poet, after glorifying the king for his invincibleness in battle, should have eulogized him as a sportsman; and the epithet ‘of unrepelled strength’ seemed to me little appropriate. A lucky coincidence now enables me to show that there is more in the verse than appears at first sight.

In an unpublished fragmentary inscription on Mount Ābū there occurs the verse—

Dhārāvarshas=tat-sutaḥ prāpa lakshmīṁ  
 lipta-kshōṇiḥ sōṇitaiḥ Kuṅkaṇēndōḥ |  
 sarvatrāpi svaiś=charitraiḥ pavitrair=  
 labdhā slāghā Rāghavēṇēva yūna ||

“His (i.e. Yaśōdhavala’s) son Dhārāvarsha secured fortune, having smeared the earth with the blood of the moon of Kuṅkaṇa; he who, like the Rāghava, everywhere obtained fame by his pure conduct.”

Here ‘the moon of Kuṅkaṇa,’ with whose blood Dhārāvarsha smeared the earth, clearly was a Kōṅkaṇa king named Sōma; in fact, he most probably was the Śilāra Sōmēśvara

<sup>1</sup> Mārīcha was the demon who in the shape of a golden deer enticed Rāma to pursue him and thus to leave Sītā unprotected.

of the Northern Kōṅkaṇa of whom we have an inscription of A.D. 1259. And so the verse in my opinion at the same time reveals the hidden meaning of the verse quoted from the other inscription.

The moon (*sōma*) is *mṛiga-dhara*, 'the deer-holder,' *mṛigāṅka*, 'deer-marked,' etc.; the spot in it is a deer (*mṛiga*). The poet again has purposely confounded *sōma*, 'the moon,' with the king Sōma; and instead of telling us that Dhūrāvarsha pursued the king Sōma, he represents him as engaged in chasing the deer (*mṛigavya*). By this deer, however, he wishes us to understand, not the ordinary deer, but the deer in the moon (*sōma*), and leaves us to guess that *mṛiga* is put instead of *sōma*, denoting, not the luminary, but 'the moon of Kōṅkaṇa,' the Kōṅkaṇa king Sōmēśvara.

More than once I have asked myself whether these interpretations are not too artificial. They may seem to be so to a European of the twentieth century. But the poets wrote for their own people and their own contemporaries, who were well acquainted with the exploits of their kings. To them a hint would be as good as a plain statement of fact; and scholars as the readers of *prāśastis* must have been, they in my opinion would have preferred the former, so long as the poet succeeded in rousing in them that feeling which the Hindu aptly denotes by the word *chamutkāra*.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1902-3; pp. 293; 34 plates: and ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1903-4; pp. 314; 72 plates. Royal 4to. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India; 1904 and 1906.)

The issue of these two volumes has signalized a new departure, initiated by Lord Curzon and endorsed by the subsequent passing of the Ancient Monuments' Act and a recent reorganization of the Archaeological Department, in the treatment accorded by the Government of India to the cause of Indian research. The office of Director-General of Archaeology had been left vacant for some ten years after the retirement in 1889 of Dr. Burgess, who succeeded General Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1885. In 1899, however, Lord Curzon, very shortly after his arrival in India as Viceroy, accepted it as a part of our imperial obligations that greater encouragement should be given, by more active work, closer supervision, and larger outlay, to the exploitation and preservation of the ancient epigraphic, artistic, and architectural remains of India, and that arrangements should be made for ensuring the deposit of portable articles of interest in Museums, instead of allowing them to continue to fall into private hands with the result of becoming difficult of access if not altogether untraceable. The proposals that were made by him to those ends met with the approval of the Home Government. In 1901 the office of Director-General was revived, and the sphere and functions of that officer were greatly extended, especially

by combining the previously separate branches of exploration and conservation. And to fill the revived office there was selected, in the person of Mr. Marshall, one who had acquired the necessary experience in both lines by practical work in Greece. At the same time there was also given to the Director-General a partial control, lately made complete, over the official publication of the results of epigraphic research.

The object of the Director-General, in starting his new series of Annual Reports, of which the first two are before us, has been to aim, not so much at finality of treatment of the matters handled in them, as at quickly making public the latest results of the current work of his Department, so as to stimulate general co-operation in the further prosecution of the topics of those results. And the two volumes now before us illustrate well the success that has attended the reorganization of the Department, and promise still better for the future. Divided each into three parts, for Conservation, Exploration and Research, and Epigraphy, each of which, in each volume, is prefaced by an introduction by the Director-General, they present a varied selection of interesting matter which will attract the attention of a wide circle of readers. We can here indicate the contents of them in, for the most part, only a very formal manner.

In the Report for 1902-3, the most generally attractive and important article is that which contains the account by Mr. Marshall and Dr. Vogel (pp. 141-84, with plates 24 to 27 and numerous other illustrations) of excavations made by them at and close to Chārsada, part of the site identified by Sir A. Cunningham with the ancient Pushkalāvati, the Poukelāōtis of the Greeks. On this occasion the chief discoveries were made at the two hillocks named Pālātu Dherī and Ghaz Dherī, the former of which had previously yielded a well-known statue of Buddha bearing on its pedestal a Kharōshthī inscription dated in the year 384. The new discoveries included the remains of a Buddhist building (p. 161, fig. 14) and a Stūpa-base

with a courtyard which perhaps contained at one time a large recumbent figure of the dying Buddha (p. 174, fig. 19); three earthenware jars bearing Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions in a sort of thin ink (p. 163, figs. A, B, C); some Buddhist stone heads (plate 25, at p. 164); some plaster heads and parts of figures (plate 26, at p. 170); and some architectural pieces (plate 27, at p. 178), including a remarkably lifelike group of seven figures (fig. 5). In the Bālā Hīṣār hill there was found a curious mould (p. 154, fig. 8), the subject of which is a female, or effeminate male, figure riding on a swan, thought to be probably intended for Apollo.

In the same volume, in the division of Conservation (pp. 14–103; plates 1 to 21), we have articles, with photographic and other illustrations, exhibiting the progress made in the restoration of various buildings at Ahmedabad, Bijāpur, Bhubanōshwar, Konārak, Panduah, Agra, Sikan-darah, Delhi, Ajmere, and Mandalay.

In the division of Exploration and Research (pp. 104–224; plates 22 to 33), we have the following in addition to the article on Chārsada mentioned above. Mr. Rea has given us an interesting and well-illustrated article on Prehistoric Antiquities in Tinnevely (pp. 111–40), ascribed by him to the time of the early Pāṇḍyas. Another article by Mr. Marshall (pp. 185–94) deals with Buddhist Gold Jewellery, including some necklaces from Chārsada. Mr. Cousens has given us (pp. 195–204) an account of Tēr, in the Nizam's Dominions, from which we learn that the present writer's identification of that place with the ancient Tagara,—based on the unquestionable identity of the ancient and the modern names, and on the manner in which the position of Tēr answers exactly to what we gather from the Periplus and Ptolemy about the position of Tagara and the reasons for which it was commercially of so much importance (see this Journal, 1901. 537 ff.),—is amply supported, not only by the existence of early Hindū, Jain, and Buddhist remains, the latter including a structural Chaitya subsequently adapted as a temple of Trivikrama (plate 29), but also by

plainly recognizable traces of an ancient town of considerable size. The same writer has contributed also an article on the Iron Pillar at Delhi (pp. 205-72). Dr. Vogel has given us an article on Tombs at Hinidān in Las Bela (pp. 213-17). And Mr. Nur Bakhsh has given us some Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and its Buildings (pp. 218-24).

In the division of Epigraphy (pp. 225-74; plates 34, and other illustrations), we have first a paper by Professor Hultzsch (pp. 232-38), in which he has edited, with a facsimile, the record on the Ratlām copperplates of the Maitraka prince Dhruvasēna II. of Valabhī, dated in the (Gupta) year 321, in A.D. 640.<sup>1</sup> This record not only proves that Dhruvasēna II. possessed Mālwa, in circumstances which may be gathered partly from the Harshacharita and partly from Hiuen-tsiang, but is also of interest in presenting, against the form Mālava which is so familiar from other epigraphic records and from literature, the form Mālavaka, from which we have the modern name Mālwa. And it may be added that in the Daśapura of this record, which is the modern Dasōr, Mandasōr, we have the town which in the time of Hiuen-tsiang was the capital of the country mentioned by him as Mo-la-p'o, = Mālava. Dr. Vogel has given us an article (pp. 239-71) on nine Inscriptions of the Chambā State, with facsimiles, and with a sketch of the historical and geographical results deduced from them. Curiously enough, two of these records, referable to the period A.D. 1045-70 (pp. 256, 259), include a very exceptional invocatory stanza:—Jayati bhuvana-kāraṇam Svayambhūḥ, etc., which elsewhere is found in certain records of the eighth and ninth centuries from Central and Western India. The volume closes with a contribution by the same scholar (pp. 272-74), bringing forward the interpretations proposed by M. Drouin of three short Armenian Inscriptions, of the seventeenth century, from Balūchistān.

<sup>1</sup> The other Ratlām record of the same prince, dated one year earlier, mentioned in the treatment of this one, has now been edited by the same scholar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, 8. 188 ff., with a facsimile, and with a repetition of the text of the present record.

In the Report for 1903-4, the chief feature is Dr. Bloch's article (pp. 81-122; plates 31 to 42) on Excavations at Basārḥ. In respect of this place he has accepted the belief, which originated with M. Vivien de St. Martin and Sir Alexander Cunningham, that it is the ancient Vaiśālī: how far that belief may be justifiable, will have to be considered on some other occasion; it can only be said here that we have more than one line of independent evidence tending plainly to locate Vaiśālī elsewhere, and to account in quite another way for the remains at Basārḥ. The miscellaneous objects found in Dr. Bloch's excavations, —pottery, terracotta, beads, ornamental stone tablets, metal utensils, etc.,—are illustrated by various woodcuts, as well as in the plates, and are interesting enough. But importance attaches chiefly to a large find of clay seals of the fourth and fifth centuries, originally attached to letters or other documents, discovered mostly in a subterranean chamber. The total number of specimens is about 720, with somewhat more than 1,100 seal-impressions, exhibiting approximately 120 varieties. The bulk consists of seals of officials, guilds, corporations, etc.; of seals of private individuals; of seals of temples; and of seals with religious legends on them. One, however, bears the legend:—"Of the illustrious Ghaṭōtkachagupta," in which we can hardly avoid recognizing a mention of the father, called simply Ghaṭōtkacha in the inscriptions, of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta I. Three others bear legends which mention Dhruvasvāminī, called in the inscriptions Dhruvadēvī, wife of Chandragupta II., and give us Gōvindagupta as another son of that king. Others bear legends which mark them as having been issued at Vaiśālī. Others bear legends which include the territorial appellation Tīrabhukti, whence came the modern name Tīrhūt. And the legends on others present Tīra, evidently as the locality from which the territory derived its designation.

Next in interest comes Dr. Vogel's article on Inscribed Gandhāra Sculptures (pp. 244-60; plates 66 to 70), dealing with fourteen Kharōshthī inscriptions, nine of which are illustrated in facsimile. Plate 69 brings together, for

comparison, the Loriyān Tangai and Hashtnagar statues of Buddha which have given us dates in the years 318 and 384, and the Skārah Dherī image of Hārītī which is understood to give us a date in the year 179. In accordance with a view that the Gandhāra art was at its best in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, Dr. Vogel proposes to refer the first two dates to the Seleucidan era, which places them in A.D. 6 and 72. He would place the Hārītī image, an inferior sample of art as contrasted with the other two, roughly about A.D. 250. He would refer its date, taken as the year 179, to the same series with those dates, connected with the names of Kanishka and his successors, which run from the year 3 to the year 98. He considers that the most natural explanation of that series of dates is that Kanishka founded an era of his own. And he would seem, in fact, to have an inclination to identify Kanishka's era with the so-called Śaka era of A.D. 78, and to refer the Hārītī date to that era with the result of A.D. 257, but for the point that there is no indication of that era having been in use in Gandhāra at so early a time as the middle of the third century A.D. Dr. Vogel's proposals are ingenious. But evidence in the direction of the use of the Seleucidan era in Gandhāra at any time is, to say the least, extremely weak. And his reading of the date on the Hārītī image is susceptible of improvement. In the word which has been read by him as *ekunasi[i]-satimaē*, the fifth syllable is distinctly *du*, not a *t* with a damaged *i*. In the preceding syllable, the supposed *śi*, the consonant does not at all resemble the *śa* of *satimaē*. Further, the whole character is clearer in the photogravure of the image (plate 69, *c*) than in the separate reproduction of the inscription (plate 70, No. 9); the latter fails to shew fully a projection above the top, on the left. We can plainly recognize in this character a cursive form of *ch*. And we thus obtain the reading *ekuna-chaduśatimaē*, "in the four-hundred-less-by-one-th year," i.e., "in the year 399."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the form *chadu*, 'four,' in other Kharōshthī inscriptions from the same territory, see this same Report, p. 289, and p. 290, Notes (4), and the Report for 1902-3. 163, fig. 15, A. and B. We have there two other varieties of the cursive *ch*.

This makes a very material difference, and leaves us free to refer the three dates to one and the same era; in my opinion, to the era of B.C. 58, with the result that the specified months place the date of the year 318 in A.D. 262, the date of the year 384 in A.D. 328, and the date of the year 399 in A.D. 343.

In the division of this volume which deals with Conservation (pp. 1-72; plates 1 to 30), we have notices of progress made at Agra and other places in the United Provinces and Panjāb Circle; at Māṇḍū and Dhār in Central India; at Konārak, Vishṇupur, and Bagerhat, in Bengal; at Burhānpur and other places in the Central Provinces; at Vijayanagara and other places in Madras; and at Mandalay and Pagan.

In the division of Exploration and Research (pp. 73-231; plates 31 to 65), we have, in addition to the articles by Dr. Bloch and Dr. Vogel mentioned above, the following. Dr. Bloch has given us a paper on the Caves and Inscriptions in the Rāmgarh Hill (pp. 123-31), including, in plate 43, excellent facsimiles of the Sītābengū and Jōgīmārā inscriptions which were previously known only from imperfect reproductions by hand; he holds, partly from the meaning of the records, partly on other grounds, that the Sītābengū cave was used for poetic recitations and theatrical performances, and the Jōgīmārā cave was a resting-place for the girls employed in the theatre. Mr. Cousens has given us a paper on a ruined site in Sind (pp. 132-44), in which he has settled a long-standing controversy by shewing that Brāhmaṇābād and Maṇṣūrah are one and the same place; the remains of the former underlie those of the latter. Mr. Taw Sein Ko has contributed an article on Ancient Relics found at Shwebo (pp. 145-57). Mr. Rea has given a contribution on Prehistoric Pottery from Tinnevely (pp. 158-63). Mr. Nur Bakhsh has written about the Agra Fort and its Buildings (pp. 164-93). Mr. Hughes Buller has written about the Gabrbands or Dams of the Zoroastrians in Balūchistān (pp. 194-201). Mr. V. Venkayya has written on Irrigation

in Southern India in Ancient Times (pp. 202-11). Dr. Vogel has dealt with some Buddhist Sculptures from Benares, some of them inscribed (pp. 212-26). And Mr. Cousens winds up this part of the volume with a contribution (pp. 227-31) on the employment of the Makara, a more or less fabulous marine animal, in Hindū architectural ornamentation.

The division devoted to Epigraphy (pp. 232-91; plates 66 to 72) gives us first a brief preliminary notice by Professor Pischel (pp. 238-40) of two Prākṛit poems, odes to the tortoise incarnation of Vāhṇu, recorded on stone at Dhār, which have now been edited in full by him, with facsimiles, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, 8. 241-60; these poems were written in honour of king Bhōja, and were in fact attributed to him by the real author. Professor Hultzsch gives us (pp. 240-43), from another stone found at the same place, a similar notice of the first two acts of a play by Madana, entitled Pārijātamañjarī or Vijayaśrī, of which the hero is the Paramāra king Arjunavarman; this text has now been edited by the same scholar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, 8. 96-122, with facsimiles, and also in separate form. After Dr. Vogel's article on the inscribed Gandhāra sculptures which has been noticed above, we have next, again from him, a Copperplate Grant of Bahādūr Singh of Kuḷlū, dated in A.D. 1559 (pp. 261-69). That is followed by an article by Mr. V. Venkayya on Inscriptions in the Trichinopoly Cave (pp. 270-76), in the course of which he gives us the text and translation of a Tamil record of the Pāṇḍya king Varagunadēva-Mārañjaduiyan, belonging to about the middle of the ninth century. Then we have, from Mr. Hirananda, a synopsis of five Inscriptions from Gwalior (pp. 277-88), with the text, translation, and facsimile (plate 72) of one of them, an undated record of the reign of Bhōjadēva. And the volume ends with a short but instructive paper by Professor Lüders (pp. 289-91), giving us the text, with translation and comments, of one of the Kharōshthī inscriptions in ink found (see the Report for 1902-3. 163) at Chārsada.

Two suggestions present themselves in respect of the future volumes of this new and important series.

One is that the volumes might contain somewhat less matter, in favour of being published more quickly, until the issue of them is more up to date. An Annual Report for the year 1903-4 which is only published in 1906 and issued in the second half of that year makes a somewhat late appearance.

The other is this. For the publication of what are commonly known as inscriptions, apart from the legends on seals and coins, there is the special official journal, the *Epigraphia Indica*, in charge of a special officer, the Government Epigraphist, and under the control of the Director-General. It would be a cause for regret if inscriptional articles adapted exactly to that journal, as are some of the epigraphic articles in these two volumes, should, to the detriment of that journal, be diverted to any appreciable extent to this new means of publication.

J. F. FLEET.

DIE MON - KHMER - VÖLKER, EIN BINDEGLIED ZWISCHEN VÖLKERN ZENTRALASIENS UND AUSTRONESIENS. By P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D. Reprinted from *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Neue Folge, Band v, Heft 1 u. 2. (Brunswick, 1906.)

Pater Schmidt's researches into the mutual relationship of the Mon-Khmer languages are familiar to students of the languages of Further India. His best known works in this connection are the essays on Sakei and Semang (aboriginal languages of Malacca),<sup>1</sup> on Mon-Khmer Phonology,<sup>2</sup> and on that of Khasi.<sup>3</sup> Logan and Forbes had discussed this

<sup>1</sup> "Die Sprachen der Sakei und Semang auf Malakka und ihr Verhältnis zu den Mon-Khmer-Sprachen," in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederl. Indië*, 6<sup>e</sup> Volgr., Deel viii.

<sup>2</sup> "Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen," in the *Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* (phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. iii).

<sup>3</sup> "Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache in ihren Beziehungen zu derjenigen der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen," in the *Abhandlungen der Königl. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Kl. i, Bd. xxii, Abt. 3).

question previously, but the foundations of scientific research were first laid down by Professor E. Kuhn of Munich, in his masterly "*Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens*" (1889), and on this Pater Schmidt has built the edifice of which the work under review (fitly dedicated to Professors Kern and Kuhn) is the coping-stone.

Pater Schmidt's former works had shown that there exists in Further India an important group of languages, embracing Mon, Khmer, Palaung, Wa, and a number of other minor forms of speech (including the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula), which was neither Tibeto-Burman nor Sinitic, but was independent of both, while on the other hand it was closely connected with the Khasi spoken in Central Assam. The connection of these Mon-Khmer languages with the Muṇḍā languages of India Proper was for many years a subject of discussion. Professor Kuhn, in the work already mentioned, gave a doubtful opinion, but, when he wrote, the materials were insufficient for a thorough investigation of the question. The Linguistic Survey of India has now removed this difficulty, and the subject has been attacked from two sides. Dr. Konow, working from the point of view of India Proper, has been able to show not only that the Muṇḍā languages are connected with Mon-Khmer, but that the former must once have extended much more widely over India than they do at the present day. There is a line of dialects of the Lower Himālaya, stretching from Kanāwar in the Panjāb to near Darjiling, Tibeto-Burman in character, but nevertheless retaining many surviving traces of an old language of undoubted Muṇḍā character. Similarly, Pater Schmidt, working from the side of Further India, shows clearly that the bases of the Muṇḍā languages and of the Mon-Khmer languages are identical. We have thus presented to our view a group of cognate languages reaching from the Panjāb, through Central India, Assam, the Nicobars, and Further India, to the Malay Peninsula. This group of Mon-Khmer-Malacca-Muṇḍā-Nicobar-Khasi tongues Pater Schmidt names the 'Austroasiatic' languages. They are

not Aryan, and they are not Tibeto-Sinitic, but form an independent group, the mutual relationship of which may now be taken to be as surely established as that of the various members of the Indo-European family. These fall into the following sub-groups:—

- |                              |                     |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| I. (a) Semang.               | III. (a) Mon-Khmer. |
| (b) Senoi, Sakei, and Tembe. | (b) Muṇḍā.          |
| II. (a) Khasi.               | (c) Cham, etc.      |
| (b) Nicobar.                 |                     |
| (c) Wa, Palaung, Riang.      |                     |

After an interesting discussion as to the extent to which the various sub-groups contain Aryan loan-words, Pater Schmidt concludes that the first two are in a stage of development earlier than that of the last, a fact which is important for determining the relative times of the migration of each group to its present seat.<sup>1</sup> This brings us to the question whether in this case unity of speech is coincident with unity of race. Pater Schmidt deals with this at considerable length, and shows that the answer is in the affirmative. The physiological characteristics of all the speakers of Austroasiatic languages are:—

Skull: dolichocephalic or mesocephalic.

Eyes: horizontal, not oblique; openings round  
and broad, not like narrow slits.

Base of nose: wide.

Skin: dark.

Hair: more or less wavy.

Stature: short or medium.

These characteristics sharply distinguish them alike from Aryan and from Mongolian races.

<sup>1</sup> Most of these languages carry out their word-building by prefixes and infixes, but Muṇḍā and, to a certain extent, Nicobar also employ suffixes. In discussing the reason for this difference Pater Schmidt incidentally quotes a grammatical law of some importance, which he had laid down on a previous occasion, but which is most probably new to most readers of this. It is that, in languages which employ suffixes, the genitive (without any affix) precedes the governing noun, while in those that employ prefixes it follows it.

But this is only half of Pater Schmidt's paper. In the year 1899, in summing up the knowledge then available concerning the languages of Oceania, he proposed for them the name of 'Austronesian,' which includes three mutually related sub-groups—the Indonesian, the Melanesian, and the Polynesian.<sup>1</sup> The greater part of the rest of the paper is devoted to comparing, with equally scientific rigour, the Austroasiatic and Austronesian languages, and to showing that these two groups of speeches are essentially related to each other, and form together one great united whole which he calls the 'Austrie' ('Austrisch') family. He bases his proof on the following facts:—

- (1) The complete agreement of their phonetic systems.
- (2) The original identity of their systems of word-building.
- (3) The agreement in important and striking points of grammar, especially :
  - (a) The genitive following the governing word.
  - (b) The employment of possessive affixes, sometimes even identical in form.
  - (c) The occurrence of two forms of the plural of the 1st personal pronoun, one exclusive, the other inclusive.
  - (d) The occurrence in several languages of the dual and of the trial numbers.
- (4) The widely extended agreement in vocabulary.

As to whether the linguistic unity is here again accompanied by ethnic unity forms an interesting riddle which Pater Schmidt is compelled, for want of sufficient materials, to leave unsolved. He is content to show that, so far as materials exist, they do not prohibit the supposition—nay, that they afford indications which tend to suggest the ultimate probability of a reply in the affirmative.

<sup>1</sup> See *Mitt. d. Wiener Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. xxix (xix), 1899, p. 245. The Papuan of New Guinea, the Australian, and a few other neighbouring languages are not Austronesian.

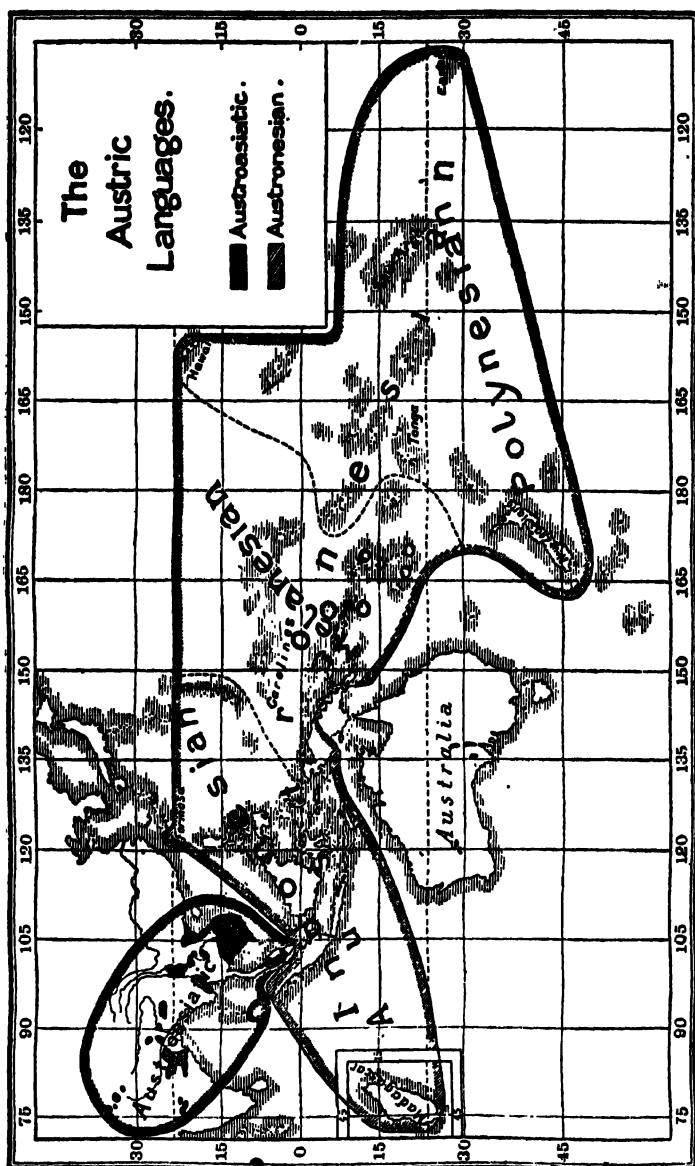
When we consider the vast extent of the globe which Pater Schmidt has shown to be covered by people speaking various members of one family of languages, and perhaps by people all of one race—a tract reaching from the Panjāb in the west to Easter Island, off the coast of South America, in the east; from the Himālaya in the north to New Zealand in the south,—we must confess that it is the most widely spread speech-family of which the existence has yet been proved. The stream of migration appears to have started, not from the middle, but from the extreme western end of the whole tract, and thence to have worked eastwards and southwards.

In this review I have only attempted to sketch the results at which Pater Schmidt has arrived. Space has not allowed me to give the details of his arguments. These are included in an appendix of some twenty-six pages of large quarto,<sup>1</sup> in which each linguistic phenomenon is examined with painstaking and scientific completeness. Letter after letter, affix after affix, word after word, is taken in its turn and traced through many languages, until the cumulative result, as it strikes me personally, is that Pater Schmidt has amply proved his case, and has succeeded in erecting an important landmark on one of the most obscure paths of comparative philology.

The appended map (p. 192) shows the limits of the Austriac family of languages as laid down by Pater Schmidt.

G. A. GRIERSON.

<sup>1</sup> Or, in the reprint, eighty-six pages of small octavo.



THE TRAVELS OF IBN JUBAIR.<sup>1</sup> Translated from the Arabic into Italian by CELESTINO SCHIAPARELLI. (Published by Ermanno Loescher & Co., Rome, 1906.)

This work gives a valuable account of the cities of Alexandria, Cairo, Mecca and Medina, Bagdad, Damascus, etc., during the twelfth century, and an especially interesting description of Sicily in the reign of the Norman king, William the Good. The Arabic text was published by Dr. W. Wright in 1852, at Leyden, from a Leyden MS., but the book is apparently out of print. It is therefore good that a translation has appeared, though it may be regretted that the translator has not collated the text with the Fez MS. now in Paris.

Ibn Jubair was of Arab descent, and belonged to the Kināna tribe, but his ancestors had settled in Spain. He himself was born in Valencia in 1145. He is said to have made three pilgrimages to the East, and to have died in Alexandria in November, 1217, on his way back from his last journey, but it is only the first voyage that we have an account of in this volume. The title-page mentions Palestine as one of the countries visited by him, but in fact he did not go there on his first voyage, and consequently there is no account of it in this volume. Indeed, so good a Muhammedan as he was could hardly have gone to Palestine in 1183-5, as it was then in the hands of the Crusaders, though it appears that he did visit Jerusalem on a subsequent voyage, when it had been retaken by Saladin. He began his first voyage in February, 1183, and finished it at Granada in April, 1185. According to a story told by Al Maqqarī—a late authority, for he died in 1632—and quoted by Signor Schiaparelli, Ibn Jubair

<sup>1</sup> There is a short notice of Ibn Jubair in Professor Brown's valuable "Literary History of Persia," ii, p. 483, though it is hard to see why a book written in Arabic by a Spaniard should be mentioned there, or why Nāzīr Khusrū, who came from near Balkh, should be included, and Anīr Khusrū, whose father came from Balkh, be excluded. Balkh is in what used to be called Khūrasān, but Qubāzīān, where Nāzīr Khusrū was born, is north of the Oxus, and so belongs to Transoxiana.

went on his first pilgrimage in order to expiate the involuntary sin of winebibbing.<sup>1</sup> He was a secretary, and one day his master invited him to drink a cup of wine. Ibn Jubair deprecated the offer, saying he had never touched the forbidden thing. "By God!" said the other, "you'll have to drink seven cups." He had to submit, and when he had finished drinking his master filled the cup seven times with gold coins. Ibn Jubair took these home and devoted them to the expenses of a pilgrimage to Mecca. He sailed from Spain, accompanied by a friend, and reached Alexandria after a tempestuous voyage of thirty days. Here he and his fellow-passengers experienced the extortion of the *Dogāna* or Custom-house, being compelled to pay *sakat*, or alms, upon their goods, without any inquiry as to whether they had possessed them for a twelvemonth, and as to whether they were necessities or not. Ibn Jubair felt sure that Saladin, "whose justice extends over the earth, and whose fame has gone out into all the lands," did not know of the evil practices of his officers.

Ibn Jubair saw and describes the wonders of Alexandria, such as the lighthouse and the tombs of the saints, and from there he went on to Cairo, where he saw the pyramids, etc. At *Ikhmīm* in Upper Egypt, the *Chemmis* or *Panopolis* of the Greeks, he describes a temple<sup>2</sup> which is apparently the one mentioned in Herodotus, "*Euterpe*," 91, as dedicated to *Perseus*, and which was destroyed about two centuries after Ibn Jubair's visit. Here, too, he saw the mosque of the famous Muhammadan saint *Zū-n-Nūn* (the lord of the Fish). He is enthusiastic in his praise of Saladin, and in speaking of his justice and activity he twice makes the curious remark that it was a singularity of Egypt that the people carried on their businesses by night as well as by day. "In his dominions men go out to attend their

<sup>1</sup> The story bears a resemblance to one told by *Nāzīr Khusrū* of himself (Browne's "*Literary History of Persia*," ii, p. 221). His travels took place about 150 years before Ibn Jubair's.

<sup>2</sup> The translator says in a note that Ibn Jubair places the temple at the west of the town, but in the text of the translation, p. 31, it is placed at the east. It is also east in the Arabic.

business at night, and, in spite of the darkness, have no fears." There were no lamplighters in those days in the East, nor for centuries afterwards. As Bernier says, speaking of Agra and Delhi, "you will never see there the good citizen, or the beautiful citizeness, walking about there without fear of thieves or mud, or those long rows of stars which brave the wind, the rain, and the darkness."

From Egypt Ibn Jubair went on a camel to 'Aizāb (the Aidhab of D'Herbelot), on the Red Sea, and from there he crossed over to Jeddah. With true Oriental calm he speaks indulgently of the long camel-journey, remarking that the passengers are slung in panniers on the animal's back, and that they can read a book, or, "if they think it lawful to play chess, they can divert and soothe their minds by having a game." Of Aidhab and its inhabitants, however, he speaks with horror, and vows that, if he can help it, he will never use this route again. From Jeddah he proceeded to Mecca and Medina, and gives long accounts of both cities and of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. Indeed, his book is to a great extent a guide to holy places, and was probably intended as such, for he gives minute accounts of the stages, and of the watering-places, etc. Speaking of the Black Stone, he says it consists of four pieces, having been broken by the Carmathians. He heard the *khutba* or sermon, and says that when the preacher came to mention the name of Saladin the tongues of the audience trembled with emotion, and there were cries of "Amen" on every side (p. 69). He describes (p. 115) how on a Thursday in Rajab (the 27th) the sacred house was reserved for the women. They had assembled for the purpose some days before, and on that day there was not a single woman in Mecca who did not visit the mosque. All the men left it, except the doorkeepers, and when the doors were opened there was such a rush of women, crying out "God is great; there is no God but He," that the doorkeepers could not extricate themselves. "Generally the women are, in comparison with the men, poor deluded ones. They see the glorious House, but cannot enter it; admire

the blessed Stone, but cannot kiss it; and their fate is to look on in sadness, without being able to do more than make the circumambulation at a distance. On this day, however, which comes once every year, they see the shrine in all its glory." Possibly Ibn Jubair made some comparisons not altogether favourable to Oriental customs when his heart was secretly enticed by beholding the Christian women thronging the church of George of Antioch (now the Martorane) at Palermo on Christmas Day (p. 332).

From Arabia Ibn Jubair proceeded to Mesopotamia and stayed some time at Bagdad. This city was in decay when he visited it, and he did not admire the citizens, for he found them full of conceit, and despisers of all foreigners. But he admired the women, and if God had not preserved him he might have had occasion to fear the seductions of love. He also admired the bright and rapid Tigris flowing through the city—"come collana di perle in mezzo a due seni." In Bagdad, too, he had the advantage of hearing two famous preachers, one of them being Jamālu-d-dīn Abū-l-fazāil ibn 'Alī al-Jauzī. This was the Abū-l-Farage Ben Alī Ben al-Giowzī of D'Herbelot, and a once famous preacher and teacher of the Hanbal school. Ibn Jubair gives a very full and enthusiastic account of his eloquence (pp. 208, etc.). After Bagdad he visited Mosul, where he saw the hill of repentance where Jonah took up his quarters, and also the tomb of St. George. Then he went to Aleppo (p. 240), which he says derives its name from Abraham's having milked his cows there and having distributed the milk to the poor. After this we have a long account of Damascus, its mosque, and wonderful clock and clepsydra, etc. He panegyrises Nūru-d-dīn—whose praises are to be found in Gibbon—and again takes occasion to laud Saladin, who, he says (p. 231), is the only king whose actions correspond with his titles. At p. 272 he animadverts severely on some Shia heretics, especially the Ismailians. After Damascus he visited Tyre, etc., and finally embarked at Acre on October 18th, 1184. He had a long and disastrous voyage, which ended in his being shipwrecked in the Straits of

Messina. The Christian king of the island, however, William the Good, acted up to his name, and enabled the passengers to land in safety. Ibn Jubair's account of Sicily is justly regarded by the Italians the most interesting part of his book, but it need not be dwelt on here, as Signor Michele Amari has edited and translated this part, and his book is in our library.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say that he visited Palermo, which he compares to Cordova, and that he sailed from Trapani in a Genoese boat of Asia Minor on March 25th, 1185, and landed at Carthagena on the 19th April.

Signor Schiaparelli says that Ibn Jubair's work has always been an open mine for Arabian and European writers, and he gives many instances of plagiarism by Ibn Batuta and others. He also says that for originality, accuracy, and importance it does not yield to the writings of Nāẓir Khusrū or Ibn Batuta. But this is saying rather too much. Ibn Jubair has not the raciness of Ibn Batuta, nor did he travel so far or see so many famous men. In fact, his book is a trifle dull, though it must have been a valuable *vade mecum* for pilgrims. He was, however, a better and less worldly man than Ibn Batuta, and he had the advantage of being about two centuries before him. His book is full of good sense, in spite of its occasional bigotry, and gives a very favourable idea of his character. He was a simple-minded and pious Moslem, and if many of his fellow-religionists and fellow-countrymen were like him we must regret more than ever the bigotry which lost to Spain so many excellent citizens when their descendants were expelled. He is said to have been tenderly attached to his wife, and to have celebrated her virtues in a poetic elegy.

H. BEVERIDGE.

<sup>1</sup> See his "Bib. Arabo-Sicula," i, chap. x, p. 157, Turin and Rome, 1880, and *Journal Asiatique* for 1845, and especially the valuable notes at p. 208 of id. for March, 1846. The Arabic is in a vol. of the Bib. A.-S. published at Leipzig in 1857.

**ETHNOGRAPHIE DU TONKIN SEPTENTRIONAL.** Rédigée sur l'ordre de M. P. Beau, Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine Française, par le Commandant E. LUNET DE LAJONQUIÈRE de l'Infanterie Coloniale. *D'après les Études des Administrateurs civils et militaires des Provinces septentrionales.* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1906.)

This volume, we are told in the introduction, is a *résumé* of a series of official reports from the chiefs of the civil and military districts of the mountainous country on the north of Tonkin, analysed and annotated by the author. It supplements and completes a previous volume entrusted to the same hand, which was a co-ordination of the reports from the military districts only.<sup>1</sup> The learned author had already proved his competence for the task by his works on the historical monuments of Cambodia and Champa, including an archæological atlas of Indo-China in folio, and by his *Dictionnaire français-siamois*.

The ethnographic problems of the Indo-Chinese peninsula are most complicated, as the author explains in the first sentence of his book, and he confesses that they are far from being solved. He claims only a sketch of the main lines of "cette mosaïque humaine qui, du Yun-Nan à l'île de Singapoer, de la mer de Chine au golfe du Bengale, se présente si étonnamment variée." In spite of this modest preamble, however, his book will be found to contain a wealth of details of extraordinary novelty and interest, with photographs of costumes and utensils of undoubted authenticity, and classified vocabularies of many little known aboriginal tribes. A point often urged, by the way, is that the northern frontier is political, not ethnological, so that the studies will be useful in investigations of the neighbouring tribes of China proper, from which some of the Annamese mountaineers, in fact, derive their origin.

<sup>1</sup> *Ethnographie des Territoires militaires*, rédigée sur l'ordre du Général Coronuat, Commandant supérieur des troupes du groupe de l'Indo-Chine, par le Commandant Lunet de Lajonquière. Hanoi: imprimerie typo-lithographique F. H. Schneider, 1904.

The classification of the inhabitants of the hill country under review may be gathered from an inspection of the following table of population, based on revenue statistics, which is claimed to be sufficiently exact, except for the Annamese and Chinese:—

Thai . . . . .	239,175
Man . . . . .	50,651
Meo (Miao-tzü). . . . .	21,471
Lolo . . . . .	2,364
Mon . . . . .	30,000
Pa-Teng, La-Ti, Keu-Lao (non-classés). . . . .	270
Annamites . . . . .	8,772
Chinois . . . . .	21,935

The ethnic elements are divided summarily into three races (p. 362), viz. :—

1. The 'Pre-Chinese,' derived from South-Western China, and comprising the 'Thai,' the 'Man,' the 'Meo,' the 'Pa-Teng,' and the 'Keu-Lao.'

2. The 'Lolo,' stated to have come from the west, from the country of the Gurkas in the valley of the Brahmaputra.

3. The 'Muong,' perhaps 'Mon,' allied to the 'Moi' of the south of the peninsula, and apparently the primitive type of the Annamese.

The present localities of the various tribes are carefully defined in a coloured ethnographical map of Northern Tonkin, compiled by M. Lunet de Lajonquière, to accompany the text. He purposely chooses brown for the colour of the Annamese, because they like to dress in the colour of their own muddy plains, while blue, mauve, and pink are considered by him more appropriate for the hill men, who delight in indigo and other gayer tints for the embroidery of their costume.

A word of sympathetic criticism is due for the Chinese type, which is occasionally introduced in the random way which betrays an ignorant European hand, and is hardly

a credit to the *imprimerie orientale* of the rue Garnier. On p. 68, for example, in the rendering of only six names in Chinese, there are no less than six such slips, the character *jung* being corruptly substituted for *k'o*, *chao* for *ling*, *t'ung* for *chang*, *tung* omitted after *wu*, and *jen* ('man') being twice replaced by *pa* ('eight').

S. W. B.

DESCRIPTIO IMPERII MOSLEMICI, by AL-MUQADDASĪ. Edited by M. J. DE GOEJE. Second edition. (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1906.)

After thirty years Professor de Goeje has recently produced a fresh edition of Al-Muqaddasī's "Descriptio Imperii Moslemici," the first edition being exhausted, a fact which in itself is sufficient testimony to the value of the work and the high appreciation of it by Arabic scholars.

The present edition is the result of a fresh collation of the Berlin Codex and the Leyden copy of the Constantinople Codex, together with Codex 6034 of the Berlin codices. The latter, however, Professor de Goeje found to be so full of errors and lacunæ as to be of little or no value for editorial purposes. The editor has, however, made some emendations in the text and several in the notes, arising out of his own most valuable edition of Ibn Khordādhbeh, while he has also incorporated some corrections suggested to him by other workers in this field, notably M. J. Marquart. Of these emendations, some will be found in the actual text, while others, which reached the editor too late for insertion in the proper places, are published in a list which forms part of the Preface.

While some of these emendations are comparatively unimportant, many, in fact the large majority, are of the highest value, and serve to clear up points which were before obscure. Of this latter class are the inclusion of the word مصر (p. 7, l. 20); the emended reading يَرِيد for يَرِيد (p. 16, l. 7); رَقِيَّة for رَفْتَة (p. 31, l. 14); the substitution of الأربع (p. 40, l. 9); the inclusion of the word الرِّاء (p. 41, l. 10);

the substitution of **خارج مرو من محو** for the reading formerly given at p. 46, l. 13, of the text; the emendation **ويجاذى قرية مهاجرة**, i.e. 'facing the village of Mahjarah' (p. 92, l. 3), with many others which cannot be given here. At p. 44, l. 15, we now find **واشترى الماء بالغلا**, which seems a reasonable reading as it stands, though the emendation suggested in the footnote (2) at p. 75 of the translation by Dr. Ranking and Mr. Azoo seems to be more in harmony with the general tenour of the passage. Further, at l. 19 of the same page of the text, the words **بالسيق** are repeated in this edition, although this reading can hardly be deemed satisfactory.

A very important and, in the opinion of the writer, necessary emendation appears to have been overlooked. At p. 58, l. 9, occur these words, **اختلفوا فى التبله وحولها**; whereas it seems almost certain we should read **وحولها** in the sense 'and have altered it' (the Qiblah). Again, at p. 60, l. 7, we find the text still reads **ثلاثمائه ميل ونصف**, instead of **ثلاثمائه ميل ونيف**, which appears to be the proper reading here. Again, at p. 98, l. 13, we find **معلق قرح** written instead of the more likely reading **مُفَلَّق قَرْح**, 'dried peaches of Qurh.'

At p. 102, l. 3, we find the reading **ريح الأيب** with a note (b) B. **الاعيب** (?). But here the reading **ريح الازيب** would appear far preferable, for the reasons given in the footnote (3), p. 153 of Ranking's translation. Doubtless, however, Professor de Goeje had excellent reasons for preferring the reading now given in his text.

To sum up, this new edition will be of the utmost value to all students of Al-Muqaddasi, with respect to whose style and title, whatever our private leanings may be, we must bear in mind the words used by our editor in the closing words of his preface, "*titulus libri is est quem editor ei tribuit.*"

**DIE INSCRIFTEN NEBUKADNEZARS II IM WĀDĪ BRISĀ UND AM NAHR EL-KELB, VON F. H. WEISSBACH.** pp. 44, with 40 autographed and 6 half-tone plates and 5 half-tone blocks in the text. 36 × 25½ cm. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906.)

This work is produced with all Dr. Weissbach's thoroughness. He describes the Wādī Brisā as a deeply-cut valley of the Lebanon, the entrance to which lies about 1½ hours north of Hörmel. It is a world-forsaken district, but he expresses the hope that the neighbourhood will now be oftener visited. At a certain point recesses occur in the rock, the wall of which has been smoothed, and long inscriptions, with bas-reliefs, of the well-known Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar carved. It was Ernest Renan who first heard of the existence of these monuments, but to the French Assyriologist, Henri Pognon, belongs the honour of having really discovered them (October, 1883), and published the text, with a very valuable description and translation (1887).

The recess to the right of the path has a text in archaic Babylonian script, that on the left being in late Babylonian. The former is accompanied by the figure of a man in low relief, who, with outstretched arm, seizes a lion which, rearing on its hind legs, stretches out one fore-paw to strike the man. In the latter recess is a figure of a man, wearing a tiara "resembling a bishop's mitre," standing before a leafless tree.

Unfortunately, both reliefs and inscriptions have suffered greatly from exposure to the weather, but Pognon, their discoverer, was able to make sufficiently serviceable copies to translate a considerable portion of the texts which he found. Dr. Weissbach's aim, in visiting the spot again, was to try to improve the texts as first published by Pognon, and then revise the translations. In this he was successful, and merits the thanks of all those who take interest in the history of the Babylonian empire and its influence in the day of its power, the culmination of which in later days

took place during the reign of that Nebuchadnezzar whose image, though sadly mutilated, accompanies the text with which Dr. Weissbach deals.

Both inscriptions seem to have been identical, except that the script is in one case the early and in the other the late Babylonian style. As usual, Nebuchadnezzar begins with a statement of his own glories, his faithfulness to his gods, and a general statement as to his mighty works, without any details. This is followed by an account of what he had done in restoring the temples of Babylon, in which the glories of Ê-sagila, the great fame of Bel-Merodach and of Zerpanitum, his consort, are described, together with Ê-temen-ana-ki, the tower of Babylon, of which Nabopolassar, his father, had failed to complete the restoration. This, too, Nebuchadnezzar brought to a successful conclusion. A long list of the offerings which the king made then follows, and includes oxen, sheep, birds, fish, grain, and the produce of the field, *billitu*, which the author translates as ‘. . . -Schnaps,’ wine, dairy-produce, etc. This is followed by a description of the ship of Merodach, “overlaid with *şariri* and adorned with precious stones,” and which “reflects its glory in the pure waters of the Euphrates like the stars of the firmament.”

It would take up too much space to mention all the other buildings which the great king speaks of as having been restored and endowed with offerings by him. The gates and streets of the city, however, are referred to, together with the bridge over Libil-êgalla, the eastern canal, the great walls of the city, and the celebrated palaces concerning which he so often spoke. Of special interest, however, are the few details which he gives concerning his journey to the place where these inscriptions were carved. Thither he went, he says, to get cedar-wood, whose scent is good, for his buildings in Babylon. A foreign enemy had taken possession of the district where these trees grew, and the inhabitants of the place had fled into the open country. By the power of Nebo and Merodach he marched to the place, and having swept the enemy away, collected the inhabitants and brought them back. Opening the passes,

he took the wood which he required, and caused his image to be carved on the rocks, "in order that no one might do harm." The text closes with a prayer to Merodach, the end of which is "let my posterity rule the dark-headed ones in happiness for ever"—a wish which was destined all too soon to fail of fulfilment.

The remains of the similar inscription of the Nahr-el-Kelb, which gives a few unimportant variants, is appended. A useful commentary closes the book.

It is a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the reign of the great Nebuchadnezzar, and for this completion of Pognon's useful pioneer-work Dr. Weissbach will have the thanks of all Assyriologists, and also of all those who, being students of the history of the Semites in the near East, desired some tangible evidence of the expeditions of that king in the western districts of Asia. As in all his other inscriptions, this king emphasizes what he had done for the temples of the gods, dismissing his military exploits with but few words. The historian would have wished it otherwise, but it is an additional testimony to the religious disposition of the great king, who thus shows himself to have been a splendid type of the Semitic race to which he belonged.

T. G. PINCHES.

BABYLONISCH-ASSYRISCHE GRAMMATIK, mit Übungsbuch (in Transskription), von ARTHUR UNGNAD, Dr. Phil. Small 8vo; pp. 163. (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1906.)

This little book, though only composed for the non-Assyriologist who wishes to understand and make use of transcribed cuneiform inscriptions, is one which merits attention also from the specialist. How far it would be useful to the non-specialist, however, remains to be seen, as his comprehension and (as far as is in his power) criticism of a translation would be bounded by the correctness of the transcription of the text which he desired to examine.

An interesting point about this grammar is its division into periods, each having its own special usages. The periods are four in number, namely, old Babylonian, middle Babylonian, 'new Assyrian,' and late Babylonian. The use of the term 'Assyrian' in the third period is due to the fact that most of the inscriptions from which the grammar of the period is derived belong to that country.

The phonology is well stated, and the author is undoubtedly right in regarding the combination *a-a* as being for *aya*, though it is doubtful whether it was really pronounced so, except where the half-consonant is written between. That *ya* should sometimes be written *aya* seems also to be strange, but, if correct, would imply a popular, though erroneous, usage, perhaps among a certain class.

After the descriptions of the forms and the rules of syntax (61 pages), the paradigms of the nouns and verbs are given separately, with, in some cases, the forms of each period shown. The nouns are also given with the possessive pronouns and the verbs with the direct or indirect pronominal forms attached. It is noteworthy that we miss in the verbal forms the 'permansive,' to which we have been accustomed, the 'status indeterminatus' taking its place, though it is doubtful whether it is a more appropriate description of the tense. The "Übungsbuch" contains twenty pages of exercises upon the various forms and twenty-six pages of extracts from inscriptions: Hammurabi's laws, Tiglath-pileser I's expedition against Armenia, Aššur-našir-āpli's expedition to the Mediterranean, Shalmaneser II's campaign against Damascus, Sennacherib's campaigns from 703 to 692 B.C. (which include the expedition against Jerusalem), Aššur-banī-āpli's campaigns against Gyges and Egypt, and Nebuchadnezzar's account of the building of the temple-tower at Borsippa, furnish an admirable selection, notwithstanding that the chronological order is, roughly, reversed, the latest being first and the earliest last. A vocabulary of twenty-nine pages closes the work. Though it is a pity that some substitute cannot be found for *s*,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding with the Greek *spiritus lenis*.

that the roots could not be indicated by the infinitive, it is an excellent handbook for Assyro-Babylonian grammar at a reasonable price.

T. G. PINCHES.

LECTURES ON BABYLONIA AND PALESTINE. By STEPHEN LANGDON, Ph.D., Fellow of Columbia University, New York. Small 8vo; pp. xiii and 183. (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1906.)

These lectures were seven in number, delivered, apparently, under the auspices of the Clergy of the Church of the Holy Trinity (p. ix). The author joins in the generally received opinion that the Sumerians were the inventors of the writing and the arts of Babylonia, and admits the possibility of their connection by race with the Chinese. "They called the east the land of the rising sun, the south the land of demons, the west the land of storms, and the north the land of direction."<sup>1</sup>

4000 B.C. is the date given for the arrival of the Semites in Babylonia—only 200 years earlier than the date attributed by the Babylonians of Nabonidus's time to Sargon of Agadé, that ruler so celebrated in history and legend. Babylonian power would, in that case, have consolidated itself in the margin of two hundred years, unless the later date of Sargon of Agadé, put forward by Lehmann and others, which would give 1200 years or more for the first foundation of their empire, be admitted.

The short comparison which the author makes between Assyro-Babylonian and Hebrew literature seems to tell for

<sup>1</sup> These renderings of the meanings of the Sumero-Akkadian names of the cardinal points seem to be commonly received by Assyriologists, but though there is but little doubt that *imi ni-sa*, 'north,' means really 'the cardinal point (lit. wind) of direction,' *imi ku-a*, 'east,' may be translated just as well 'the cardinal point (wind) of the mountains,' *imi giš-gallu*, 'south,' 'the cardinal point (wind) of the storm,' and *imi mar-tu*, 'west,' 'the cardinal point (wind) of Amorite,' the land of the Amorites. One would like to accept the poetical renderings quoted by our author, especially as they could all be sustained philologically, but at present I am inclined to regard the others, being to all appearance more primitive, as being the more probable.

the superiority of the latter, though the examination of the two is somewhat imperfect, on account of want of space. The lecture, referring to the manners and customs of the Babylonians and Hebrews, contains a good translation of the remarkable contract published by M. Thureau-Dangin in his *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes* (No. 16), which is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the contracts at present known. It is the sale of a female slave named Gîgir-ta-paddan by Zanini to Ura-Nin-Girsu "for ten shekels of pure gold and 120 pennies," as the author translates (*û gin azaga lahha mina šuš še*). Whether, in this case, *azaga* can be translated 'gold' and *še* as 'penny,' is a matter which requires confirmation; *azaga lahha* would probably be regarded by most Assyriologists as 'pure silver,' 'gold' being *guškin* or *kuski*, which was written with the character for 'silver' followed by that expressing a reed or cane, and apparently so called as the 'reed(-coloured) metal.' The date of this document is the reign of En-temena, possibly 4500 B.C., though Thureau-Dangin modestly places his date as being 4000 B.C. (see the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1904, p. 342).

One of the legal points touched upon is the denying of sonship:—"When Nakimu<sup>m</sup> offends the heart of Haliatun<sup>m</sup>, she may remove him from her sonhood."<sup>1</sup>

This, he points out, is against the code of Hammurabi (Sect. 168): "If a man set his face to discard his son, he shall say to the judge, 'I discard my son,' the judge shall inquire into his reasons. If the son has not committed a grave fault which removes him from sonhood, the father shall not remove his son from sonhood."

In all probability, however, these laws concerning the discarding of a son refer to an adopted child; nothing can change the relationship between parents and children, as the Babylonians must have recognized. A son can be disinherited, but that does not in the least change his

<sup>1</sup> Professor Langdon renders "When Nakimu troubles the heart of Haliatum his mother, she shall deny him sonship."

relationship to his father. Many contracts of adoption exist,<sup>1</sup> showing how common the custom was, and the necessity, therefore, for laws regulating it. As the author points out (if it is the real and not the adopted son who is referred to), Hebrew law or custom was more strict—"In primitive Hebrew society the father seems to have had absolute control over his children." He refers to Abraham and Isaac; Exodus xxi, 17; Proverbs xxx, 17. Many other contracts, early and late, are quoted in this lecture.

In the fourth lecture Professor Langdon goes into the measures and weights, trade and commerce, temples and estates, and letter-writing. This leads him to speak of the Tel-el-Amarna letters, and many other communications of a like nature.

The lecture upon the religion will be found interesting, though the translation of the text referring to the sacred tree of Êridu might have been completed by the addition of the remaining lines describing the place where it grew. From this chapter it would seem that the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians consisted mainly of incantations and charms, and that may, indeed, have been the case, but the modern reader likes to have details concerning the gods of the Babylonians themselves—a subject upon which much that is interesting could have been written.

In his sixth and seventh lectures, which treat of the religion of the Hebrews, he acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Karl Marti, the author of *Die Religion des Alten Testaments unter den Religionen des Vorderen Orients*. It seems strange that Jahwe should have been a deity entirely new to the Hebrews at the time of the Exodus, and that they should have accepted him so easily. But the name of Mt. Sinai has nothing to do with the Assyro-Babylonian Moon-god Sin (p. 160, note), though the reason does not come out quite clearly. Otherwise the history of the religion of the Hebrews seems to be well treated in a very

<sup>1</sup> See J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 604; also *The O.T. in the Light of the Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (S.P.C.K., 1903), pp. 173, 174, 176, 177.

short space. In an appendix some interesting Babylonian letters and contracts of the time of the Hammurabi dynasty are transcribed and renderings given. There is much I do not agree with, but it rejoices the heart to see the introductory phrase of the letters rendered correctly in the main. The other Assyriologists will probably follow in the end.

The book is very interesting, and as a popularisation of the subject (second paragraph of the preface) greatly to be recommended.

T. G. PINCHES.

LES INSCRIPTIONS DE SUMER ET D'AKKAD. Transcription et Traduction par FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905.)

Again we have a work, running to 345 pages, by that tireless scholar of the Louvre who has given us so many important works of the same kind. It is true that it contains many inscriptions already known to us, but M. Thureau-Dangin was in many cases their first translator, and it is a monument to his perseverance and industry that he returns to these inscriptions, which are not by any means easy to translate, and which, even now, will doubtless require a considerable amount of study to render anything like perfect—study in the light of new material, both from Assyria and Babylonia, and wherever Sumero-Akkadian texts, or words with their renderings, may be found.

In the present case an idea of the work involved may be estimated by the list of contents, a bare enumeration of which, in the work in question, occupies three pages and a half. There are twenty-two texts of kings and viceroys of Lagaš; three of Giš-ĥu, which Delitzsch identifies with Kêsu; four kings of the 'country,' or Šumer; seven kings and viceroys of Kiš; four kings of Akkad; five kings of Ašnuna(k); two princes of Dûrî-li; nine viceroys and princes of Susa; five kings of Ur (of the Chaldees); five kings of Isin; two kings of Uruk (Erech); and seven kings of Larsa (Ellasar) and Ur; besides kings and princes of

Šuripak (the birthplace of the Babylonian Noah); Kišurra, Adab, Nippur, Maer, Gutium, Huršitu, Lulubu, Ganhar, and Kimaš. As an appendix the dates of the pre-Sargonic period, the dynasties of Akkad, Ur, Larsa, and Uruk close the work. The total includes close upon a hundred rulers, and makes a splendid body of archaic records.
















These records being in the non-Semitic, Sumero-Akkadian language of ancient Babylonia, an idiom which is difficult to translate, one has to take many of the renderings with a certain amount of reserve. Nevertheless, there is much that can be accepted without question, and it is very satisfactory to think that the records of these early rulers are so extensive. The translations alone, without any transliteration and notes, would take up more than 150 pages of print of the format of this work. It is therefore difficult to do more than make a selection of a few striking passages in this long series in the course of a short review such as this is, and even this selection must be meagre and unsatisfactory.

One of the texts attracting the eye on first glancing through is the well-known Vulture-stele, the transcription and translation of which occupies pp. 24-37. In this Ê-anna-tum, king of Lagaš, recounts his glories, and tells of his triumph over Gunam-mi-dê, viceroy of Giš-ĥu, who had taken possession of a district belonging to Lagaš, known as Gu-anna; and of the oath which he made the people of Giš-ĥu swear, not to cross a certain waterway which the viceroy of Lagaš had caused to be dug as a boundary. Other inscriptions, on great pebbles, speak of further conquests of this great king of primitive times. A large cone of the later ruler En-anna-tum, inscribed with a record of the delimitation of the territories of the states of Lagaš, Giš-ĥu, and Kiš, also gives details. Uš (or Nitaḥ), "following ambitious designs," took action, carried away the stele of Me-silim, and entered the plain of Lagaš. A battle took place, in which the ruler, Ê-anna-tum, grandfather of En-anna-tum, was victorious, and in consequence of this he fixed the boundary, and restored the statue of Me-silim

to its place. This cone-inscription, therefore, refers to the same incident as that known as the Vulture-stele, and forms an introduction to the exploits of En-anna-tum, who fought with Ur-lumma, apparently the ruler of Giš-ĥu, whom he put to flight, and pursued to the centre of that territory. Ur-lumma being deposed, En-anna-tum became viceroy of Giš-ĥu, which thus ceased to have an independent existence, at least for a time. Other inscriptions speak of the pious acts of Uru-ka-kina (or Uru-enima-gina) and the ravages of the men of Giš-ĥu during his reign. Farther on are the long inscriptions of Gudea, in which interesting details are given as to the lands from which he obtained his building materials, and testimony found as to his great piety.

A text of some importance geographically is that of vase C, on p. 217, published in Hilprecht's *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 102. This text M. Thureau-Dangin reads as follows:—

“(Lacune) (1')<sup>1</sup> il tarrassa; (2') du roi de Kêšû, (3') du roi de Kiš (4') la ville il dévasta; (5') le butin (6') [     ]  
 . . . . (lacune).”

The names of the cities transcribed Kêšû and Kiš are written with the characters corresponding with the Assyrian   and   (Thureau-Dangin's *Écriture Cunéiforme*, Nos. 235 and 224). Now the transcription of the latter is undoubtedly correct, but that of the former, as is shown by the British Museum fragment 79-7-8, 94, line 12, is  , *U-pi-e* (*Upé*), elsewhere written  , *U-pi-a*, the city of Opis.<sup>2</sup> This being the case, the ideograph transcribed *Giš-ĥu* is probably the *Kêšû* of the inscriptions, as is indicated in Reisner's *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, p. 126, No. 81, lines 2-3, which are restored by Delitzsch   =  , *Ki-e-si*. With which of these cities is   , which we are told to pronounce *Kêš*, identical—Kêsi or Kiš? or was there a third city with a similar name?

<sup>1</sup> The numbers of the lines are distinguished by apostrophes.

<sup>2</sup> As transcribed in the *Journal* of the R.A.S. for 1897, p. 132.

There is no doubt as to the value of this collection and the translations made, and it is to be regretted that time and space do not allow of their being treated of at greater length. All Assyriologists will congratulate M. Thureau-Dangin upon the success with which he has rendered these difficult texts, and hope to see much more work of this nature from his pen. He has made it especially his own, and the thoroughness with which he has studied them is worthy of all praise.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Edited by H. V. HILPRECHT. Volumes XIV and XV: Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur. By ALBERT T. CLAY. "Eckley Brinton Coxe, junior, fund." (Philadelphia: Department of Archæology, University of Pennsylvania, 1906.)












These two volumes give the Assyriological world a considerable amount of additional material—about 370, mostly short texts—with a list of characters and groups, a concordance of proper names, and some exceedingly valuable introductory remarks. All the inscriptions published therein are contracts, sales of slaves, salary-lists, lists of payments, and other like documents, belonging to the period of the Kassite dynasty, which ruled in Babylonia between the fifteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. Most of them are undated, but a large proportion have chronological indications, the kings whose names occur being Burna-Buriaš (1342–1318), Kuri-galzu II (1306–1289), Nazi-Maruttaš (1284–1258), Kadašman-Turgu (1257–1241), Kadašman-Bêl, Kudur-Bêl, Šagarakti-Šuriaš (1232–1220), and Bitiliašu<sup>1</sup> (1219–1211). (The dates are those of Hilprecht.) A selection





<sup>1</sup> The king whose name is read Bibe(i)ašu in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1905, pp. 407, 408.






of reproductions in half-tone are given, furnishing an excellent complement to the copies of the inscriptions, but comparatively valueless as an aid to ascertaining doubtful readings, for which some other method, also photographic, should have been employed.

The specimen translations, 18 in vol. xiv and 30 in vol. xv, are good, and show the author's mastery of his subject. The following, one of the most interesting of the contracts, will give a glimpse of a phase of Babylonian life at this period:—

“47 sheep (male), 28 large females, 7 suckling lambs (male), 7 suckling females; total, 89 sheep. 34 large goats (male), 31 females, 7 male kids, 8 female kids; total, 80 goats. Sum-total, 169 *Kleinvieh*. (For) [169] sheqels of wool: (*i.e.* for) one sheep, one sheqel; 44½ minas of wool: 20 minas of goat wool, they are at the disposal of Rabâ-sha-Ninib. The total of all his hides he shall weigh; sinews and fat of sheep; 2 perfect goat hides; one perfect garment, he shall pay. (Date.)” (The original text gives, “Month Iyyar, day . . . , year 5th (of) Nazimuruttaš.”)

By ‘large’ is here meant ‘full-grown.’ The text being damaged, there is something not altogether clear in the totals of the wool, but probably other inscriptions of a similar nature may throw light upon it. The author points out that the character , which follows the words for ‘lamb,’ is probably a synonym of , *šizbu*, ‘milk.’ This leads one to ask whether , which stands also for ‘flying insect,’ may not have obtained that meaning on account of such insects as the bee —  (*i.e.* *zumbi*) *dīšpi*, ‘honey-fly’—collecting their food by sucking the flowers and other objects on which they live. It is noteworthy that the fragment 80-11-12, 576, has the explanation   =     , *ha-ar-pa-ti*, ‘?collectings,’ ‘harvestings.’ The essential part of an equivalent of *harpu*, which that fragment also has, is unfortunately broken away.

In the phrase "total, 89 sheep," the last word is expressed by the character . This the author has transcribed *šenu*, but is inclined to think that *pišû*, 'sheep' as 'the white ones,' may be the true reading.  , he says, is to be read *gīdātu*, the Hebrew , with the meaning of 'sinew.'<sup>1</sup>


The occurrence of new characters and usages of characters in these texts is also referred to, and it may here be noted that the values of   with  within the second element in Sumero-Akkadian are given as *utua* and *utul*,<sup>2</sup> the latter being possibly the root of the Assyro-Babylonian *utullu*, 'herdsman.' Important is Professor Clay's discovery that the character  has the values of *gara* and *garak* (the former being a shortening of the latter), which has therefore to be added to the number of signs possessing two-syllable values, which are rare. He has also found that the character for 'stone,' , is sometimes used to express the syllabic value of *ia* in the royal names *Šagarakti-Šuriaš* and *Bitiliaš*.<sup>3</sup>

The author also mentions a new point, namely, the use of the *sissigtu*, or impression of some woven material—probably originally something to which the document showing such traces was attached (I shall have occasion to speak of this elsewhere). Other sections of the work treat of 'case-tablets,' 'seals'<sup>4</sup> and their substitutes,' 'check-marks' (indications implying that entries had been 'ticked off'), and 'stylus.' Four possible forms of the stilus are given, with specimens of modern cuneiform characters produced by each. From a comparison of the results, it would seem that it is a bevel-ended stilus, which best produces the 'corner-wedge' (the wedge used for the numeral '10'),

<sup>1</sup> The name of the second character is *gitu*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, pt. xii, pl. 27 (1).

<sup>3</sup> *ia* is apparently the character's value of *i* (misprinted *ia*) with the Sumero-Akkadian vocalic lengthening.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Clay points out that , which generally means 'tablet,' must stand for 'seal' in the texts printed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1905, pp. 817, 818, 820, 822.

that was employed. Among the texts in vol. xiv are two interesting legal decisions, of which, however, renderings are not given.

Two substantial volumes, well produced, well published, and well commented upon, they do credit to the University of Pennsylvania, under whose auspices they appear; as well as to the founder of the fund and to the author, to whom these excellent copies, translations, indices, and notes are due, and who has done his work so thoroughly.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE *Nakā'id* OF JARĪR AND AL-FARAZDAK. Edited by  
A. A. BRYAN. Vol. I, Part 2: pp. 157-340.  
(Leiden: Brill.)

Punctually, within less than a year of the appearance of Part 1,<sup>1</sup> we have to welcome Part 2 of this monumental work, distinguished by the same qualities of minute care on the part of the editor and beauty of execution on that of the printer as characterized its predecessor. The instalment now before us begins in the middle of No. 33 of the collection, and ends with No. 50. In the commentary are narratives of the following encounters and famous events: Battle of Naka-l-Hasan or ash-Shakikah, pp. 190 and 233; the slaying of 'Umurah b. Ziyad of 'Abs, 'one of the 'perfect' sons of Fatimah, daughter of al-Khurshub of Anmar, at the fight of al-A'yan or an-Nakirah, p. 193; the tale of the slaying of Muharrir and his brother Ziyad of Ghassan, and that of Ibn Muzaiqiyah of the same tribe, p. 195; the battle of Raḥraḥan, p. 226; the battle of an-Nisr, pp. 238 and 258; the encounters of al-Wakir, p. 305, and al-Ghabir, p. 313; the Day of Jadud, p. 326; and the Day of as-Sara'im, p. 336.

C. J. L.

<sup>1</sup> See J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 256.

THE BRAHMANS AND KAYASTHAS OF BENGAL. By GOVĪNDRA NĀTH DUTT. (Published by Nathan & Co., Madras, 1906.)

This little book is a reprint of articles which appeared in the *Indian Review* in 1905-6. It is of a highly controversial character, and covers so much ground that it would require a syndicate of learned men to review it properly. The author claims to have established the identity of Ādī Sūr with Āditya Sen, and to have shown that Kulinism is not an ancient institution created by Ballāl Sen, but was introduced from Tirhut by Bengali students during the time of the Afghan sovereignty. He also maintains that Kulinism was not the result of an effort to preserve purity of blood, but an attempt to whitewash long-standing instances of social degradation. In support of this view he quotes from a Darbhanga pandit an interesting story about the wife of one Hara Nāth, who was accused of improper intimacy with a Chandāl. The charge was altogether false, the only foundation for it being that when the lady was worshipping in a temple a Chandāl attempted to insult her. In her distress she grasped the idol and raised a cry, whereupon a cobra darted out from a drain and put her assailant to flight. The lady was innocent, but her neighbours were as stupid as Rama was about Sita, or there was some one "in whom all evil fancies clung like serpent eggs together," and so she had to submit to the ordeal of fire. Before grasping the red-hot iron she had to take oath that she had never cohabited with a Chandāl. To her mortification and horror her hands began to burn, and, her guilt being held to be proved, she was outcasted, and deserted by her husband. She was conscious of her innocence, and she succeeded in inducing King Hara Singh's pandit, Vachaspati Misra, to believe in her. He investigated the genealogies of husband and wife, and discovered that their marriage had violated the Shastras, as they were related to one another within forbidden degrees. The consequence was that by the marriage the husband had been unconsciously

degraded to the rank of a Chandul. A new trial by ordeal now took place. The lady swore that the only Chandul with whom she had ever associated was her husband, and both her purity and the truthfulness of the ordeal were vindicated. But though this is a pretty story enough, it has to do with Tirhut and not Bengal, and it is only by indulging in suppositions that the author has been able to tack it on to the history of Kulinism in Bengal. Indeed, for one who so abuses other scholars, and who seems to think, in Hugh Miller's phrase, that arguments are like cannon-balls and can be rendered more effective by being made red-hot, Babu Govindra Nāth is somewhat wanting in the critical faculty. For instance, he tells his readers that, according to Jahangir, Akbar had 12,000 war-elephants and 20,000 female elephants, and adds, "How the elephant-processions in the two so-much vaunted Delhi Durbars of our times dwindle into insignificance when compared with these (figures)!" True, but then he forgets that these figures are taken from the spurious Memoirs of Jahangir, and that Ferishta—a far better authority—tells us that Akbar's elephants were 6,000 in number.

In another passage the author scouts the idea that Bakhtiyar Khilji had an easy victory over Lakshmaniya. It was conquered, he says, by the same Machiavellian policy as was practised by Lord Dufferin in Burmah and by Olive at Plassey! And then he goes on to suggest that Bakhtiyar got admission to Nuddea by pretending to be a peaceful horse-dealer, and that Lakshmaniya must have deserted his kingdom on account of the predictions of astrologers, and of an earthquake. "It seems to us quite certain that just before the conquest of Bengal there must have been some inauspicious omen, such as planetary conjunctions and meteorological occurrences and seismic disturbance." As if a king who was foolish enough to believe in astrologers was likely to have offered a stout resistance to a long-limbed Pathan like Bakhtiyar Khilji!

In spite of all this, the book shows signs of considerable research, and raises many interesting questions. Its subject,

or at least part of its subject, was ably treated twenty years ago by a Rungpore Pleader named Mohim Chandra Mozamdar. But his "Brahmans in Gaur" was written in Bengali, and does not seem to be much known. Babu Govindra Nāth's work will call attention to the question of Kulinism, and will lead to profitable discussions.

H. B.

**AL-MOSTATRAF.** Recueil de morceaux choisis çà et là dans Toutes les Branches de Connaissances réputées attrayantes par l'Imâm, l'Unique, le Savant, le très Érudit, le Disert, le Perspicace, le Šaib (Sheikh) Šihâb-ad-Dîn Âḥmad Al-Âbsîhî, que Dieu le couvre de sa Miséricorde et lui accorde des marques de sa satisfaction ! Amen ! . Ouvrage Philologique, Anecdotique, Littéraire, et Philosophique, traduit pour la première fois par G. RAT, Membre de la Société Asiatique. (Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1899.)

The *Mustatraf*<sup>1</sup> has until now been a sealed book in the West to all excepting Arabic scholars. M. Rat has placed European students interested in a rival civilization under a debt of gratitude by his careful translation of a work the value of which is hardly known to the general world of literature.

Compiled by an erudite Arab towards the close of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, the *Mustatraf* is a mine of information in all branches of knowledge which formed in those days an essential part of Islamic culture. Its importance, therefore, as a picture of Arabian society can hardly be exaggerated. Although Western Asia and Egypt had for over three centuries been engaged in a life and death struggle with the hosts of Europe, and the Eastern Caliphate had been overwhelmed and destroyed by the Mongolian avalanche, the glorious traditions of

<sup>1</sup> كتاب المستطرف في كل فن مستظرف .

Moslem civilization were still extant, and the pursuit of learning and the search for knowledge still formed the pride of students and scholars.

In his compilation al-Abshihi, the author of the *Mustatraf*, fulfilled a double purpose. He collected all the learning of the age, and at the same time preserved for posterity a picture of Moslem civilization at the best period of its history.

The immensity of M. Rat's task will be perceived by the enormous range of subjects dealt with in the *Mustatraf*. These are cleverly summarised by the translator in his preface as "un recueil d'historiettes, d'anecdotes, de traits piquants, de bons mots, d'apophthegmes, d'aphorismes, de préceptes, de pensées philosophiques, de maximes et de sentences morales, de mélanges littéraires et philologiques."

But this hardly gives an adequate conception of the encyclopædic character of the work. It consists of eighty-four chapters, most of which again are divided into sections. Each chapter is devoted to the treatment of a special subject with more or less amplitude. The fundamental dogmas of Islām, general ethics, philosophy, political and social economy, the relative duties of sovereign and subject, natural history, the phenomena of nature and the marvels of the earth, poetry, music, oratory, medicine, and a variety of other subjects of the most multifarious character are treated and discussed in detail. The observations are almost always illustrated by venerable traditions and poetical quotations. Anecdotes from the lives of the Caliphs and other eminent men, who figure in Moslem history are often employed to point the moral, and passages from the Koran are frequently cited to give force to the principles enunciated. General ethics occupy by far the largest portion of the work; the duties of man to man, the practice of benevolence, mercy, charity, fidelity, piety, and self-control, the discipline of the heart, and the training of the mind seem to be favourite subjects with the author. This slight reference to the contents of the *Mustatraf* will show the value of M. Rat's work. So far as a rather hurried study of the

translation and comparison with the original can enable me to judge, the learned translator has performed his task with remarkable exactitude. As a rule, having regard to the genius of the two languages, Arabic and French, the rendering follows the original with admirable fidelity, leaning almost towards the literal. In some instances, from the exigencies of the case, he has had recourse to a paraphrase.

In the preface to the second volume he has disarmed the criticism which might suggest itself to the student unacquainted with Arabian history and biography regarding the absence of footnotes giving some account of the men referred to in the anecdotes and the principles cited by the author. As M. Rat observes, any attempt in this direction would have involved stupendous labour and have swelled the volumes. M. Rat has in his translation of the verses quoted in the work supplied their metre, which is most useful to those who can read the *Mustatraf* in the original.

AMEER ALI.

ZWEI GEDICHTE VON AL-'A'ŠĀ, herausgegeben, übersetzt, und erläutert von R. GEYER. I. Mā Bukā'u. (Wien, 1905.)

Al-'A'šā, an Arab poet of the time before Islām, is celebrated by native critics as one of the foremost poets of the nation, and by some he is even credited with the first place. To judge from verses of his which are at present generally accessible, we can only confirm the judgment of Arab critics.

The poem here edited by Professor Geyer is based upon the excellent manuscript of his dīwān preserved in the library of the Escorial (Derenbourg Cat., No. 303), confronted with all accessible manuscripts and the Bulāq edition of the Jamharat-al-Aš'ūr of al-Qurašī. The text is excellent and accompanied by a German translation, but the principal merit of this edition lies in the exhaustive notes, which follow the text and which some may consider rather prolix.

However, they are a veritable storehouse for the proper understanding of the language and customs of the pre-Islamic Arabs, and make the work a worthy successor to Ahlwardt's *Chalef-el-Ahmer* and Nöldeke's *Fünf Mo'allaqāt*.

A large space is devoted to wine, the favourite subject of al-'A'sā in his poems. Pages 56 to 92 treat on this subject at great length, in which the author adduces an innumerable number of quotations, all taken from ancient Arabic poets, upon terms used by them with reference to wine. Special articles at the end of the work deal with the following subjects:—

- I. The sparkling of wine, p. 200 ;
- II. The topaz-colour of white wine, p. 202 ;
- III. Red wine, p. 213 ;
- IV. Convivial banquets, p. 216 ;
- V. The cooling of wine, p. 220 ;

which are treated with the same thoroughness and erudition. Throughout the work the author gives to each striking expression of the poet ample quotations to elucidate the meaning, which display a vast amount of learning and great research.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the second poem, of which we possess already an excellent edition in Sir Charles Lyall's "*Ten Ancient Arabic Poems*," will soon appear, as also the *Diwāns* of al-'A'sā and Dū-r-Rumma promised by Professor Geyer.

It is only by works like the present that we can form a proper estimate of the Arabs before Islām and their customs. The poems of the pre-Islamic Arabs have for us nearly the same importance as the monuments of other ancient nations, and what they may lack in authoritativeness they amply outweigh by giving us a clearer insight into the every-day life of the people. Moreover, they are a never-ceasing source for the dictionary of the language, and deserve in this respect the greatest consideration.

The following few notes may further elucidate points touched by the author:—

Page 41. *سَفَرٌ* is plural of *سَافِرٌ*, after the analogy of *صَاحِبٌ*, pl. *صَحَابٌ*; *شَارِبٌ*, pl. *شَرَبٌ*; *رَاكِبٌ*, pl. *رَكَبٌ*; *تَاجِرٌ*, pl. *تَجَرٌ*; and other words.

p. 46. The rare verb *شَطَنَ* is used by Shabīb b. al-Barqā' Mufaḍḍ, ed. Thorbecke, xxvii, v. 2.

p. 52. Ibn Sīdah, xi, 186, after Abū Ḥanifa and others, explains the fruit of the *arāk* (*Salvadora Persica*), from which it appears that both *كَبَاتٌ* and *مَرْدٌ* are much larger than *بَرِيرٌ*, for while the former two are stated to have about the size of a fig, the last-named is said to be like beads, larger than a pea. All three kinds are stated to be eaten by man and beasts, and it is added that the milk of camels which have eaten them assumes an aromatic flavour, which is characteristic of the fruit. Unfortunately I have not been able to ascertain anything from botanical works on this point, but that the *barīr* is black when ripe is evident from a verse of Bishr b. Abī Khazim (quoted L.A. ii, 138, and elsewhere) describing a girl:

رَأَى دُرَّةً بَيْضَاءَ يَحِفُّ لَوْنُهَا \* سَحَامٌ كَغُرْبَانِ الْبَرِيرِ مُقْصَبٌ

"He saw a white pearl, the colour of which intensifies  
Twisted black hair, like the raven-black *barīr*-berries." <sup>1</sup>

p. 55. *سَحَامٌ* as 'black hair' in the verse of Bishr quoted above.

p. 91. The fact that musk and spices were mixed with wine is clearly shown by a verse of an-Nābigha-al-Ja'dī, L.A. iii, 172:

الْقِي فِيهَا فَلْجَانِ مِنْ مِسْكِ دَارِينَ وَ فَلْجٍ مِنْ فُلْجٍ ضَرِمٍ

"Thrown into it were two measures of musk of  
Dārīn and a measure of burning pepper."

<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. T. Mott, F.R.G.S., of Birstall, has pointed out to me that the fruit of the *Salvadora Persica* consists of small berries growing in grape-like clusters, so that really only the *barīr* would come into consideration if the *arāk* is correctly identified as the *Salvadora Persica*.

p. 99. **خَنُوفٌ**. The explanation 'a camel throwing the fore-feet far sideways in walking' is probably the only correct one. This seems to be the meaning in the verse of Labid, i, v. 4,

وَحَتَّيْ خَنُوفٌ كَالْعَلَاةِ عَقِيمٌ

in spite of the different explanation in the commentary, which, as so frequently, is guessed from the general behaviour of the animal. The other reading, **خَبُوبٌ**, 'trotting,' given in the commentary also suggests this.

p. 102. Aš-Šaizari, the author of the *Jamharat-ul-Islām*, not aš-Širāzī.

p. 141. An excellent manuscript of the latter portion of the *Amālī* of al-Qālī, dated 585 A.H., in my possession, has the verse of al-'A'sā, fol. 66a :

فَرَعٌ نَبَعٌ يَهْتَرُ فِي غُضَنِ الْمَجْدِ عَزِيزُ الْكَدَى عَظِيمُ الْمَحَالِ

The reading of the Paris Manuscript, of which a copy has been kindly lent me by Professor Ahlwardt, is apparently only a mistake of the writer of that codex, who has made many other errors.

p. 154. Verse 54 is also found in the same form in aṭ-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr* xxvii, 103.

p. 156, note 1. The rhyme **يَشْرَبُ** is correct ; it is also found in the same connection in Imrūl-Qais, iv, v. 6. The place referred to is stated to be a town in the Yamāma, hence it would be identical with **يَتْرَبُ** of Bekri 850, where several verses are quoted with the same ending.

p. 162. **شُرْعِي** is explained by Ibn as-Sikkīt in his comments on the *Aṣma'iyāt* (MS. of the sixth century of the Hijra in my possession) as 'garments with long stripes.'

p. 177. The name of the poet in question is most likely **عَمْرُو بْنُ قَعَائِسِ الْمُرَادِيِّ**, though I cannot find any verses of his with this rhyme.

p. 188. Al-Qālī, Paris MS., fol. 24a, towards the end, states that Abū 'Ubaida read **رَفْدٍ**, while al-Aṣma'ī pronounced **رَفْدٍ**.

DIE APOKRYPHEN DES R̥GVEDA. By Dr. J. SCHEFTLOWITZ.  
(Breslau, 1906.)

Professor Hillebrandt is to be heartily congratulated on the fact that he has obtained as the first of the series of *Indische Forschungen* so interesting a volume as Dr. Scheftelowitz' edition of the Khilas of the R̥gveda from the unique MS. discovered by Bühler in the course of his famous tour in Kashmir. Although that MS. was sent to England for the use of Max Müller, it was not employed in constituting the text of the Khilas in the second edition of the R̥gveda, and unfortunately was not available to Oldenberg when he discussed in his *Prolegomena* the Khilas. Luckily a transcript of the Khilas by the late Dr. Wenzel came into the hands of Professor Macdonell, and was used with important results in constituting the text of the Br̥haddevatā,<sup>1</sup> and now the whole text has been made accessible.

Dr. Scheftelowitz has naturally followed in his text the readings of the Kashmir MS., but he has supplied copious references to the readings of other Vedic texts, which will greatly lighten the task of constituting ultimately a definitive text of these Khilas. In his critical notes he has devoted much attention to the peculiarities of the MS., which has enabled him frequently to restore in a convincing manner the correct reading of doubtful passages. The fact, to which he refers on p. 47, that *s* and *m* are frequently confused in Śāradā MSS. affords a neat explanation of the appearance of the reading *mānyase* in the verse v, 4, 9<sup>a</sup>, *nūnān tām nāvyaṃ mānyase*, where the other versions read, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, *sāṃnyase*, Sāmaveda, *sannyase*, and Sāmaveda Āraṇyaka Saṃhitā, *sanyase*. The accent of *mānyase* is difficult to explain, but if we read *sānyase* we have the Āraṇyaka Saṃhitā form, which again stands by a haplography common in all Sanskrit MSS., and especially common in the Kashmir MS., for *sāṃnyase*, which leads to the *sāṃnyase* of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka. In iii, 15, 20<sup>b</sup>, *agnir dāṃsena na*

<sup>1</sup> See Macdonell, *Br̥haddevatā*, I, xxx-xxxiii.

*trpyatu*, the *na* is plainly a diplography, since it spoils the metre and is bad grammar. In iii, 16, 5<sup>b</sup>, for *śāśvatis samā* should be read, perhaps, *śāśvatīḥ samāḥ*. In i, 2, 4<sup>b</sup>, *rathinās* is perhaps a misreading for *rathirās* (cf. i, 3, 3; 10, 3), and in ii, 6, 4<sup>b</sup>, *padmastithām* for *padmasthitām*.

Dr. Scheftelowitz estimates the age of the MS. at about 400 years, because of its faded writing and decayed condition. The date can perhaps be fixed with greater certainty than that. It is dated in the Saptarṣi year 50, and this most probably corresponds to A.D. 1575. The only alternatives are A.D. 1475 and A.D. 1675, but I doubt whether the MS. is so old as the former or so modern as the latter of these dates. The editor assumes that the concluding words of the MS. gave the name of the scribe, but they are, I think, certainly written in a later hand, and probably denote an owner of the MS. The same hand has here and there made corrections in the text.

In the introduction, which raises questions of great interest and importance, Dr. Scheftelowitz argues that the Khila hymns are in part as old as the Rġveda period. The Puruṣas, the Nivids, and the Praiṣas belong to the oldest part of that period, and represent the ritual tradition which, following Professor Hillebrandt, he argues to be older than the Saṃhitā. The Vālakhilyas, Kuntāpas, and Mahānāmṇīs belong to the end of the Rġvedic period, while other hymns owe their origin to ritual developments in the Yajurveda and Brāhmaṇa periods such as the Medhāsūkta, the Subheṣaja hymn, and the Śrisūkta. The older Khilas were, he suggests (p. 12), once parts of a fully recognised Saṃhitā, viz. the Māṇḍūkeya, although Śākalya did not accept them for his redaction. This fact is explained by the theory that the Vedic hymns were preserved in families of singers, from whose traditions the Sāmaveda and the several recensions of the Rġveda were independently made. Śākalya only included in his recension such hymns as had received national recognition, but the Vāṣkalaśūkhā took some, and the Māṇḍūkeyaśūkhā more, of the Khilas as fully recognised hymns. In support of this view he points to the fact that

the expression *Khila* does not occur in the enumeration of sacred texts in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, or in *Āśvalāyana*, or the other *sūtra* writers. . He holds that the *Khilas* were recognised by *Yāska*, by *Śaunaka* in the *Ṛkprātisākhya*, and by the authors of the *Bṛhaddevatā* and *Ṛgvidhāna* as parts of the *Ṛgveda* (*ṛcas*), and that only later were the *Khilas* separated from the *ṛcas* and made a distinct collection, as seen in the *Anuvākānukramaṇī*, *Manu*, and the *Ārṣānukramaṇī*.

It is impossible within the limits of a review to discuss these views in detail, but some difficulties in the way of their full acceptance may be noted. (1) They involve the acceptance of Geldner's view that *Śākalya* belongs to the later *Vājasaneyya* period and not to the end of the *Brāhmaṇa* period, and that he is anterior to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (p. 5), and is at once the redactor of the *Samhitā* and the *Padapāṭhas* (cf. p. 6). But Oldenberg's<sup>1</sup> arguments for the priority of the *Brāhmaṇas* to the adoption of the rules of *sandhi* and the still later *Padapāṭha* are not adequately met. (2) They also entail the acceptance of the theory of the ritual tradition as older than the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*. But Hillebrandt's<sup>2</sup> efforts to prove this in detail in the case e.g. of the funeral hymn are not now generally accepted,<sup>3</sup> and Oldenberg's view that the verses are mostly older than the ritual or coeval with it, but are not later modifications, remains by far the more probable. (3) Similarly the theory of Benfey and Weber (p. 14) that the *Sāmaveda* preserves an independent and older tradition than the *Ṛgveda* has hardly withstood the attacks of Aufrecht and Oldenberg. (4) The language, style, and contents of the vast bulk of the *Khilas* undoubtedly belong to the latest period of the *Ṛgveda*. It is quite possible that some verses now preserved as *Khilas* were parts of the *Māṇḍūkyaśākhā* and are fairly old, but the probability is not great. The really significant fact is that *Śākalya* did not deal with the *Khilas* in his *Padapāṭha*. Dr. Scheftelowitz argues (p. 16) that *Yāska*

<sup>1</sup> *Prolegomena*, pp. 384 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Z.D.M.G.*, xl, 712.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Whitney, *Atharvaveda*, p. 848.

cites Khila texts as nigamas, but examination will show that all the cited texts occur in other Vedic texts, and in any case such citations could not prove that he considered the passages as belonging to the Rġveda Samhitā. In the case of Śaunaka, the evidence that he did not know the Khilas as such is still less convincing. The fact that in the Prātisākhya the Khilas are included proves nothing except what is admitted, viz., that the Khilas existed in connection with the Rġveda at the time of the composition of the Prātisākhya, which, it may be added, is quite possibly later as we have it than Śaunaka. Since the word Khila occurs in the Anuvākānukramaṇī and the Ārṣānukramaṇī, these works are (p. 26) certainly not Śaunaka's or his older school. The Ārṣānukramaṇī is the younger, misunderstands the Bṛhaddevatā, thinks there is only one seer of the Khilas, and is later than the Sarvānukramaṇī. But to argue from the available text of the Ārṣānukramaṇī is too dangerous, for, as the citation from Śaḍguruśiṣya on p. 30 shows, that text is incomplete; the parallel passages to the Bṛhaddevatā may equally point to borrowing by the latter; and Professor Macdonell,<sup>1</sup> who considers that these two Anukramaṇīs are correctly attributed to Śaunaka, has proved<sup>2</sup> that the Sarvānukramaṇī borrows throughout from the Ārṣānukramaṇī and contains metrical fragments from it. Further, as is admitted (p. 26), the evidence of the Bṛhaddevatā shows that Śaunaka did not include these hymns in his enumeration of the hymns of the Rġveda. Why he did not do so is of course open to dispute, but it is perfectly fair to argue that he may have done so because they were in his day regarded as not Rġvedic in the proper sense, and the evidence given above is in favour of his having used the term Khilas of them. That this expression does not occur in the Bṛhaddevatā or the Rġvidhāna is no more surprising than that it does not occur in the Prātisākhya, and it is not to be expected that so paltry a species of literature as the Khilas would find a place in such enumerations of the great

<sup>1</sup> *Bṛhaddevatā*, I, xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, p. 112.

literary genera as are found in the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, Āśvalāyana, and Śāṅkhāyana.

There remains one piece of evidence on which weight is thrown. In Anuvākānukramaṇī, v. 17, it is said, *Khailikāṇām anādeśo 'smin granthe 'nuvākāṇām*, whence it is concluded that at the time of the production of the Anuvākānukramaṇī the Khilas formed a separate collection with an Anuvāka division. But this conclusion is hardly warranted; all the passage need mean is that the Anuvākas formed by the Khilas while occupying their traditional position in the text were omitted, just as the extra four vargas of the *Samjñāna* hymn were not reckoned in by Śaunaka.<sup>1</sup> With the Khilas reckoned in, the number of Anuvākas as of vargas must have been greater, but Śaunaka deliberately omits them. But in any case the text of the Anuvākānukramaṇī bears clear signs of adaptation.

It is most probable, therefore, that the Khilas are somewhat later in date than the R̥gveda Samhitā. It is undeniably the case with a good deal of the matter, and in no case is it impossible.

Note may be taken of one or two passages in which Dr. Scheftelowitz suggests alteration in Professor Macdonell's text of the Bṛhaddevatā. He reads (p. 22) *tān tu* as equivalent to *tāms tu* (this is clearly what is meant, though he prints *tān tu*), and takes *mantrān* as understood in iii, 48<sup>b</sup>, and in iii, 49<sup>a</sup>, *vṛdhāv ṛkṣu* for *prthaktveṣu*, translating the lines as referring to the Nivids. This rendering is attractive, but it is almost impossible to explain the vast preponderance of manuscript evidence for *prthaktveṣu*, and the commencement of a new sentence with *ṛkṣu* is harsh. In iii, 79, he replaces the reading *tathaiva ca* for *puramdhiyā*, which he regards apparently as the instrumental of *puramdhi* and therefore unintelligible, on the ground that in iii, 50, the line ends *eva vā* and gives only three pairs (*dogdhrī dhenur voḍhānaḍvān āśuḥ saptiḥ*), and that there must be a fourth pair or nothing. But the verses are not precisely parallel, the latter beginning

<sup>1</sup> *Prolegomena*, p. 500.

with *yad*, and the reading *puramdhiyā* could never have got into the MSS. if *tathaiva ca*, a commonplace verse filler, had already stood there. In both places the quotation seems adapted, not directly from the Nivid, but from Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, xxii, 22, which runs on *puramdhir yoṣā*, and *puramdhiyā* appears to be an irregular nominative giving the beginning of a pair, the second element of which was obvious, and would be clearly suggested by the very form of the word. Dr. Scheftelowitz has mistaken the nature of the evidence for the reading *tathaiva ca*. It consists only of three—not the most important—of the MSS. of class *A*, and both the most important MSS. of that class and those of *B* have *puramdhiyā*. More important is the case of the verses v, 87, 88, and 157, which he rejects as secondary, because they deal with passages of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā which are completely foreign to the R̥gveda sacrificial tradition. This he confirms by the fact that “all good MSS. (*A*, *m*<sup>1</sup>)” omit these verses. But in point of fact v. 88 occurs in *A* as well as *B*, and only v. 87 and v. 157 <sup>c</sup><sup>d</sup> are missing in *A*, while both occur in *m*<sup>1</sup>. The verses are undoubtedly genuine and not secondary, and the discrepancy with the R̥gveda sacrificial tradition is hardly proved.

On the other hand, Dr. Scheftelowitz (p. 190) makes a good suggestion for the interpretation of i, 54, 55, by translating the last part of the verse, “The verse, R̥.V. viii, 14, 1, is a Saṃkalpa; the hymn of Aitaśa (i.e. Khila v, 15) is a Pralāpa,” for the reference of R̥.V. viii, 14, 1, to Saṃkalpa is convincing since the Khila v, 15, now gives us the full text of the Aitaśa hymn. His suggestion of *Indratulyo* for *idaṃ tulyo* in the previous verse is ingenious, but not necessary, and if original would hardly have disappeared from the MSS. Professor Hillebrandt's suggestion to follow *r*<sup>1</sup> is, I think, impossible.

The edition is carefully printed, and contains many valuable notes on points of language and translation.

**THE ACHEHNESE.** By Dr. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, Adviser for Native Affairs, Netherlands India. Translated by the late A. W. S. O'SULLIVAN, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements ; with an Index by R. J. WILKINSON, Inspector of Schools, Federated Malay States. Two vols. (Leyden, late E. J. Brill ; London, Luzac & Co. ; 1906.)

It is not, as a rule, necessary to devote much space to the notice of a translated work, particularly when the original is neither of venerable antiquity nor yet of quite recent date. The present book may, however, fairly claim exceptional treatment in this respect, and that on more grounds than one. To begin with, the original in this case was in Dutch, and, sad to say, English readers, or at least the bulk of them, however much they may be interested in the subjects of which such works treat, resolutely decline to read the invaluable Dutch literature relating to the Eastern Archipelago. They have never, apparently, discovered how easily any English-speaking person of ordinary intelligence and education (especially if he knows a little German) can acquire sufficient familiarity with the Dutch written language to be able to understand practically any Dutch book dealing with a subject of which he already knows something. Further, the original work is, I believe, out of print and has for some years past been unobtainable. It is, moreover, a particularly good representative of its class : a study of it gives one a wonderfully vivid idea of the daily life, habits and customs, modes of thought and beliefs, and in short the general characteristics, of the people it describes.

These Achehnese, who inhabit the north-west extremity of the great island of Sumatra, display many of the characteristics of the Malayan race, but in some particulars they exhibit marked specific differences from its general type. Incapable, like all their kinsmen, of maintaining for any length of time a really national organisation or of submitting themselves to strict discipline, they have yet

in their long struggle with the Dutch given proof in a somewhat exceptional degree of the qualities of endurance and persistence which go to the making of a true guerilla force. Needless to say, the moving impulse in their case, as in so many others, has been religious fanaticism, the perfectly intelligible hatred of a zealous Muhammadan population directed against "foreign infidels," who, to speak frankly, had really no *locus standi* in the country at all. The Aceh which this book describes is Aceh in "insurrection," as the author rather curiously styles what he himself on another page admits to have been a genuinely popular resistance to a foreign invasion. It is odd to notice how differences of detail and point of view alter the terminology adopted in such cases. Had the Achehnese been a fair-skinned, nominally Christian population, revolting against an established Muhammadan government, they would without doubt have been hailed by some of our advanced politicians and a section of our Press as a gallant people rightly struggling to be free; and there might have been an Achehnese committee in London carrying on an active propaganda on their behalf. But, as it happens, the Achehnese are brown-skinned followers of Islam; and, by the irony of fate, it was a British Liberal Government that delivered them into the hands of their enemies.

Acheh had always been an independent state (or loose confederation of states), having on the whole better relations with the British, with whom it had an old alliance, that was not much observed, than with its more immediate neighbours, the Dutch. The feudal chiefs of the several districts and subordinate states into which the country was divided had for centuries past been almost uncontrolled by the Sultans of Acheh, the nominal sovereigns of the entire land, and many of them were favourers of piracy and slave-raiding. Trade with Achehnese ports was in consequence rather precarious; but it was profitable, and the British settlement of Penang got most of the profits, while the neighbouring parts of Sumatra and the adjacent smaller islands, such as Nias, which were under Dutch administration

or protection, suffered most at the hands of the Achehnese freebooters. The result of all this was a Gladstonian arrangement, whereby (in return for certain concessions in West Africa and in spite of pathetic protests from the Achehnese Sultan) we withdrew our protecting hand and left Acheh to the uncovenanted mercies of the Government of the Netherlands. The treaty embodying this transaction was vehemently assailed at the time by Mr. Disraeli, not so much on the ground that it involved a repudiation of an ancient friendship going back to the early days of the seventeenth century, as because it was supposed to endanger our command of the Straits of Malacca (which it obviously could not do, so long as we held Penang and Singapore and had a strong fleet in these seas). But it landed us in an Ashanti war and started the chronic Dutch troubles in Acheh.

Until recently the Dutch Government does not appear to have realised that when a struggle of this sort has once begun, the only way of achieving permanent peace is to put forth overwhelming force and beat down opposition all over the field of operations. This was not done; the Dutch contented themselves with occupying a small part of the country, and of course all the elements hostile to them found support from numerous sympathizers outside the pale, so that "a sort of war" went on intermittently for nearly thirty years before the nettle was firmly grasped. These events are not set down in detail in the work under review, but it was necessary to allude to them, for they colour the whole of it. In a sense, indeed, we owe it to the war that this book was written. The author was sent to Acheh in 1891, in pursuance of instructions from the Government of the Dutch Indies, to study the conditions of the country and especially to investigate the influence of the religious elements in the social structure on the course of political events. His previous intimate contact with Muhammadans at Mecca and elsewhere had qualified him in an altogether exceptional degree for the carrying out of this commission, and a stay of some months in Acheh convinced him that

religious influences constituted the real strength of the Achehnese resistance (a view confirmed by a subsequent visit and by the experience of other people). Incidentally he was thus enabled to collect the materials on which his book is based, and so it comes about that we have a fuller and better account of the Achehnese, who for some thirty years past have been struggling against the imposition of European rule, than we have of the Malays of the Peninsula, with whom during the same period we have lived in almost unbroken peace.

The author's delineation of the characteristics of Islam as it exists in Acheh (and other countries of the Eastern Archipelago) is a masterpiece of lucid exposition, and its importance for the thorough understanding of the native point of view would in itself have justified a translation of the work. The whole book is pervaded by a complete grasp of the conditions which in Muhammadan countries regulate the relations between spiritual and mundane affairs. For instance, the account of the chronic conflict that exists between the upholders of traditional national custom (*'adat*) and the zealous teachers and partisans of the religious law (*hukm*) is admirably clear, and throws a flood of light, not merely on Achehnese social and legal conditions, but also on those of the Indonesian countries generally, where a similar state of things prevails. Thus, even in such a matter as marriage (which ought, theoretically, to be subject only to the religious law) the author shows that in many parts of Indonesia the rights of the parties are usually modified by conditions, technically purely voluntary, but in fact imposed by custom and public opinion, which have the effect of rendering the position of the wife much more independent than it is under pure Muhammadan law. Unlike ourselves in the Straits Settlements (and elsewhere), the Dutch in their Far Eastern possessions have not been guilty of the gross absurdity and injustice of sweeping native law and custom aside and attempting to impose their own civil law upon alien races for whom it was never made and to whose social condition it is fundamentally inapplicable.

But they have sometimes been in danger of falling into an error of another kind, which has many a parallel in British India, viz. of paying too much attention to written legal treatises and the theories of doctrinaire pandits and neglecting the living customary law of the people. It is so much easier to copy one's information straight out of a text-book than to go hunting up evidence of actual usage in out-of-the-way localities. Thus we get the paradoxical situation of a European government applying Muhammadan or Hindu law, as the case may be, with more rigidity than was ever the practice under purely native rule. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje points out this error, and throughout his work he carefully discriminates between Muhammadan law and local custom in Aceh, and estimates their relative importance in the several departments of social life. As he justly observes, "in countries of the standard of civilization reached by the Malayan races, the most important laws are those which are *not* set down in writing."

In the political sphere the same principle also receives, as the author shows, an illustration from the development and decay of the administrative system in Aceh. For several generations past the institutions of the country had become so thoroughly feudalised that it presented on a small scale a picture similar to that of the Holy Roman Empire in its decline. Even offices which obviously required personal qualifications of a high order, such as those of Kali (i.e. *qāḍī*) and Imeum (i.e. *imām*), had become hereditary, and their duties were either left undone or at best performed by deputy. It is curious to observe here again a survival of those institutions which were most completely in harmony with the national genius of the people. The village and the feudal principality have retained their ancient organisation; but institutions imposed from without, such as the Sultanate and some of the more specifically Muhammadan offices, have either dwindled away into insignificance or have only managed to maintain themselves by changing their character to one more suitable to their surroundings. On the other hand, the decay of the *kawōm*, a sort of *gens* based on descent

in the male line (which, curiously enough, coexists with an almost universal custom that married women remain in the village of their parents) is an instance of historic development from a primitive condition of society based on blood-relationship, real or assumed, to one that is founded on territorial divisions.

The work contains an interesting account of Achehnese literature, which is very often not even committed to writing and (so far as it is found in written form) is almost entirely in verse. It appears to be largely based on Malay and more remotely on Indian and Arabian models, but some of it is of an original character, while a good deal represents the old folklore which is the common inheritance of the Malayan races generally. There is much else in this book to which no more than passing notice can be given here, for example the very valuable sections dealing with family life and such important matters as the customs and ceremonies connected with betrothal, marriage, births, deaths, and so forth. In fact, where there is so much, it may seem ungrateful to wish for more; but it is to be regretted that the author has not included two such important subjects as history and language within the scope of his work.

With regard to the former, he observes, correctly enough, that the native chronicles are very untrustworthy; but it may fairly be retorted, not only that they generally contain at least some grains of truth, but also that for the events of the last three or four centuries they can often be checked by means of contemporary material from European sources. It seems, too, that there are various versions of the chronicles of Acheh extant (in Malay, the language of diplomacy and learning in Acheh, not in the local vernacular), and these might possibly throw light on one another, as well as on similar records of other states.

Of the Achehnese language the author might with advantage have told us much more than he has done, for beyond explaining how the native words in his text are to be pronounced, he has merely said that the language exhibits noteworthy points of difference from the kindred tongues of

neighbouring peoples and that a comparison of it with Cham and Bahnar has given important results; but he does not specify either the results or the differences in question. As a matter of fact Achehnese stands, I believe, alone among the languages of the Indian Archipelago in approaching, not merely Cham and Bahnar, but the Mon-Annam languages of Indo-China in general in the following particulars (amongst others), viz., a strong tendency towards monosyllabism, habitual accentuation of the final syllable in words of more than one, presence of true aspirated consonants (generally originating, however, from the coalescence of another letter with the letter *h* by the suppression of the intervening vowel), and the possession of a number of words which are of Mon-Annam origin. Among these may be mentioned *chichém*, 'bird' (Mon *gachem*, Annamese *chim*), *ɛ̀*, 'dung' (Mon *ik*, Khmer *ách*), *kruëng*, 'river' (Mon *krung*), *than*, 'python' (Mon *klan*, Khmer *thlan*), *tôt*, 'to burn' (Mon *tû*, Khmer *tut*). Besides these there are a few words in Achehnese that are closely paralleled in the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula (which are related to the Mon-Annam family), e.g., *beukah*, 'to break' (Sëmang and Sakai *bëkah*), *gòb*, 'person' (Sakai *gob*, 'man, not of aboriginal race'), *that*, 'very' (Sëmang *t'het*). These facts call for further investigation, but it seems indubitable that we have here evidence of the direct influence of some Mon-Annam language. Whether it was exercised at the time when the ancestors of the Achehnese had already settled in Sumatra, or at some earlier epoch when they may have occupied a part of Indo-China bordering on the Mon-Annam region, remains to be considered.

The book has a good appearance, and is illustrated with numerous reproductions from well-selected and interesting photographs, including many representations of Achehnese chiefs who took a leading part in the war. There are also two good maps, and a plan illustrating Achehnese domestic architecture. The Index is full, and appears to have been well compiled, but both here and in the text a good many misprints have been left uncorrected (and unrecorded in the

lists of Corrigenda). Among minor inaccuracies I notice that under the heading "Achehnese—(b) the language," the Index refers to 'language,' but for reasons which have already been indicated, there is no heading 'language.'

This translation has been supplemented by a new introduction, written by the author, which brings the work up to date. Occasional additions have also been made in the text with the same object, and the translator has added some notes of his own, in most of which he compares Malay customs, etc., as they occur in the Malay Peninsula, with the Achehnese ones described in the text. I have not had an opportunity of comparing the translation with the original, but the English reads well, and it seems to have been carefully done. As the translator had qualified in the Dutch language, it may be presumed that he has accurately rendered his original. The work has a pathetic interest, for Mr. O'Sullivan died while it was in the press, and I cannot conclude this notice without expressing deep regret at the untimely death of one whose amiability endeared him to all that knew him, and whose strenuous character and love of good work for its own sake led him, among the pressing duties of his official position, to undertake and carry through, while life lasted, a task like the one which in its results now lies before me. English students of Malayan subjects will hold his name in grateful remembrance, and will cherish the hope that others may follow his good example.

C. O. CLAGEEN.

THE THIRTY-SEVEN<sup>o</sup> NATS, A PHASE OF SPIRIT-WORSHIP PREVAILING IN BURMA. By Sir R. C. TEMPLE, Bart., C.I.E. Imp. 4to. (London: Griggs, 1906.)

A NATIVE ACCOUNT OF THE THIRTY-SEVEN NATS, BEING A TRANSLATION OF A RARE BURMESE MANUSCRIPT. By Sir R. C. TEMPLE. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxv (1906), pp. 217 ff.

Sir Richard Temple's long studies in Burmese folk-religion have culminated in the first of the two works mentioned at

the head of this review. It is rare, indeed, that Oriental learning is presented to English readers in so becoming and so sumptuous a dress. It is She herself—there is no doubt of that—but the goddess whom we have hitherto discreetly, if somewhat dully worshipped, must surely have rubbed her eyes in astonishment at finding herself, for once, enshrined in an *édition de luxe*, seized upon by a real English Mem Sahib, and given the place of honour in a real English drawing-room. Taking these externals first, the book reflects infinite credit on Mr. Griggs, who has never done anything better in reproducing Indian art. It commences with nineteen pages of coloured illustrations of the thirty-seven Nats, and profusely scattered throughout the text there are over a hundred smaller reproductions of native illuminated pictures. There are, besides, full-page coloured illustrations and maps in other parts of the volume, while in black and white we have an appendix of eleven pages of drawings, and numerous smaller type-blocks from photographs of the author's unique collection of Burmese wood-carvings. The great value of all these pictures is that they are genuine reproductions of the native art of a quaintly artistic race. We have here the real thing, free from the personal equation of English copyists.

The literary portion of the book can be appreciated, but can hardly be criticized, for its writer knows more about the subject than anyone else in Europe; and here we must refer also to the second work mentioned at the head of this review, the article in the *Indian Antiquary*. It is a translation of a rare Burmese manuscript, written in 1805 A.D. for the then Heir Apparent of the Burmese throne, and giving a list of the thirty-seven Nats, together with the legends connected with each, and a description of the ceremonies performed at his festival. The contents were not available when the larger work was under preparation, and it must therefore be taken as a kind of supplement, the two together summarizing all the information at present available on the subject.

The main work falls naturally into two sections, the

first, chapters i-vii, dealing generally with the animistic beliefs of Burma, and the second, chapters viii-xiv, with the great Thirty-seven. Although the formal religion of the country is Buddhism, the Burman is at heart an animist—a worshipper of spirits or *Nats*, his professed faith being little more than a “thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of animistic belief.” Every village, every house, every human being, every conspicuous object, and every article of utility has its guardian spirit. Some of these spirits are Buddhist,—angels and saints derived from the old Brahmanic cosmogony of India through Buddhism; others are nature-spirits derived from the ancient pre-Buddhist beliefs of the people; and others, again, are spirits or ghosts of the departed. The three sources are quite distinct in the popular mind, and no Burman ever mixes them up or confuses one class with another. Nevertheless, in the interesting chapters dealing with Brahmanic and Buddhist influence, Sir Richard Temple shows how the old animism has reacted on these, and how even legends such as that of the critical epoch in the life of the Buddha himself have been coloured by it.

The belief in the existence of Nats who are spirits of the departed is of course directly opposed to the professed Buddhism of the country, and yet it is as universal in Burma as in any other part of the world where animism is still the national religion. The spirits are almost always malevolent, and though a village may be proud of its own special Nat the pride has fear for its basis, the ceremonies performed in its honour being those of propitiation, not of adoration. Whether we investigate the customs of the Burmans proper or those of the wilder tribes, the result is the same. Everywhere the ruling thought is “only let the Nats be grateful, and leave their trembling worshippers in peace and quietness.” It even explains such customs as head-hunting and human sacrifice. Some tribes believe that a man’s ghost goes with his skull, so that the more skulls there are hung round a village the more jealous watch-dog shades there are, intolerant of other interlopers

from the spirit-world. So, men were killed in former times to create Nats, who might protect a newly built place or who might keep inviolable the frontier between two rival states. In settled Burma so powerful are still the old beliefs that Buddhist abbots attend and celebrate animistic ceremonies, and many of the most noted seers and necromancers (purely animistic officials) are actually Buddhist monks.

We have seen that in Burma there are innumerable Nats or spirits, but there are thirty-seven who form the national hierarchy or, as Taw Sein Ko names them, the "Thirty-seven Rulers." These form the subject of the latter portion of the book under review; and they well illustrate the stage of religion to which the average Burman has arrived, for, with one exception (Thagyá Nat = Śakra = Indra, who has been borrowed from India), they are all ghosts of departed heroes or heroines, most of whom were alive between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, and some less than two hundred years ago. One, when alive, was well known to the early Portuguese settlers, and was often mentioned in their accounts.

Sir Richard Temple takes these historical personages, groups them according to their respective historical surroundings, gives a brief sketch of the somewhat complicated history of Burma so far as it relates to them, and then reproduces the legend of each Nat with an account of the ceremonies performed at his festival. These departed worthies were nearly all connected with royalty, and came to untimely ends. A good many of them are said to have led virtuous lives, but some of them could hardly be called reputable members of society even according to Burmese standards. For instance, there are two versions of the story of Min Kyawzwá Nat. According to one, he was the minister of the king of Pagan, who married a young lady, a spirit-seller (a seller of usquebaugh, not of ghosts) by profession. They lived happily for a time, but he "became addicted to his wife's liquor and spent all his sober moments in cock-fighting and letting off fireworks. He died and became a Nat. . . . The religious are left to choose which

version [of the legend] they please. The point is the drink, the cock-fighting, and the fireworks."

Most of these Nats are worshipped, as has been explained, to prevent their becoming a nuisance. Take two very important ones, Mahágiri and Hnamàdawgyí, who were, when alive, brother and sister. The former was murdered, and the latter committed suicide in consequence. Their spirits (or Nats) took up their abode in a tree, from which they used to descend to kill and eat passers-by. The king had the tree uprooted and thrown into the Irrawaddy. It became stranded at Pagan, where the Nats continued their anthropophagical habits till the local ruler built them a temple and founded a festival in their honour. Since they have been properly housed and treated they have given up their promiscuous raids, and now only attack those who offend them.

Thagyá, the one Nat who is not of human origin, receives the greater part of a chapter to himself. As his name shows, he does not represent the *Sakka* of Pāli, but is a Burmese form of the Sanskrit *Śakra*, the cult being in consequence thrown back to the early times when the old debased Northern (Sanskritic) Buddhism was current in Burma, and before the present Southern (Pāli) form began to prevail. He is the head of all the Nats, and occupies a place by himself as the Lord of Life, the Recording Angel, and as the Supernatural Being most revered and most respected. His worship may be described as a form of Burmese animism engrafted on the Indian cosmogony.

Space will not allow me to go further into details regarding this book, notable both as a work of art and as a document relating to the spirit-beliefs of an important section of the human race. I have endeavoured to give a rapid review of its chief contents, and that must suffice. It only remains to record that Sir Richard Temple has most freely acknowledged the works of other writers, from whom he has drawn a part of the information which he has collected, while he has perhaps too modestly left his readers to infer the value of what is due to his own

researches, and to the clearness with which he has unravelled the tangled web of superstition overlying an official religion so materialistic as Buddhism.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

**KATALOG DER ISLAMISCHEN, CHRISTLICH-ORIENTALISCHEN, JÜDISCHEN, UND SAMARITANISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN DER UNIVERSITÄTS-BIBLIOTHEK ZU LEIPZIG, VON K. VOLLERS. Mit einem Beitrag von J. LEIPOLDT. 8vo; pp. xi and 508. (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1906.)**

The series of catalogues of MSS. published on behalf of the Leipzig University has been enriched by the magnificent volume mentioned above, and thanks are due to the learned compilers for the care and skill displayed in the fulfilment of their task. We were prepared to find a goodly collection of Oriental MSS. at a place which for many decades formed the centre of the Fleischer school, but the actual wealth of that collection will come as a surprise to many students who are out of personal touch with that renowned seat of learning. Of a total of 1120 (or rather 1128) volumes, not less than 914 are in Arabic, but the real number of Arab codices is much larger, as they include more than fifty compound volumes. The collection embraces every conceivable subject dear to the Arab mind. The variety is therefore great, and even includes such remote subjects as hunting and interpretation of dreams. The last-named subject (علم التعبير), which formed a subdivision of the medical science, enjoyed no small popularity, as may be seen from the list of works published by N. Bland in this Journal, vol. xvi, p. 153 sqq. It is interesting to note that the study, and probably also the practice, of this art spread to the non-Mohammedan population of Moslim lands. The Cairo Genizah at Cambridge numbers not less than nine different fragments of treatises on the *Ta'bir* in Hebrew characters, among which are to be found two copies of the

beginning of the oldest works of this class, by Ibn Sīrīn.<sup>1</sup> Neither of the titles mentioned by Vollers (Nos. 842, 843) is given in Bland's list. Another leaf in the Genizah contains the title and first few lines of the astrological work bearing the name of Hermes (כתאב הרמס אלדראמסר), Vollers, No. 831). The number of relics in Hebrew characters of works of purely Mohammedan origin, such as Qorān, Tradition, Poetry, *Adab*, and Tales is quite astonishing.

Professor Vollers' description of the codices is short but reliable. Yet in many cases the reader would have liked to see a few more details. These were probably excluded for economical reasons. To give only one instance, we should have liked to know whether the alleged queries of Abdallāh b. Salām (No. 739, fol. 58b)<sup>2</sup> are identical with the contents of a little book on the same subject printed at Cairo (1867?). On the other hand, Vollers' references, in each paragraph, to parallel codices in other libraries, as well as his biographical and bibliographical notes, are both extensive and carefully compiled. The number of Arabic codices is supplemented by sixteen volumes of Christian works. It is noteworthy that a certain number of Christo-Arabic fragments is also to be found in the Genizah, and they deserve a closer examination, as some of them seem to be of considerable age. Most of them are of polemical and apologetical tendency. Apart from the Arabic MSS., the Leipzig collection contains about a hundred Persian and nearly half as many Turkish codices. Of Syriac MSS. there are only half a dozen. Much more important seems to be the collection of Coptic MSS., the description of which was entrusted to Dr. Johannes Leipoldt. Two Ethiopic MSS. and one in Amharic are described by Professor Praetorius. There are also a few in Hindi, Malay, Georgian, and Armenian, and several Egyptian papyri, notably the famous Papyrus Ebers. Of some interest are the Jewish MSS. Cod. 1099 could not have served the purposes of public worship. The work is mentioned in

<sup>1</sup> See J.Q.R., vol. xv, p. 195 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See J.Q.R., vol. x, p. 112.

the late Dr. Schiller-Szincsey's Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. of the University Library at Cambridge, p. 41, and in the introduction of Professor Aldis Wright's edition of "A Commentary on the Book of Job," from a unique MS. of this collection. The term "Sefer mahzôr" (No. 1102) is not usual. On Ibn Wahshiyya (No. 1118) see Steinschneider, *Zur pseudepigraphischen Literatur*, p. 4 sqq. A short note on an incomplete MS. of the Hebrew Pentateuch of the Samaritans concludes the bibliographical portion of the book. It need hardly be mentioned that full indices are added, but the arrangement of names in Roman characters according to the Arabic alphabet is somewhat awkward. The book is handsomely got up, and will be of great use to the students of various branches of Oriental literature.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1906.)

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### I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

*November 13th, 1906.*—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Maharaja Dhiraj Bijay Chand Mahtab of Burdwan,  
 Dr. Fairman Rackham Mann, R.N.,  
 Bubu Kedar Nath Mazumdar,  
 Mr. M. T. Narasimhiengar, B.A.,  
 Mr. David Lester Richardson, Burma C.S.,  
 Mr. John Leonard Sedgwick, I.C.S.,  
 Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A.,  
 Mr. Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, M A ,  
 Thakur Shiam Sarup Singal,  
 Pandit Hirananda Shastri, M.A.,  
 Mr. R. B. Whitehead, I C.S.,  
 Lieut.-Colonel D. C. Phillott, Indian Army,  
 Mr. Pashupatinath Chatterjee,  
 Professor Harinath De,  
 Mr. Henry Marcourt, I.C.S.,  
 Professor A. V. Williams Jackson,  
 Dr. Neil Gordon Munro,  
 Mr. Pandeya Umapati Datta Sharma,  
 Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan.

Sir James Bourdillon read a paper on "The Pathan Sultans of Bengal." A discussion followed, in which Syed Ameer Ali, Dr. Grierson, Mr. Irvine, and Mr. V. A. Smith took part.

After some introductory remarks from the President, Ishāk ben Amram, priest of the Samaritan community at Shechem, showed to the meeting an ancient MS. of the Law of Moses.

*December 11th, 1906.*—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Miss E. Grace Hammond,  
Mr. P. C. Tarapore,  
Mr. Rustamji Furidoonji,  
Mr. Mahomed Shakir Ali,  
Mr. Parmeshwar Lall.

Dr. Pinches read a paper on "The Tablet in Cuneiform Script from Yuzghat." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Thornton, Professor Hagopian, and the Chairman took part. The paper, which was a summary of the longer monograph by Professor Sayce and Dr. Pinches (*Asiatic Monographs XI*), is published in the present Journal.

## II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

### I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Bd. ix, Heft 2.

Jacobi (H.). Eine Jaina Dogmatik Umāsvāti's Tattvārthā-dhigama Sūtra übersetzt und erläutert.

Steinschneider (M.). Zur alchimistischen Literatur der Araber.

Conrad (A.). Indischer Einfluss in China im 4 Jahrhundert v. Chr.

Gray (L. H.). Lexicographical Addenda to the St. Petersburg Lexicons from the Vāsavadatta of Subandhu.

### Heft 3.

Jolly (J.). Zur Quellenkunde der indischen Medizin.

Griffini (E.). Zu al-A'sā's Mā bukā'u.

- Franke (O.). Zum Manuskript Dutreuil de Rhins.  
 Jacobi (H.). Eine Jaina Dogmatik. (*Concluded.*)  
 Hunnius (C.). Das syrische Alexanderlied.  
 Kegl (A. v.). Zu Blochet Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans.  
 Arnold (E. V.). The Quantity of the Final Vowel in the Rig Veda.  
 König (Ed.). Kalenderfragen im althebraischen Schriftum.  
 Franke (A. H.). Kleine archaologische Erträge einer Missionsreise nach Zangskar im West-tibet.

## II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE Série v, Tome vii, No. 3.

- Revillout (E.). La femme dans l'antiquité  
 Boyer (A. M.). Yakšá.  
 Addai Scher (Mgr.). Notice sur les MSS. syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du convent des Chaldéens de Notre Dame des Semences.

## III. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xx, No. 2.

- Karabacek (J. v.). Arabic Palæography.  
 Freiman (A.). Pand-nāmak i Zaratušt.  
 Ungnad (A.). Das Nomen mit Suffixen im Semitischen.  
 Hertel (J.). Zu Kalila wa Dimna

## IV. JOURNAL OF THE NORTH CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. xxxvii.

- Martin (W. A. P.). The Jewish Monument at Kaifungfu.  
 Kingsmill (T. W.). Ancient Tibet and its Frontagers.

## V. ALTJEMENISCHE NACHRICHTEN. Band i, Lief. 1.

Einige altjemenische Gesetzesschriften.

Lief. 2-4.

Zum biblischen Še'ól.

Ein 𐤒𐤓𐤕 Text.

Mušškênu und Verwandtes.

Noch ein Nachwort zu Grimmes Südarabischen Tempelgesetzen.

D. H. Müller in der Internationalen Akademienassoziation und die himjarische Inschrift am Djebel Djiḥâf.

Due breve nuove iscrizioni sabaiche.

VI. T'OUNG PAO. Série II, Vol. vii, No. 2.

Cordier (H.). Bibliotheca Indo-Sinica.

Chavannes (E.). Trois généraux chinois de la dynastie des Han orientaux.

Halévy (J.). Nouvelles considerations sur le cycle turc des animaux.

Vol. vii, No. 3.

Franke (O.). Über die chinesische Lehre von den Bezeichnungen 正名.

Feray (M.). Les Japonais à Haï-nan sous la dynastie des Ming.

Madrolle (Cl.). Le Thank-hoá.

VII. JOURNAL OF THE SIAM SOCIETY. Vol. ii, Part 1.

Petithuguenin (P.). À propos des origines et de l'histoire ancienne du Siam.

Masao (T.). Researches into indigenous Law of Siam as a Study of Comparative Jurisprudence.

VIII. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT.  
Tome v, Nos. 3-4.

Lévi (S.). Notes chinoises sur l'Inde.

Bonifacy (M. le chef de bataillon). Étude sur les langues parlées par les populations de la haute rivière Claire.

Chéon (A.). Note sur les Muong de la province de Son-Tay.

Cadière (L.). Les hautes vallées du Sông Gianh.

Durand (E. M.). Notes sur les Chams.

## IX. LE MONDE ORIENTAL. Vol. i, Fasc. 1.

Christensen (A.). Un traité de métaphysique de 'Omar Hayyām.

Charpentier (J.). Zur indischen Wortforschung.

Wiklund (K. B.). Finnisch-ugrisch und indogermanisch.

Zotterstein (K. V.). Ibn Sa'd ock hans arbete Kitāb el et-Tabaqāt el Kebir (with a summary in English).

Meyer (E. A.). Der musikalische Wortakzent im japanischen.

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## OBITUARY NOTICES.

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### MAJOR HENRY GEORGE RAVERTY.

MAJOR RAVERTY died at Grampound Road, between St. Austell and Truro, on October 20th last, at the ripe age of 81. He was of Irish parentage, his grandfather having been an O'Raverty, and his father Peter Raverty of Tyrone and a surgeon in the Navy. Major Raverty was born on May 31st, 1825, and was educated in Cornwall. In 1843 he entered the H.E.I.C.'s service and joined the 3rd Bombay Infantry. He served in the Panjab campaign of 1849-50, and in the campaign against the tribes on the Swat border. He also was in civil employ, and was an Assistant Commissioner in the Panjab. His service in Afghanistan drew his attention to the language of the country, and in 1855 he published a Pushtoo grammar. This was followed in 1860 by his Pushtoo dictionary, of which a second edition appeared in 1867. Major Raverty led a somewhat stormy life, for he was at feud with Professors Blochmann and Dowson as well as with other scholars, but he did good work and is entitled to honourable remembrance. A severe critic, the late Lord Strangford, who did not spare Raverty where he thought he was wrong, yet wrote of him, in a paper in our Journal on the languages of Afghanistan, that the credit undoubtedly belonged to Major Raverty of having been the first student to combine a mastery of vernacular Pushtoo with a thorough knowledge of its literature. Similarly, Colonel Biddulph, in his Essay on Afghan Poetry of the seventeenth century, wrote that Major Raverty might indeed be styled the father of the study of the Afghan language and literature, and that for more than thirty years he devoted himself to placing at the disposal of the public

his unique stores of information. "Raverty's Grammar, Raverty's Dictionary, Raverty's Gulshan-i-Roh will ever be lasting memorials of his conscientious and disinterested labours." One of Raverty's most laborious works was his "Notes on Afghanistan," in which he described three-and-twenty routes in that country. This was published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in 1880-3, but we believe that it is rarely to be met with, and only in a mutilated condition, for many passages have been smudged by some official censor, after the fashion in which keepers of certain public libraries deal with betting news. What the *Times* calls Major Raverty's trenchant pen did most harm to himself, and it is somewhat sad and singular that three distinguished Orientalists, all of them Anglo-Indians, who died within the last few years, all damaged themselves and their causes by intemperate language. The maxim about "emollit mores" hardly was verified in their cases. But that Raverty was not always wrong in his controversies seems proved by a curious incident recorded in our Journal for 1875. Raverty objected to some remarks by Colonel Yule about him, and the dispute was referred to arbitration. The arbitrators were the very competent men Aloys Sprenger and Arthur Grote, and their verdict was in Raverty's favour. Unfortunately the whole of the award has not been published, but the concluding words were: "The arbitrators are satisfied that Major Raverty was quite unaware of the previous publication (the innuendo was one of plagiarism), and that his position is therefore completely justified."

Major Raverty translated 'for the Asiatic Society of Bengal the *Ṭabaqāt Nāṣirī* by Minhāj, and furnished very ample and learned notes. He also wrote a most full account of the Indus under the title of "The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries," which was published in the J.A.S.B. for 1892.

Major Raverty resided at one time near Ottery St. Mary (Coleridge's birthplace), but latterly he lived in Cornwall. He retired from the Army in 1864, and in the following year married at Falmouth the only daughter of Commander

George Pooley, R.N. His wife survives him, but there are no children. His "History of Herat and Annals of Khurāsān" was completed about a year ago, and it is to be hoped that it may be published. He worked up to the end of his life, and was at his death engaged on the "History of the Afghans," for which he had collected a great quantity of material. It is also understood that he was preparing a translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, the famous history of a thousand years which was projected by Akbar. Major Raverty was all through life a poor man, and apparently the only pecuniary reward that he ever received for his studies was a prize of 1,000 rupees for High Proficiency. The *Times* lately published an interesting notice of him, and to this and to Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography we have been indebted for some of our facts.

II. B.



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*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Sciences,  
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APRIL, 1907.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

## XI.

### A CHINESE TEXT CORRESPONDING TO PART OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

By K. WATANABE.

THE great merit of the laborious publication of the Bower Manuscript by Dr. Hoernle need not here be repeated. Since I met this excellent scholar some years ago, I have carefully examined the whole Chinese Tripiṭaka to identify the manuscript, but I have only been able to find one of the various texts of which it is composed. This is, however, one of the most important Sūtras of Buddhist mysticism; and its curious relation with the Pāli scriptures in many places<sup>1</sup> throws some light upon the dark question of the history of Buddhist literature.

The identified portion of the manuscript consists of the six leaves which appear in plates xlix–liv. The greater part of the text has unfortunately been lost, and these leaves that remain are only a small portion of it.

The corresponding Chinese text is contained in six translations,<sup>2</sup> of which the following three versions<sup>3</sup> completely correspond to the text of the manuscript, while the

<sup>1</sup> One of these was already reported by Professors Serge d'Oldenburg and Bühler in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. v, 116, and vii, 271.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjio's "Cat. of the Chinese Tripiṭaka," 306–311.

<sup>3</sup> Nanjio, 306–8.

others only partially agree with it, showing a more primitive and less developed form than the other three.

1. Mahāmāyūrividya-rājñī, translated by I-tsing, A.D. 705.
2.                   ,,                   translated by Amoghavajra,  
A.D. 746-771.<sup>1</sup>
3.                   ,,                   translated by Sanghapāla,  
A.D. 516.<sup>2</sup>

The contents of the three versions are substantially the same, except that in the first two texts there are often interpolations.

The text is also found in part iii of the *Pañcarakṣā*,<sup>3</sup> of which many codexes are extant in European and Asiatic libraries.<sup>4</sup>

Through the generosity of the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal,<sup>5</sup> I have been able to make not only a collation of the text with that of the Bower Manuscript, but also a comparative and critical study of the whole text. I hope that the result of this study will be eventually published in full; but I venture here to submit the main results, with a few remarks on the more important and interesting points.

(1) The verses,<sup>6</sup> after the invocation of the Nāgas, are apparently borrowed from the paritta in the *Mora-jātaka*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 貞元錄, vols. xv and xvi, "The Life of Amoghavajra," and his memorial to the Emperor T'ai-tung (reigning 763-779).

<sup>2</sup> This more exact date is derived from Nanjio, No. 1610, vol. v.

<sup>3</sup> Bendall's "Cat. of the Buddh. Skt. MSS.," pp. 33, 48, 99, 105, 152, 167, 162, 175, 190; Cowell & Eggeling, "Cat. of Buddh. Skt. MSS. in the R.A.S.," p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the Calcutta Library, the Japanese Oriental Society now possesses a manuscript brought by Rev. Kawaguchi, who was several years in Tibet and Nepal. (The Society was established by Professors Nanjio, Takakusu, and Dr. Tokiwai, 1901, in memory of the late Max Müller.)

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 56 and 57 from the library of the R.A.S. and No. B. 4 from Calcutta.

<sup>6</sup> Bower MS., part vi, leaf 3, obverse line 5--reverse line 2; London MS. 56, f. 89 A; Calcutta MS., f. 115 B. The verse 1, metre *Vamśastha*; 2, *Indravajra*.

<sup>7</sup> *Jātaka* 159; *Fausböll*, ii, 33-8.

## SANSKRIT.

PĀLI.<sup>1</sup>

Namo'stu Buddhāya, namo'stu  
bodhaye !

Namo vimuktāya, namo vi-  
muktaye !

Namo'stu Śāntāya, namo'stu  
Śāntaye !

Namo'stu muktāya, namo'stu  
muktaye ! (1)

Ye brāhmaṇā vāhita-pāpa-  
dharmās

teṣāṃ namas te ca<sup>2</sup> māṃ  
pālayantu<sup>3</sup> ! (2)

Nam'atthu Buddhānaṃ, nam'-  
atthu bodhiyā !

Namo vimuttānaṃ, namo vi-  
muttiyā ! (B).

Ye brāhmaṇā vedagu sabba-  
dhamme

te me namo te ca maṃ pāla-  
yantu ! (A).

The above comparison shows us very clearly that two new pādas, imitating the original metre and thought, were invented by Mahāyānistis and interpolated in the Pāli verse.

The word Yaśomitrasya,<sup>4</sup> inserted in the last pāda of the second verse, must be the name of a votary who had perhaps copied the manuscript and offered his prayer, because it is prescribed in the notes of the Chinese version that a votary, in such places of the text, must recite his name. Or it may be also possible that an influential person bearing this name made a scribe copy the manuscript for him, as was a custom in ancient China and Japan.

(2) Though in size very different from the preceding four leaves, leaves 1-2 of part vii give really the continuation of their text. They were copied by the same hand as wrote part vi, for the name Yaśomitra occurs in the leaf 2, obverse, line 3. According to the Chinese and the Sanskrit texts about one or one and a half leaves between parts vi and vii are wanting. This lost portion is precisely of interest, because it again contains a modified story from the Mora-jātuka. The gold-coloured peacock king appears

<sup>1</sup> Fausböll, ii, 34, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Bower MS. ; Yaśomitrasya (P)[ā](r)[aṃ] ; Pālayantu.

<sup>3</sup> After the verse follows svāhā.

<sup>4</sup> Bower MS., pl. lii, last line.

in the story as a votary of the Mahāmāyūrī-mantra whose miraculous power had rescued him from an emergency, threatening to destroy his life.

I will quote here from my collated copy of the two manuscripts,<sup>1</sup> compared with the Chinese versions, the nonsensical parts of the mantra being naturally omitted.

Bhūtapūrvam, Ānanda, Himavanta-parvatasya dakṣiṇa-pārśve Suvarṇāvabhāso<sup>2</sup> nānu mayūra-rājā prativasati sma. So 'py anayā Mahāmāyūrī-vidyā-rājyā rakṣām svastyayanam kṛtvā divā svasti nāvaharati. So 'yam svastyayanam kṛtvā rātrau nāvaharati sma.

*(Follows mantra.)*

So 'pareṇa samayen' Ānanda anayā Mahāmāyūrī-vidyā-rājyā rakṣām svastyayanam na kṛtvā, sambahulair ābhirvane mayūra-kanyābhiḥ sārddham āramen' āramam udyānenōdyānam parvata-pārśve kāmeṣu grddhaḥ, sakto, madamattaḥ, pragūdhaḥ, pramūrchitaḥ, prarūdrito (!) 'nūvicarat pramodu-vāsāt anyataram parvata-vivaram anupraviṣṭaḥ.

Sa tatra dīrgha-rātrau pratyarthikaiḥ, pratyamitra-himsakair, avatāram prekṣibhir,<sup>3</sup> avatāram gavesibhir, mayūra-pāśena baddhaḥ.

So 'mitramadhyagataḥ smṛti-pratilabdhaḥ imām eva Mahāmāyūrī-vidyā-rājyām manasy akūrṣit.

*(Follows mantra.)*

Atha tasmād āsanāt parimuktaḥ svasti-kṣaṇena svasti-viśayam anuprāptaḥ.

*(Follows mantra.)*

. Aham ev' Ānanda sa tena kālēna tena samayena Suvarṇāvabhāso nānu Mayūra-rājā babhūva.

*(Follows mantra.)*

(3) The passage in plate liv, reverse, lines 6-7, reads in the London and Calcutta MSS.<sup>4</sup> as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> London MS., 89 B; Calcutta MS., 116 B.

<sup>2</sup> See Fausbüll, ii, 33, 'suvarṇavabhāso ahoṣi.'

<sup>3</sup> "By those who are watching for his appearance, by those who are searching for his appearance." Avatāra does not mean incarnation, as it commonly does.

<sup>4</sup> London MS., 91 B; Calcutta MS., 120 A.

Tat kasmād dhetoṛ? vadhyārha Ānanda daṇḍena mucyate, daṇḍārhaḥ prahāreṇa; prahārārha ākrośeṇa, ākrośārhaḥ paribhāṣeṇa, paribhāṣārho romaharṣeṇa, evam eva mucyate.

It is better, I think, to add here rather a translation of the corresponding Chinese translation by the well-known I-tsing than a new one of my own, because his version not only gives very clearly the meaning of the passage, but at the same time enables us to see the state of the Chinese text.

“On what account? O Ānanda! One who is liable to death<sup>1</sup> will be released (that is to say, will be alleviated) with fine,<sup>2</sup> one who is liable to a fine with the infliction of blows, one who is liable to the infliction of blows with abuse, one who is liable to abuse with censure, one who is liable to censure with Lomaharṣa. So in this way he will be released from all punishment.”

Lomaharṣa seems here to be the slightest of all punishments. It may signify some horrifying act by a policeman, which, even without the use of a single word of blame, would give a thrill to the accused. Sanghapāla translates it, “[the punishment even] not relating word.”<sup>3</sup>

The passage is used in some Mahāyāna sūtras as a favourite formula to explain the great power of some Dhāraṇī therein described. The parallel in the Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna<sup>4</sup> is the oldest description of it, as this avadāna was existing in the beginning of the third century.<sup>5</sup> It runs:

Yuḥ kaścid Ānanda ṣaḍakṣaryā vidyuyā paritrāṇaṃ svasty-ayanam kuryāt, sa yadi bandhārho<sup>6</sup> bhaved daṇḍena

<sup>1</sup> Sanghapāla translates this word by 應遭囚繫, ‘one who is liable to the imprisonment,’ bandhārha, as the Divyāvadāna (see further on, note 4).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Daṇḍa’ is a general name for punishment. Itsing and Amoghavajra take it for ‘fine,’ 罰物, while Sanghapāla translates by 鞭撻, ‘punishment by the whip.’

<sup>3</sup> 不涉言.

<sup>4</sup> Cowell’s “Divyāvadāna,” p. 614.

<sup>5</sup> Cu Iūh-yen, together with C’chien, translated this Sūtra in A.D. 229. See Nanjio, I, 489, vol. I.

<sup>6</sup> badh° in the edition.

mucyate, daṇḍārhaḥ prahāreṇa, prahārārhaḥ paribhāṣaṇayā,  
 paribhāṣaṇārho romaharṣaṇena, romaharṣaṇārhaḥ punar eva<sup>1</sup>  
 mucyate.

Our text seems apparently to have borrowed the passages  
 from this old avadāna.

<sup>1</sup> evam ucate in the edition.

## XII.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BIOGRAPHY OF  
'ABD AL-KADIR OF JILAN.

By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

TO the life and doctrines of the famous founder of the Kādirī Order<sup>1</sup> a certain amount of attention has already been devoted in Europe, yet scarcely sufficient to render further investigation of the subject unnecessary. The following books, of which some are not easily accessible, treat either of the saint himself or of his Order :—

E. de Neveu : *Les Khouan. Ordres religieux chez les Musulmans de l'Algérie* 2<sup>e</sup> édition. Paris, 1846 (the author's name is not on the title-page, but at the end of the dedication).

E. le Chatelier : *Confréries Musulmanes dans l'Hejaz*. Paris, 1882.

L. Rinn : *Marabouts et Khouan*. Algiers, 1884.

Depont et Coppolani : *Confréries religieuses Musulmanes*. Algiers, 1897.

Carra de Vaux : *Gazali*. Paris, 1902.

Of these authors the last has based his statements on the life of 'Abd al-Kādir called *Kalā'id al-Jawāhir*, by Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥya al-Tadifi (التادفي), composed about 980 A.H., printed at Cairo, 1303. The third and fourth depend largely on the second, who had at his disposal a number of works, among them a life of A.K. called *Taṣṭiḥ al-khātir fī manāḳib 'asyyidī 'Abd al-Kādir al-Jilānī*, translated from Persian by Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir al-Kādirī Ibn Muḥyi'l-din, printed at Cairo, 1300, as well as other books and MSS. which are not generally accessible. In 1903 a brief life of the saint in Arabic, ascribed to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asḳalānī (ob. 852), was published by E. D. Ross ; it bears

<sup>1</sup> Called here A.K. for brevity. F.M. stands for Ibn 'Arabī's *Futūḥāt Makkiyyah*.

the name *Ghibṭat al-nāẓir fī tarjamat al-shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir*. In the same year Mr. T. H. Weir published in this Journal a translation of part of the *Natījat al-tahkīk*, which also deals with the saint's life (see J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 155-166). A list of other works in Arabic is given by Ahlwardt in his monumental catalogae. Some of the biographies were composed by disciples of the saint, as by the Kādi Abu'l-Kāsim Ibn Dirbās and his son; Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn Abī'l-Barakāt al-Tamīmī al-Bardānī; Abū Mansūr 'Abdallāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī; Abu'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Muḥsin or Ḥusain Ibn Muḥammad al-Baṣrī; and Abū Bakr 'Abdallāh Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ḥamzah al-Tamīmī al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Baghdādī, whose work, called *Anwār al-nāẓir*, is probably in existence.

By far the most elaborate work on the subject is the *Bahjat al-asrār wa-mardīn al-anwār fī ba'd manāḩih al-Kuṭb al-rabbānī sayyidī A.H.* by Nūr al-dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf al-Lakhmī al-Shaṭṭanaufī, a teacher in al-Azhar, whose life lasted 644-713. This person was separated by eighty-three years from 'Abd al-Kādir; his statements, therefore, are derived at second or third hand from eye-witnesses, and few writers give more precise details of time and place. Yet the stories which his book contains are so wild that either he or some of his authorities must have deliberately deceived their contemporaries or themselves been the victims of hallucinations. The copy before me is that printed in Cairo, 1304; there is also a North African edition, which I have not been able to procure.

The plan of the Bahjah is as follows:—

1. Evidence showing that 'Abd al-Kādir declared before a large audience that his "foot was on the neck of every saint of God." The date of this remarkable saying is given on p. 12 as 570, nine years after the Shaikh's death; apparently, however, this number is corrupt; on p. 18 it is given as 559 on the authority of a man who flew through the air to hear it.
2. Incidents from the life of the Shaikh mixed up with extracts from his sermons. The following dates occur chiefly in this chapter:—

499, middle of Sha'bān (p. 53). The Shaikh joins a party who with Hammād al-Dabbās are going across the water to the Mosque of Ruṣāfah for Friday's service. Hammād pushes the Shaikh into the water. The latter saves his MSS, but suffers severely from the cold. (Sha'bān of this year fell between April and May: it should not therefore have been so cold at the time.)

508 (p. 115). Birth of his eldest son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

509 (p. 56). The Shaikh's first pilgrimage from Baghdad. At the tower called Umm al-Ḳurūn he meets 'Adī Ibn Musāfir, and they travel together to Meccah, where an Abyssinian maid joins them. 'Adī Ibn Musāfir, whom I.Kh. thinks worthy of a notice, died 557 or 559 at a great age. This story may therefore have a foundation of truth.

521, Tuesday, 16 Shawwāl. A.Ḳ. saw the Prophet (p. 25). The week-day is right according to Wüstenfeld's tables. The Prophet insisted on the Shaikh's coming forward as preacher. In the form of the story told by Dhahabī it is the ascetic Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī who gives A.Ḳ. this advice. The same year (p. 29) the merchant Abu'l-Muzaḥfir al-Ḥasan Ibn Najm Ibn Aḥmad of Baghdad comes to Hammād al-Dabbās, and is warned by him that if he start he will be killed and his goods robbed. A.Ḳ. then promises him that he will get safely to Damascus. Hammād afterwards meets this merchant in the Sūḳ al-Sultān of Baghdad, and tells him that his success is the result of 17 prayers of A.Ḳ.

522, Sha'bān (p. 114). Birth of A.Ḳ.'s son 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

526. A.Ḳ. and his pupils take part in building the wall of Baghdad. A.Ḳ. heads the people of the Azaj Gate Quarter. Ḳalā'id (p. 19).

528, Dhu'l-Ka'dah (p. 115). Birth of his son 'Abd al-Razzāq.

529, Dhu'l-Hijjah 27 (p. 53). Wednesday (according to Wüstenfeld should be Thursday). The Shaikh visited the grave of Hammād al-Dabbās in the Shūnizī cemetery, whom he found with royal robes and crown in his grave, but unable to move his right hand, which had given A.Ḳ. the blow mentioned above, thirty years before. By A.Ḳ.'s mediation the hand was restored.

529 (p. 94). The Shaikh's class attended by Abu'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-Khair Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sahl Ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī (ob. 541; see I.Kh., de Slane, i, 661). The

Shaikh spoke on any subject to which the thoughts of this hearer were directed.

537 (p. 81). The daughter of Abū Sa'd 'Abdallah Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī al-Azajī was snatched away by the Jinn. A.Ḳ. compelled them to restore her.

539 (p. 115): Rabī i, end. Birth of his son Mūsā.

543 (p. 58). Friday. 5 Rejeb (the week-day is right according to Wüstenfeld). The Shaikh was visited by Baḳā Ibn Baṭṭū, a saint scarcely inferior in reputation to A.Ḳ.

546 (p. 50). Visit of the same with several other famous saints. A servant who refused to eat at A.Ḳ.'s order was struck down dead, and afterwards restored to life at the saints' request.

548 (p. 81). Abu'l-Khalīl Aḥmad Ibn As'ad Ibn Wahb Ibn 'Alī al-Muḳrī al-Baghdādī heard a sermon on the office of Ḳuṭb delivered by the Shaikh.

549 (p. 62). The Shaikh, being invited to a meal by Abū Ghālīb Faḍl-allāh Ibn Ismā'il al-Baghdādī, cures a son of his host who was deformed and blind.

550 (p. 49). The saint 'Alī Ibn Idrīs al-Ba'kūbī was brought to A.Ḳ. and given by him a garment. Birth of A.Ḳ.'s son Yahyā.

552 (p. 72): Saturday night, 9 Rabī' ii (week-day wrong according to Wüstenfeld). Vision of a mysterious person flying through the air.

553 (p. 58). The Shaikh recites some verses to Abu'l-Ḳāsim 'Umar Ibn Mas'ūd al-Bazzār and Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Muḳrī.

(p. 25). The Shaikh recounts the vision of the Prophet seen in 521 to his sons and al-Bazzār.

555 (p. 67): Sunday, 3 Ṣafar (according to Wüstenfeld should be Saturday). The Shaikh by throwing a wooden shoe rescues a caravan from robbers at a distance of 23 days' journey.

556 (p. 76): Friday, 15 Jumādā ii (week-day wrong according to Wüstenfeld). Al-Bazzār went to the Mosque with A.Ḳ.

(p. 49). Al-Ba'kūbī brought for the second time to A.Ḳ.

558 (p. 98). A.Ḳ. sent a servant to buy material at a dīnār a yard of the draper Abu'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḳāsim Ibn 'Abdān al-Kurashī.

559 (p. 18). Visit of mysterious persons flying through the air at night to see the Shaikh.

(p. 56). A.Ḳ. recounted his pilgrimage to Abu'l-Mafākhir al-Mukhtār al-Ḥusainī.

(p. 63). In the presence of Abu Sa'd al-Kailawī A.Ḳ. healed a cripple and crippled a sound child.

(p. 73). Muḥarram : A.Ḳ. warns his audience in time that the roof is about to fall.

560 (p. 77). Abū 'Abd al-Malik Dhayyāl desires and sees a miracle in A.Ḳ.'s stick.

(p. 79). A.Ḳ. performs a miracle in the presence of Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Wahb al-Azuḡī.

561 (pp. 101, etc.). Visit of Muwaffaq al-dīn and 'Abd al-Ghanī. They remain with A.Ḳ. 50 days till his death in Rabi' ii.

These seem to be all the dated incidents found only in the Bahjah and the Ḳalā'id ; for greater security in many cases the dates on which the successive narrators heard them are all recorded.

3. Praises of his companions.
4. Account of his virtues.
5. Account of his teachers and pupils.
6. Collection of traditions taught by A.Ḳ. with their isnāds.
7. Account of various saints who all honourably mentioned A.Ḳ.

The Persian treatise cited, p. 297, note 4, mentions a *takmilah*, or supplement to the Bahjah, which is not (it would seem) accessible.

The life compiled by Dhahabī<sup>1</sup> (ob. 748) contains some of the matter printed in the Bahjah, and was evidently employed by the author of the Ghibṭah ; it seemed to deserve rescuing from obscurity on account of the excellence of the sources which it in general employs. These in the main are contemporary, and can be studied side by side with A.Ḳ.'s writings—his sermons called *al-Faṭḥ al-Rabbānī* or (ungrammatically) *sittin majālis*, his discourses called *Futūḥ al-ghaib*, and his ethico-legal manual called *al-Ghunyah*. From these sources we can form a correct idea of the man whose name has with some Moslem communities displaced that of their Prophet.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Bodl. Laud. 304, foll. 241-244.

And the picture that results is that of a powerful preacher, whose personality rather than the import of his utterances was capable of stirring congregations to enthusiasm. The widow of a revivalist who in his time possessed the same power informed me that her husband seemed to feel some force radiating from the tips of his fingers when he preached—and this was how he accounted for the fact that he could rouse vast congregations, to whom he spoke through an interpreter in a foreign language. A story told by one of A.Ḳ.'s sons illustrates the same phenomenon, i.e. that of the effect being produced by the personality rather than the words of the preacher. His son 'Abd al-Wahhāb (Bahjah, p. 97) travelled and studied at different centres of learning, and on his return desired to occupy his father's pulpit. Leave was granted, but he failed to stir the audience. Then A.Ḳ. rose, and told a story about an egg which his wife had put in a plate, when the cat knocked it off the table and broke it. The story was not finished before it was evident that the audience was enthralled.

Not much more mysterious than this power is that ascribed to him of being able to read or divine the thoughts of his audience, of which some fairly credible tales are told by Dhahabī, whereas in the Bahjah we find it exaggerated (as indeed it is in one case below) into the miraculous.

In the Bahjah (written about a century after A.Ḳ.'s death) these powers are so developed that A.Ḳ. appears as a wonder-worker of the first rank. Some of his miracles bear a curious likeness to the matter recorded in the spiritualistic journals. At his meetings the shaikh flies in the air, and is contracted or elongated. He even holds 'materialization' séances, at which the Prophet and first four Caliphs appear on the pulpit steps. He can hypnotize a man till he fancies he is in a place which he had never seen and is not to see till some days afterwards (Ḳalā'id, p. 46). Other saints, living at a distance, by drawing magic circles can hear A.Ḳ. discoursing at Baghdad; and when their notes are compared with those taken in A.Ḳ.'s lecture-room at the time, they are found to correspond exactly. Perhaps this is why his

sermons are so accurately dated. A disciple one day, when collecting the caps which the audience had thrown off in imitation of the shaikh, found an *'iṣābah*, or bonnet, which was ownerless; the shaikh identified it as belonging to his sister who had been listening many miles away. The more commonplace miracles of healing the sick and raising the dead of course occur also; he has complete control over the Jinn; he can gratify any wish that is expressed to him; and is one of four saints who after death can act and move like the living (*yataṣarrafūna taṣarruf al-aḥyā*). We should be surprised at such a legend growing up in so short a time at such a centre of knowledge as Baghdad, did not Ibn 'Arabī in the generation after A.Ḳ. record similar miracles that he had either seen or himself produced.

The good contemporary evidence enables us in A.Ḳ.'s case to check these stories. Persons who had actually resided in his school and read with him, being asked whether they had seen anything of the sort, confessed that they had not. Indeed, it is evident that his reputation had fallen somewhat before the end of his life, since two disciples who were with him at the end declared that they were his only pupils. Abu'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzī, who succeeded him as chief preacher in Baghdad, makes no suggestion of miracles.

The French writers whose works are enumerated at the head of this article deal more with the Ḳādiris than with their founder. Dhuḥabī's biography is characterized by the want of method which is to be found in most Moslem works of the kind. Still, an edition of it with translation and commentary seemed to me to be a step towards an account of the shaikh in advance of any that has yet been made.

Beyond, however, the personal importance of A.Ḳ., there is the interest attaching to the class which he represents: the persons who endeavoured to do for Baghdad what in modern cities is undertaken by such agencies as the City Mission or the Salvation Army. In a saying recorded below, the genuineness of which need not be disputed, he professes to have made large numbers of converts among the criminal classes in the great city of the Caliphs; and,

like some modern agencies for moral reform, he offered temporal relief as well as spiritual counsel. Money was sent to him for distribution among the poor, as it might be sent to the head of a mission in these days; and his theory was that alms should be given equally to the deserving and the undeserving (Bahjah, p. 104). A story told by a man who had seen A.Ḳ.—'Umar al-Suhrawardī, in his 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif, margin of the Iḥyā, Cairo, 1306, ii, 53—shows us the saint combining his faculty of second sight with his office of almoner. He sent, Suhrawardī tells us, to a man with whom some gold and some food had been deposited by an absentee, requesting that a portion of both be given him. The man at first refused to tamper with a deposit, but presently yielded out of respect for A.Ḳ.; and soon a letter arrived from the absentee authorizing the act. Nevertheless, this distribution of alms was doubtless only a subordinate part of the saint's activity, occasioned by the fact that he had to make some temporary provision for persons whom he was rescuing from dishonest courses. The conversions, about the permanence of which we have no evidence to guide us, were the result of the magnetic personality which has been described.

On the other hand, it is evident that A.Ḳ. had no sympathy with that mode of reformation that consists in the encouragement of research and the spread of education. Stories told below illustrate his objection to works dealing with *kalām*, i.e. metaphysical theology and philosophy. The Bahjah adds a miracle, to the best of my belief unparalleled in hagiologies, illustrating the saint's aversion to these books. One of his pupils brought to his lecture-room a book containing some philosophical matter, and by a fiat A.Ḳ. transformed it into a wholly different book, "The Virtues of the Koran," by Muḥammad Ibn al-Darī (p. 48)! According to the same biography he repeatedly caused those who had studied such subjects to forget entirely what they had learned. We find him denouncing from the pulpit a Ḳāḍī whose wickedness apparently consisted in the possession of the works of Arabic philosophers. His son

'Abd al-Wahhāb applied the term *kāfir* or unbeliever to his son for the possession of similar literature, and his books were publicly burned. Though A.K. numbered some eminent grammarians among his disciples, he appears, at any rate towards the end of his life, to have conceived contempt for grammatical finesse.

The substitute, then, for every other mode of reformation was to be the excitement of religious emotion. When the man capable of producing this was no more, his successors had to find some artificial method to serve as a substitute for his eloquence, and his son introduced music and dancing into the religious services of the order (Depont et Coppelani, p. 298). Into the history of its propagation, which has been ably told by others, we shall not enter in this article.

#### DHAHABĪ'S LIFE OF 'ABD AL-KĀDİR.

عبد القادر بن ابي صالح عبدالله بن جنكي دوست وزاد بعض الناس في نسبه الى ان وصله بالحسن بن علي رضى الله عنه فقال ابن ابي عبدالله بن عبدالله بن يحيى الزاهد ابن محمد بن داود ابن موسى بن عبدالله بن موسى بن عبدالله المحض بن الحسن المثنى بن الحسن بن علي بن ابي طالب رضى الله عنه الشيخ ابو محمد الجيلي الحنبلي الزاهد صاحب الكرامات والمقامات وشيخ الحنابلة رحمة الله عليه ولد بـجـيـلان في سنة ٤٧١ وقدم بغداد شاباً ففتقه على القاضي ابي سعد المخرمي وسمع الحديث من ابي بكر احمد بن المظفر بن سوسن التمار وابي غالب الماقلاني وابي القاسم بن بيان الرزاز وابي محمد جعفر السراج وابي سعد بن حشيش وابي طالب بن يوسف وجماعة روى عنه ابو سعد

السمعاني وعمر بن علي القرشي وولده عبد الرزاق وموسى ابنا عبد القادر والحافظ عبد الغني والشيخ الموفق ويحيى بن سعد الله التكريتي والشيخ علي بن ادريس البعقوبي واحمد بن مطيع الباجسراي وابو هريرة محمد بن ليث بن الوسطاني واكمل بن مسعود الهاشمي وطائفة آخرون وفاة ابو طالب عبد اللطيف بن محمد بن القتيبي وآخر من روى عنه بالاجازة الرشيد بن احمد بن مسلمة وكان امام زمانه وقطب عصره وشيخ شيوخ الوقت بلا دافعة اخبرنا ابو محمد عبد الخالق بن عبد السلام ببعلبك انا ابو محمد ابن قدامة سنة ٦١١ اخبرنا شيخ الاسلام محيي الدين عبد القادر بن ابي صالح الجيلي انا ابو بكر احمد بن المظفر التمار انا ابو علي بن شاذان انا ابو بكر محمد بن العباس بن مجيع انا يعقوب بن يوسف القزويني ما محمد بن سعيد ما عمر بن ابي قيس عن سماك عن عبد الرحمن بن زيد عن ابيه عن عبد الله بن مسعود قال ان بني اسرائيل استخلفوا خليفة عليهم بعد موسى فقام يصلي في القمر فوق بيت المقدس فذكر امورا كان صنعها فخرج فتدلى بسبب فاصبح السبب معلقا في المسجد وقد ذهب فانطلق حتى اتى قوما على شط البحر فوجدهم يصنعون لبنا فسألهم كيف ياخذون هذا اللبن قال فاخبروه فلبن معهم وكان ياكل من عمل يده فاذا كان حين الصلاة تطهر فصلى فرفع ذلك<sup>١</sup> العمال الى قهرمانهم ان فينا رجلا يعمل كذا وكذا فارسل اليه فابى ان ياتيه ثلاث مرات ثم انه جاءه بنفسه يسير على دابته فلما رآه فرواتبه فسبقه وقال انظرني

<sup>١</sup> او لك Either omit or read

الكلمك قال فقام حتى كلمه فاخبره خبره فلما اخبره خبره وانه كان ملكا وانه فر من رهبة ربه عز وجل قال لاظن اني لاحق بك قال فلحقه يبعد الله حتى ماتا برملة مصر قال عبدالله لو كنت ثم لاهتديت الى قبرهما من صفة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم التي وصف . قال ابن السمعاني ابو محمد عبد القادر من اهل جيلان امام الحنابلة وشيخهم في عصره فقيه صالح دين كثير الذكر دائم الفكر سريع الدمعة تفقه على المخرمي وصحب الشيخ حمادا الدباس قال وكان يسكن بباب الازج في المدرسة التي بنوا له مضيت يوماً لاودع رفيقاً لي فلما انصرفنا قال لي بعض من كان معي ترغب في زيارة عبد القادر والتبرك به فمضينا ودخلت مدرسته وكانت بكرة فخرج وعقد بين اصحابه وختموا القرآن فلما فرغنا اردت ان اقوم فاجلسني وقال حتى نفرغ من الدرس فالتقى درساً على اصحابه ما فهمت منه شيئاً واعجب من هذا ان اصحابه قاموا واعادوا ما درس فلعلهم فهموا<sup>1</sup> لانهم بكلامه وعبارته . وقال ابو الفرج بن الجوزي كان ابو سعد المخرمي قد بنى مدرسة لطيفة بباب الازج ففوضت الى عبد القادر فتكلم على الناس بلسان الوعظ وظهر له صيت بالزهد وكان له سمت وصمت وضاعت المدرسة بالناس وكان يجلس عند سور بغداد مستنداً الى الرباط ويتوب عنده في المجلس خلق كثير فعمرت المدرسة ووسعت وتعصب في ذلك العوام واقام فيها يدرس ويعظ الى ان توفي . قلت لم يسع مرارة ابن الجوزي ان يترجمه باكثر من هذا لما في قلبه له من البغض نعوذ بالله من الهوى . انبانا ابو

<sup>1</sup> ما Insert .

بكر بن طرخان ان الشيخ الموفق اخبرهم قال وقد سئل عن الشيخ عبد القادر رضي الله عنه ادركناه في آخر عمره فاسكننا في مدرسته وكان يعنا بنا وربما ارسل الينا ابنه يحيى فيسرج السراج وربما يرسل الينا طعاما من منزله وكان يصلي<sup>1</sup> الفريضة بنا اماما وكنت اقرأ عليه من حفظي من كتاب النحري غدوة ويقرأ عليه الحافظ عبد الغني من كتاب الهداية في الكتاب وما كان احد يقرأ عليه ذلك الوقت سوانا فاقمنا عنده شهرا وتسعة ايام ثم مات وصلينا عليه ليلا في مدرسته ولم اسمع عن احد يحكى عنه من الكرامات اكثر مما يحكى عنه ولا رايت احدا يعظمه الناس من اجل الدين اكثر منه وسمعنا عليه اجزاء يسيرة . قرأت بخط السيف بن المجد الحافظ سمعت ابا عبد الله محمد بن محمود المراتبي يقول سمعت الشيخ ابا بكر العماد رحمه الله قال كنت قد قرأت في اصول الدين فأتيت عندي شككا فقلت حتى امضي الى مجلس الشيخ عبد القادر فقد ذكر انه يتكلم على الخواطر فمضيت الى مجلسه وهو يتكلم فقال اعتقادنا اعتقاد السلف الصالح والصحابة فقلت في نفسي هذا قاله اتفاقا فتكلم ثم التفت الى الناحية التي انا فيها فاعاد القول فقلت الواظ يلتفت مرة هكذا ومرة هكذا فالتفت اليّ الثالثة وقال يا ابا بكر واعاد القول قم فقد جاء ابوك وكان غائبا فقمتم مبادرا الى بيتنا واذا ابي فقد<sup>2</sup> جاء . قلت ونظير هذه الحكاية ما حدثنا الفقيه ابو القسم بن محمد بن خالد قال حدثني

<sup>1</sup> الى على MS.

<sup>2</sup> قد Read .

شيخنا جمال الدين يحيى بن الصيرفي سمعت ابا البقاء النكوي قال  
 حضرت مجلس الشيخ عبد القادر فقرأوا بين يديه بالأحمان فقلت  
 في نفسي ترى لاي شي . ما ينكر الشيخ هذا فقال الشيخ يجي واحد  
 قدقرا ابواباً من الفقه ينكر فقلت في نفسي لعل انه قصد غيري  
 فقال اياك نعني بالقول فتبت في نفسي من اعتراضي على الشيخ  
 فقال قد قبل الله توبتك . وسمعت شيخنا ابن تيمية يقول سمعت  
 الشيخ عز الدين احمد الفاروئي (يقول) سمعت شيخنا شهاب  
 الدين السهروردي يقول عزمتم على الاشتغال بالكلام واصول الدين  
 فقلت في نفسي استشير الشيخ عبد القادر فاتيته فقال قبل ان  
 انطق يا عمر ما هو من عدة القبر يا عمر ما هو من عدة القبر قال  
 فتركته وقال ابو عبد الله محمد بن محمود المراتي قلت للشيخ الموفق  
 هل رايت من الشيخ عبد القادر كرامة لما اقمتم عنده فقال لا اظنه  
 لكن كان يجلس يوم الجمعة فكنا نتركه ونمضي لسماع الحديث عند  
 ابن سانع فكلما سمعناه لم ننتفع به قال السيف يعني لنزول  
 ذلك وذلك انهم سمعوا منه المسند والبخاري . وقال شيخنا ابو  
 الحسين اليونيني سمعت الشيخ عز الدين بن عبد السلام يقول ما  
 نقلت الينا كرامات احد بالتواتر الا الشيخ عبد القادر فقل له هذا  
 مع اعتقاده فكيف هذا قال لازم المذهب ليس بمذهب . وقال ابن  
 المنجار في ترجمة الشيخ عبد القادر دخل بغداد سنة ٨٨ وله ثمان  
 عشرة سنة فقرأ الفقه على ابي الوفاء بن عقيل وابي الخطاب وابي  
 سعد المبارك المخرمي وابي الحسين بن الفراء حتى احكم الاصول  
 والفروع والخلاف وسمع الحديث فذكر شيوخه قال وقرأ الادب على

أبي زكرياء التبريزي واشتغل بالوعظ إلى أن برز فيه ثم لازم الخلوة والرياضة والسياحة والمجاهدة والسهر والمقام في الخراب والصحراء وصحب الشيخ حمادا الدباس وأخذ عنه علم الطريق ثم أن الله تعالى أظهره للخلق وأوقع له القبول العظيم فعقد مجلس الوعظ في سنة ٥٢١ وأظهر الله الحكمة على لسانه ثم جلس في مدرسة شيخه للتدريس والفتوى في سنة ٢٨ وصار يقصد بالزيارة والنذور وصنف في الأصول والفروع وله كلام على لسان أهل الطريقة عال روى لنا عنه ولده عبد الرزاق وأحمد بن البندنجي وابن القبيطي وغيرهم . كتب إلى عبد الله بن أبي الحسن الجبائي بخطه قال قال لي الشيخ عبد القادر طالبتي نفسي يوماً بشهوة فكنت أضاجرها وأدخل في درب وأخرج إلى درب أطلب الصحراء فبينما أنا أمشي إذ رايت رقعة ملقاة فإذا فيها ما للأقوياء والشهوات إنما خلقت الشهوات للضعفاء ليتقوا بها على طاعتي . فلما قرأتها خرجت تلك الشهوة من قلبي قال وقال لي كنت اقتات بخرنوب الشوك وورق الخس من جانب النهر . قرأت بخط أبي بكر عبد الله بن نصر بن حمزة التيمي<sup>١</sup> سمعت عبد القادر الجيلي يقول بلغت بي الضائقة في غلاء نزل ببغداد إلى أن بقيت أياماً لا آكل فيها طعاماً بل اتتبع المنبذات فخرجت يوماً إلى الشط لعلني أجد ورق الخس والبقل فلما ذهبت إلى موضع الا وجدت غيري قد سبقني إليه فرجعت أمشي في البلد فلا أدري موضعاً قد كان فيه شيء منبذ الا وقد سبقني إليه فاجهدني الضعف وعجزت عن التماسك فدخلت مسجداً وتعدت

<sup>١</sup> Sometimes written التميمي .

وكدت اصافح الموت اذ دخل شاب عجمي معه خبز وشواء  
وجلس ياكل فكنت اكاد كلما رفع يده باللقمة ان افتح فمي من  
شدة الجوع حتى انكرت ذلك على نفسي اذ التفت فرآني فقال  
بسم الله فابيت فاقسم عليّ فبادرت نفسي الى اجابته فابيت  
مخالفاً لها ولهواها فاقسم عليّ فاجبته واكملت مقصراً واخذ يسألني  
ما شغلك ومن اين انت فقلت اما شغلي فمفتقه واما من اين  
فمن جيلان فقال وانا من جيلان فهل تعرفلي شابا جيلانيا اسمه  
عبد القادر يعرف بسبط ابي عبدالله الصومعي الزاهد فقلت انا هو  
فاضطرب لذلك وتغير وجهه وقال والله يا اخي لقد وصلت الى  
بغداد ومعى بقية نفقة لي فسالت عنك فلم يرشدني احد الى ان  
نفدت نفقتي وبقيت بعدها ثلاثة ايام لا اجد ثمن قوتي الا من  
مالك معى فلما كان هذا اليوم الرابع قلت قد تجاوزتني ثلاثة  
ايام لم آكل فيها طعاما وقد احلت لي الميئة فاخذت من وديعتك  
ثمن هذا الخبز والشواء فكل طيبا فانما هو لك وانا ضعيفك الان  
فقلت وما ذاك قال امك وجهت معى ثمانية دنانير والله ما  
خنتك فيها الى اليوم فسكنته وطيبيت نفسه ودفعت اليه شيئا  
منها . كتب الي عبدالله بن ابي الحسن الجبائي قال قال لي الشيخ  
عبد القادر كنت في الصحراء اكرر الفقه وانا في مشقة من الفقر فقال  
لي قائل لم ار شخصه اقترض ما تستعين به على طلب الفقه فقلت  
كيف اقترض وانا فقير ولا وفاة لي قال اقترض وعلينا الوفاء قال فجئت  
الى بقال فقلت له تعاملني بشرط اذا سهل الله لي شيئا اعطيك  
وان مت تجعلني في حل تعطيني كل يوم ما رغيفا ورشادا قال فبكى

وقال يا سيدي انا بحكمك فاخذت منه مدة فضاقي صدري فاذن  
انه قال فليل لي امض الى موضع كذا فاي شيء رأيت على الدكة  
فخذ وادفعه الى البقلي فلما جئت رأيت على دكة هناك قطعة  
ذهب كبيرة فاخذتها واعطيتهما للبقلي قال ولحقني الجنون مرة  
وحملت الى المارستان وطرقني الاحوال حتى مت وجاءوا بالكفن  
وجعلوني على المغتسل ثم سري عني وقمت ثم وقع في نفسي ان  
اخرج من بغداد لكثرة الفتن التي بها فخرجت الى باب الحلبة  
فقال لي قائل الى اين<sup>1</sup> تمشي ودفعني دفعة حتى خرجت منها  
وقال ارجع فان للناس فيك منفعة قلت اريد سلامة ديني قال  
لك ذلك ولم ار شخصه ثم بعد ذلك طرقني الاحوال فكنت  
اتمنى من يكشفها لي فاجتزت بالظنرية ففتح رجل داره وقال لي  
يا عبد القادر ايش طلبت البارحة فنسيت وسكت فاغتاض<sup>2</sup> مني  
ودفع الباب في وجهي دفعة عظيمة فلما مشيت ذكرت الذي  
سألت الله فرجعت اطلب الباب فلم اعرفه وكان حمادا الدباس  
ثم عرفته بعد ذلك وكشف لي جميع ذلك مما كان<sup>3</sup> يشكل عليّ  
وكنت اذا غبت عنه لطلب العلم ورجعت اليه يقول ايش جاء بك  
الينا انت فقيه مر الى الفقهاء وانا اسكت فلما كان يوم الجمعة  
خرجت مع الجماعة معه الى الصلاة في شدة البرد فلما وصلنا الى  
قنطرة النهر دفعني القاضي في الماء فقلت غسل الجمعة بسم الله

<sup>1</sup> MS. ان .

<sup>2</sup> MS. فاغتاض .

<sup>3</sup> MS. كنت .

وكان علي جبة صوف وفي كمي اجزاء فرفعت كمي لئلا تهلك  
 الاجزاء وخلوني ومشوا فعصرت الجبة وتبعتهم وتأذيت من البرد  
 كثيراً وكان الشيخ يؤذيني ويضربني واذا تمنيت وجئت يقول قد جاء  
 اليوم الخبز الكثير والفالودج واكلنا وما خبأنا لك<sup>1</sup> وحشة عليك\*  
 فطمع في اصحابه وقالوا انت فقيه ايش تعمل معنا فلما رآهم الشيخ  
 يؤذونني غار لي وقال لهم يا كلاب لم تؤذونه والله ما فيكم مثله وانما  
 اؤذيه لامتحنه فاراه جبلا لا يتحرك ثم بعد مدة قدم رجل من همدان  
 يقال له يوسف الهمداني وكان يقال انه القطب ونزل في رباط فلما  
 سمعت به مشيت الى الرباط فلم اراه فسألت عنه فقيل هو في  
 السرداب فنزلت اليه فلما رأيته قام واجلسني وتفرسني وذكر لي  
 جميع احوالي وحل لي المشكل علي ثم قال لي تكلم على الناس  
 فقلت يا سيدي انا رجل اعجمي قم اخرس ايش اتكلم على  
 فصحاء بغداد فقال انت حفظت الفقه واصوله والخلاف واللغة  
 وتفسر القرآن لا يصلح لك ان تتكلم اصعد على الكرسي وتكلم على  
 الناس فاني ارى فيك عذقا سيعبر بخلة قال وقال لي الشيخ عبد  
 القادر كنت اوصروا نهى في النوم واليقظة وكان يغلب علي الكلام  
 ويزدحم علي قلبي ان لم انكلم حتى اكاد اختنق ولا اقدر ان اسكت  
 وكان يجلس عندي رجلان او ثلاثة يسمعون كلامي ثم تسامع الناس  
 بي وازدحم علي الخلق حتى صار يحضر المجلس نحو من سبعين  
 الفا وقال لي تنمشت الاعمال كلها فما وجدت فيها افضل من  
 اطعام الطعام اود لو ان الدنيا بيدي فاطعمها الجياع وقال لي كفي

<sup>1</sup> In the *Kalā'id* شَيْئًا , omitting these words.

مشقوبة لا تصبط شيئاً لو جاءني الف دينار لم ابيتها وكان اذا جاء احد  
 بذهب يقول له ضعه تحت السجادة وقال لي اتمنى ان اكون في  
 الصحارى والبراري كما كنت في اول الامر لا ارى الخلق ولا يروني ثم  
 قال اراد الله مني منفعة الخلق فانه قد اسلم على يدي اكثر من  
 خمسمائة وتاب علي يدي من العيارين والمشالحة اكثر من مائة  
 الف وهذا خير كثير وقال لي ترد على الاثقال الكثيرة ولو وضعت  
 على الجبال تفسخت فاضع جنبي على الارض واقرأ إِنَّ مَعَ  
 الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا إِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا<sup>1</sup> ثم ارفع رأسي وقد انفرجت عني  
 وقال لي اذا ولد لي ولد اخذته على يدي واقول هذا ميت فاخرجه  
 من قلبي فاذا مات لم يؤثر عندي موته شيئاً وقال ابن النجار  
 سمعت عبد الرزاق بن عبد القادر يقول ولد لوالدي تسعة واربعون  
 ولداً سبعة وعشرون ذكراً والباقي اناث . وقال كتب اليّ عبدالله ابن  
 ابي الحسن الجبائي قال كنت اسمع كتاب الحلية على ابن ناصر  
 فرق قلبي وقلت في نفسي اشتبهت ان انقطع عن الخلق واشتغل  
 بامعة مباداة ومضيت وصليت خلف الشيخ عبد القادر فلما صلى  
 جلسنا فنظر الي وقال اذا اردت الانقطاع فلا تنقطع حتى تتفقه  
 وتجالس الشيوخ وتتأدب والاستمضي<sup>2</sup> وانت فربح ما ريشت قال  
 ابن النجار اخبرني ابو عبدالله محمد بن سعيد الشاهد عن عبد  
 الوهاب بن الشيخ عبد القادر قال سمعت ابا الشاه بن ابي البركات  
 النهر ملكي يقول قال لي صديق لي قد سمعت ان الشيخ عبد

<sup>1</sup> Sūrah xciv, 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Kalā'id, p. 38; MS. ستطعي .

القادر لا يقع على ثيابه الذباب فقلت ما لي علم بهذا ثم بكرنا يوم الجمعة وحضرنا مجلسه فالتفت اليّ واليه وقال ايش يعمل الذباب عندي لا دبس الدنيا ولا غسل الآخرة . قال واخبرنا ابو البقاء عبدالله ابن الحسين الحنبلي سمعت يحيى بن مجاج الاديب يقول قلت في نفسي اريد احصي كم يقص الشيخ عبد القادر شعرا من التواب فمحضرت المجلس ومعى خيط فكلما قص شعراً عقدت عقدة تحت ثيابي من الخيط وانا في آخر الناس واذا به يقول انا احل وانت تعقد قال وسمعت شيخ الصوفية عمر بن محمد السهروردي يقول كنت اتفقه في صباى فخطر لى ان اقرأ شيئاً من علوم الكلام عزمت على ذلك من غير ان اتكلم به فاتفق اني صليت مع عمي الشيخ ابي النجيب فحضر عنده الشيخ عبد القادر مسلماً فسأله عمي الدعاء لى وذكر له اني مشغل بالفقه وقمت فقبلت يده فاخذ يدي وقال لى تب مما عزمت على الاشتغال به فانك تفلح ثم سكنت وترك يدي ولم يتغير عزمي عن الاشتغال بالكلام حتى شوشت على جميع احوالي وتكدر وقتي عليّ فعلمت ان ذلك بمخالفة الشيخ قال وسمعت ابا محمد بن الاخضر يقول كنت ادخل على الشيخ عبد القادر في وسط الشتاء وقوة برده وعليه قميص واحد على راسه طاقية وحوله من يروحه بالمروحة والعرق يخرج من جسده كما يكون في شدة الحر قال وسمعت عبد العزيز بن عبد الملك الشيبانسي سمعت الحافظ عبد الغني سمعت ابا محمد بن الخشاب النحوي يقول كنت وانا شاب اقرأ النحو واسمع الناس يصفون حسن كلام الشيخ عبد القادر فكنت اريد ان اسمعه

ولا يتسع وقتي لذلك فاتفق ان حضرت يوماً مجلسه فلما تكلم لم استحسن كلامه ولم افهمه فقلت في نفسي ضاع اليوم مني فالتفت الى الجهة التي كنت فيها وقال ويلك تفضل النحو على مجالس الذكر وتختار ذلك اصحبنا نصيرك سيويوه وقال حكى شيخنا احمد ابن ظفر بن الوزير بن هبيرة قال سألت جدي ان ياذن لي الى الشيخ عبد القادر فاذن لسي واعطاني مبلغاً من الذهب وامرني ان ادفعه اليه وتقدم السي بالسلام عليه فحضرت فلما انتضى المجلس ونزل عن المنبر سلمت عليه وتخرجت من دفع الذهب اليه في ذلك الجمع فبادرني الشيخ مسابقاً لذكري وقال هات ما معك ولا عليك من الشيء . حدثني ابو العباس احمد بن المبارك المرقعاني قال صحبت الشيخ عبد القادر

ببعض المصنف هذا المقدار ويمكن ان يكتب من مناقبه . وقال صاحب مرآة الزمان كان سكوت الشيخ عبد القادر اكثر من كلامه وكان يتكلم على الخواطر فظهر له صيت عظيم وقبول تام وما كان يخرج من مدرسه الا يوم الجمعة او الى الرباط وتاب على يده معظم اهل بغداد واسلم معظم اليهود والنصارى وما كان احد يراه الا في اوقات الصلاة وكان يصدع بالحق على المنبر وينكر على من يولى الكلمة على الناس ولما ولى المفتي للقاضي ابن المرخم الظالم قال على المنبر وليت على المسلمين اظلم الظالمين ما جوابك غدا عند رب العالمين وكان له كرامات ظاهرة لقد ادركت جماعة من مشايخنا يحكون منها جملة حكى لي خالي لاقى خاصبك قال كان الشيخ عبد القادر يجلس يوم الاحد فبعت مهتما بحضور مجلسه فاتفق انني احتلمت وكاست ليلته باردة فقلت ما

افوت مجلسه واذا انقضى المجلس اغتسلت وجئت الى المدرسة والشيخ على المنبر فساعة وقعت عينه عليّ قال يا زبير محضر مجلسنا وانت جنب وتحتج بالبرد . وحكى لي مظفر الحربي رجل صالح قال كنت انام في مدرسة الشيخ عبد القادر لاجل المجلس فمضيت ليلة وسعدت على سطوح المدرسة وكان الحر شديدا فاشتبهت الرطب وقلت يا الهي وسيدي ولو انها خمس رطبات وقال كان للشيخ باب صغير في السطح ففتح الباب وخرج ويده خمس رطبات وصاح يا مظفر وما يعرفني فقال جد ما طلبت قال ومن هذا شي<sup>1</sup> كشمير قال وكان ابن يونس وزير الامام الناصر قد قصد اولاد الشيخ عبد القادر وبدد شملهم وفعل في حقهم كل قبيح ونفاهم الى واسط فبدد الله شمل ابن يونس ومزقه ومات اقيم موته قلت كان الشيخ رضي الله عنه عديم النظير بعيد الصيت راسا في العلم والعمل جمع الشيخ نور الدين الشطرنوفي المقرئ كتابا حافلا في سيرته واخماره في ثلاث مجلدات اتى فيه بالدرة وازن<sup>1</sup> الحجة والصحيح والواهي والمكذوب فانه كتب فيه حكايات عن قوم لا خلاق لهم كما حكوا ان الشيخ تخطى في الهواء من منبره ثلاث عشرة خطوة في المجلس ومنها ان الشيخ وعظ فلم يتحرك احد فقال انتم لا تتحركون ولا تطربون يا قناديل اطربي قال فتأخرت القناديل ورقصت الا طباق وفي الجملة فكر ماتته متواترة ولم يخلف بعده مثله . توفي في عاشر ربيع الآخر سنة ٦١ وله تسعون سنة وشعبه خلق لا يحصون قال الجبائي كان الشيخ عبد القادر يقول الخلق حجابك عن نفسك ونفسك حجابك عن ربك

<sup>1</sup> . توازن Perhaps .

## TRANSLATION.

'Abd al-Ḳādir, son of Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abdallah, son of Jangī Dōst<sup>1</sup>; some add a series of ancestors bringing him into the line of al-Ḥasan son of 'Alī, as follows: son of Abū 'Abdallah, son of 'Abdallah, son of Yaḥyā the ascetic, son of Muḥammad, son of Mūsā, son of 'Abdallah, son of Mūsā, son of 'Abdallah the Pure, son of al-Ḥasan the Second, son of al-Ḥasan, son of 'Alī, son of Abu Ṭālib; the Shaikh Abū Muḥammad al-Jilī, the Ḥanbalite, the ascetic, endowed with miraculous powers and stations,<sup>2</sup> head of the Ḥanbalites.

He was born in Jilān<sup>3</sup> in the year 71,<sup>4</sup> and came to

<sup>1</sup> The filiation varies considerably in the different authorities. The probability is that the father's name was Jangī Dōst, with the *kunya* Abū Ṣāliḥ: and that the names Mūsā and 'Abdallah which we find early in the series are attempts at getting rid of the obviously foreign name Jangī Dōst, or explaining it away. That the Shaikh's own *kunya* was Abū Muḥammad seems certain: Sha'rānī therefore is mistaken in calling him Abū Ṣāliḥ. That he was a foreigner is evident from some of the stories which will be told later on: as when the Shaikh refuses to preach in public, for fear of giving offence to the natives of Baghdad by his foreign Arabic. It is certain that there could have been no such cause for alarm in the case of a descendant of 'Alī. In the *Bahjat al-asrār* (p. 88) the pedigree is given on the authority of Abū Ṣāliḥ Naṣr, the Shaikh's grandson by his son 'Abd al-Razzāk; and writers on the genealogies of the 'Alids suppose that it was Abū Ṣāliḥ Naṣr's invention. The fiction must be due to one of five persons, either the author of the *Bahjat* himself, his informant 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Hilālī al-Baghdādī, or the Shaikh, his son, or his grandson.

It has been suggested that Sūfī theory required that the great Shaikh should descend from 'Alī; and this view seems to be confirmed by the endeavour which we find in the *Futūḥ al-ghaib* to make him an 'Alid on the mother's side also, she being traced to Ḥusain. On the other hand, the tastes of orthodox Moslems were consulted by showing that the first two Caliphs were also among his ancestors. And to this too some chapters are devoted in the *Futūḥ*.

The list of the descendants of Ḥasan is quoted by Ibn aṣ-Ṣawādī, who comments on the names of all.

<sup>2</sup> A difficult Sūfī term, which, however, is explained by Kushairī, whose words are thus paraphrased by his super-commentator (ed. Cairo, 1290, ii, 27): "a Maḳām is an epithet applied to the devotee, and acquired by him through practising that morality which can only be achieved by search, practice, and labour, together with the assistance of divine gifts." Kushairī adds that a man's station is that which he is occupied in training for, and that he cannot aspire to attain one that is higher till he has exhausted the rules of the first. As illustrations of 'stations' the super-commentator gives 'content,' 'reliance on God,' 'resignation.'

<sup>3</sup> The country south of the Caspian is meant. The Naṭījah gives the name of the village as Nīf or Naif. Rinn, etc., are mistaken in thinking the village near Baghdad is meant. All doubt is prevented by the testimony of Sam'ānī.

<sup>4</sup> The Ghibṭah tells us that this year was inferred from the statement of the Shaikh that he came to Baghdad when he was 18, in the year in which al-Tamīmī died. This Tamīmī was identified as Rizq allah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, ob. Jumādā i, 488.

Baghdad when a young man, where he studied law with the Qāḍī Abū Sa'd al-Mukharrimī,<sup>1</sup> and heard tradition from Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn Sausan al-Tammār, Abū Ghālib al-Bākillānī,<sup>2</sup> Abū'l-Kāsim Ibn Bayān al-Razzāz,<sup>3</sup> Abū Muḥammad Ju'far al-Sarrāj,<sup>4</sup> Abū Sa'd Ibn Hashish,<sup>5</sup> Abū Ṭālib Ibn Yūsuf,<sup>6</sup> and others. Traditions were cited on his authority by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī,<sup>7</sup> 'Umar Ibn 'Alī al-Kurashī,<sup>8</sup> 'Abd al-Kādir's two sons 'Abd al-Razzāk<sup>9</sup> and Mūsā,<sup>10</sup> the ḥufīẓ 'Abd al-Ghanī,<sup>11</sup> the Shaikh

<sup>1</sup> His name was Mubārak, and we shall hear of his school later on. Mukharrim was a place in Baghdad, where the palace of the Būyids was situated: see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Index. In several texts it is corrupted to Mukhẓūmī. It seems clear that this person must have died in or before 528.

<sup>2</sup> From the Bahjah we learn that this person's full name was Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan. Possibly he was a descendant of the famous Qāḍī Abū Bakr Muḥammad, of whom a life is given by I.Kh. i, 609; for this person, dying in 403, left a son, al-Ḥasan, who might have been the great-grandfather of Abū Ghālib. He taught in the Jāmi' al-Qaṣr.

<sup>3</sup> The Bahjah adds the names 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad of Karkh. A brief notice of him is given in Tāj al-'Arūs, thus: 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Mūsā Ibn Bayān heard tradition from Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Bazzāz; he is distinguished from another Razzāz (Sa'id Ibn Abī Sa'id), 501-572, who must have been later than the Razzāz mentioned in the text.

<sup>4</sup> The famous author of the Maṣāri' al-'usshāḳ, I.Kh. i, 139. His erotic tastes may have affected 'Abd al-Kādir in the direction of Sufism.

<sup>5</sup> In the Bahjah this name is given as Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Khunaish. The correct form is doubtless Ibn Khaubash.

<sup>6</sup> His name was 'Abd al-Kādir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Kādir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf.

<sup>7</sup> The well-known author of the work on Nisbahs, of whom I.Kh. (i, 378-9) gives a fairly full account. His life lasted from 506 to 562. He heard more than 4,000 shaikhs, of whom he made a dictionary for his son's benefit.

<sup>8</sup> Mentioned by Yāqūt (iv, 121), who calls him Qāḍī, and states that he composed a dictionary of his shaikhs.

<sup>9</sup> A brief account of him in the Bahjah, p. 114. He took the titles Tāj al-dīn, Sirāj al-'Irāq, Jamāl al-A'immaḥ, and Fakhr al-Huffāz, etc. He is said to have remained thirty years without raising his head to heaven.

<sup>10</sup> Called Diyā al-dīn Abū Naṣr. He went to Egypt, and thence to Damascus, where he died.

<sup>11</sup> His name was Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid of Jerusalem. Many of his family were Qādirīs. He was called 'Commander of the Faithful in Tradition.' Yāqūt (Geogr. ii, 113) gives the following account of him: Jammā'il, village in the mountain of Nāblūs in the land of Palestine, birthplace of 'Abd al-Ghanī Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn 'Alī Ibn Surūr Ibn Nāfi' Ibn Ḥasan Ibn Ja'fur Abū Muḥammad al-Maḳḍīsī: he took his nisbah from Jerusalem because Jammā'il is near it, and because Nāblūs and the territory appertaining thereto all are attached to Jerusalem, and there is only a day's journey between them. He was brought up in Damascus, whence he went in pursuit of tradition to Isfahān and other places. He was keen in the pursuit of knowledge, and went to Baghdad, where he heard Ibn al-Nakūr and others in the year 560: then he departed to Isfahān, and returned to Baghdad in the year 78, where he taught tradition: thence he migrated to Syria, and thence to Egypt,

al-Muwaffak,<sup>1</sup> Yahyā Ibn Sa'd allah of Takrīt,<sup>2</sup> the Shaikh 'Alī Ibn Idrīs al-Ba'kūbī,<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad Ibn Muṭī' al-Bājisrā'i,<sup>4</sup> Abū Hurairah Muḥammad Ibn Laith Ibn al-Waṣṭānī,<sup>5</sup> Akmal Ibn Mas'ūd al-Hāshimī,<sup>6</sup> and many others, of whom the last to die was Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḳubbaīṭī,<sup>7</sup> whereas the last to repeat traditions from him by licence was al-Rashīd Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Maslamah.<sup>8</sup>

'Abd al-Ḳādir was the imam of his time, the Pole of his age,<sup>9</sup> and the teacher of teachers of his epoch without question. I was told by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Khālīq,<sup>10</sup>

where he was successful, and got together a following of Hanbalites. In Damascus he had been accused of openly avowing his belief in the bodily nature of the Deity, and this accusation being signed by various juriconsults he was expelled from Damascus, and even in Egypt, whither he went, he underwent some trouble from this suspicion. He wrote various excellent books on Tradition, such as *al-Kamāl fi ma'rifat al-rijāl*: he died in the year 600 in Egypt. Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥādḍarāh*, i, 165, gives the name of another book of his, the '*Undah*': he adds that he had the title Ṭaḥī al-dīn, and died at the age of 59. He was therefore 20 years of age when he read with A.Ḳ.

<sup>1</sup> Muwaffak al-dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḳudāmāh of Jerusalem. He was also of Jammū'īl, and Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, gives an account of him. He was a voluminous author.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Faraj Ibn Abī'l-Sa'ūdāt Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muḥammad al-Takrītī, said to have been an author.

<sup>3</sup> Abu'l-Hasan. A lengthy account of him is given in the Bahjah, pp. 227-230, most of it in superlatives, according to the manner of this book. His nisbah refers to a place called Bā'kūbā at a distance of ten parasangs from Baghdad: the nisbah is regularly corrupted to Ya'kūbī in MSS. and printed books. He was also called Rauḥānī, from Rauḥā, a village near Bā'kūbā. He died 619.

<sup>4</sup> His kunyah was Abu'l-'Abbās. Bājisrā is near Baghdad.

<sup>5</sup> His names are thus given in the Bahjah (p. 113): Muḥammad Ibn Abī'l-Futūḥ al-Azajī al-Dīnārī, the Blind, known as Ibn al-Waṣṭānī. *Dīnārī* is a nisbah from the name of a street in Baghdad.

<sup>6</sup> The Bahjah (p. 94) adds Ibn 'Umar.

<sup>7</sup> The Taj al-'Arūs mentions this man as a famous Traditionalist. In the Bahjah (p. 113) his nisbah is given as Ibn al-Saḳatī, and we are told that he lived first in Halwān, and then in Baghdad, and was a dealer in jewels. Ḳubbaīṭī should mean 'dealer in a sweetmeat called *naṭīf*.' He is also mentioned by Kutbī (ii, 224) as teacher of a man who was born in 610.

<sup>8</sup> Mentioned by Dhahabī again in his life of Ibn Shāfi'.

<sup>9</sup> The word *Ḳuṭb* is largely used by the Ṣūfīs, and is the subject of considerable discussion in the F.M. Flügel (Z.D.M.G. xx, 39) gives an extract from Sha'rānī, whose work is based on the F.M. It would be interesting to know when the Ṣūfīs first took to employing it. In the Bahjah, p. 81, A.Ḳ. has an eloquent sermon on the subject, which is not very clear. Since Ḳushairī does not explain the word in his Technicalities, it probably came into use about this time; and very likely Yūsuf of Hamadhān (note 1, p. 303) was the first person so called.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps this person was the great-grandson of the Shaikh: 'Abd al-Salām, son of Abū 'Abdallāh 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb, son of 'Abd al-Ḳādir: this 'Abd al-Salām died in 611 (Bahjah, p. 115).

son of 'Abd al-Salām, at Baalbek, who said: "I was informed by Abū Muḥammad Ibn Qudāmah<sup>1</sup> in the year 611, who said: 'I was told by the shaikh of Islam 'Abd al-Qādir Ibn Abī Šāliḥ al-Jilī; I was informed by Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Tammār; I was informed by Abū 'Alī Ibn Shādhān<sup>2</sup>; I was informed by Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Najīḥ<sup>3</sup>; I was informed by Ya'kūb Ibn Yūsuf al-Ḳazwīnī<sup>4</sup>; it was related to me by Muḥammad Ibn Sa'īd<sup>5</sup>; it was related to me by 'Umar Ibn Abī Ḳais, after Simāk,<sup>6</sup> after 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zaid, after his father,<sup>7</sup> after 'Abdallah Ibn Mas'ūd. He said: "The children of Israel<sup>8</sup> appointed a deputy over them after Moses, who stood and prayed in the moon above the sanctuary, and mentioned various things that he had done. Then he went out and let himself down by a rope, and the rope was found hanging in the sanctuary after he had gone off, till he came to some people on the bank of the Nile, whom he found making bricks. He asked them how they got the bricks, and, being told, he made bricks with them. And so he ate of the labour of his hands. When prayer-time came he purified himself and prayed. The workmen then told their overseer that there was among them a man who did so-and-so, and the overseer accordingly sent for him, but he refused to come till he was sent for three times, when he went himself on his beast.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Shaikh al-Muwaffak; see note 1, p. 290. There follows a specimen of a tradition taught by A.K. Other examples are to be found in the Bahjah (pp. 125-131).

<sup>2</sup> Al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad, ob. 420, according to Wüstenfeld, Index to Yāqūt. The Tāj al-'Arūs speaks of al-Ḥusain Ibn Muḥammad, ob. 417.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned in Tāj al-'Arūs with death-date 340. He was called al-Bazzāz al-Baghdādī.

<sup>4</sup> Not mentioned in the dictionary of the learned of Ḳazwīn (Brit. Mus. 21,468).

<sup>5</sup> Called *al-Maḥlūb*, 'the crucified,' with nisbah al-Azdī (Tāj al-'Arūs, i, 338). According to Nisā'i (cited in I.Kh. iii, 410, of de Slane's translation) he was a notorious liar.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Simāk Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Aus al-Dhuhli al-Bakrī, called Abū Mughīrah, ob. 132. "He made many mistakes" (Tāj al-'Arūs).

<sup>7</sup> Zaid Ibn Aslam Abū Usāmah, ob. 136. There is a life of him in Nawāwī's Tahdhīb.

<sup>8</sup> The purpose of this appears to be to emphasize the dignity of labour.

When he saw him he ran away, but the other pursued, overtook him, and bade him stop, because he wanted to speak with him. Accordingly he stopped. He then told him about himself, and how that he was a king and had fled from fear of his Lord. The other then said, 'Methinks I will join thee,' and this he did; he joined him and served God till they both died in the Ramlah of Egypt. 'Abdallah Ibn Mas'ūd said: 'If I were there I could find my way to the grave of the two from the description which the Apostle of God gave of it.''''

Ibn al-Sam'ānī's<sup>1</sup> description is as follows: "Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir was of Jilān, and was the head and shaikh of the Ḥanbalites in his time. He was a pious jurist, orthodox, frequently repeating the Koran, constantly meditating, readily moved to tears. He got his training as a jurist from al-Mukharrimī, and was the companion of the Shaikh Ḥammād al-Dabbās."<sup>2</sup> He adds that he dwelt at the Azaj Gate<sup>3</sup> in the school which they built for him. "One day I went to bid farewell to one of my companions, and as we were going away one of those who were with me asked if I should not like to pay a visit to 'Abd al-Kādir and get his blessing. So we went, and I entered his school when it was morning.<sup>4</sup> The Shaikh presently came out, and made a circle of his followers, and they finished the Koran. When we had done I wanted to rise, but he told me to sit down and wait till the lesson was over. He proceeded to read out a lecture to his students, of which I did not

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the son of Abū Sa'd, mentioned above: indeed, since Abū Sa'd himself died the year after 'Abd al-Kādir, he could scarcely talk of 'Abd al-Kādir's "time." This son of Abū Sa'd, called Abū'l-Muzaffar 'Abd al-Raḥīm, lived 537-614: he is often quoted for traditions. In his father's work on Nisabans 'Abd al-Kādir is mentioned, and a space left for a notice, which apparently was not filled up. The following notice (according to the Kalā'id) occurred in the Appendix to the *History of Baghdad*, and may have been inserted by the writer's son. The Cambridge MS. of a continuation of the *History of Baghdad* has no notice of 'Abd al-Kādir (Mr. Nicholson's communication).

<sup>2</sup> See below, note 3, p. 298.

<sup>3</sup> An inner gate in East Baghdad, shutting off the Ma'mūniyyah Quarter. See Le Strange's *Baghdad*, map viii.

<sup>4</sup> As we have seen, the followers of 'Abd al-Kādir reckon Sam'ānī among his disciples. If that statement rests merely on this passage, it comes to very little.

understand a word.<sup>1</sup> What was still more curious was that the students presently rose and repeated his lecture, apparently understanding it, whereas we understood neither the terms nor the expressions."

Abu'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzī<sup>2</sup> says: "Abu Sa'd al-Mukharrimī had built a fine school at the Azaj Gate. This came into the possession of 'Abd al-Kādir, who preached there. He got a reputation for asceticism, and started a method and silence of his own.<sup>3</sup> The school presently became too small for the audience, and he took to sitting at the wall of Baghdad with his back leaning against his cell.<sup>4</sup> Great crowds used to be converted at a single meeting. Then the school was repaired and enlarged, the common people making great efforts. There he remained preaching and teaching till he died."

My observation on this is that Ibn al-Jauzī's jealousy did

<sup>1</sup> This description, which would apply very well to Ibn 'Arabī's works, seems strange as applied to 'Abd al-Kādir's, which contain no difficulties.

<sup>2</sup> 508-597. A vivid account of this person's public discourses is given by Ibn Jubair, p. 222. Apparently (in Dhahabī's opinion) he was unable to acquire a reputation as great as that which 'Abd al-Kādir had enjoyed, and thence endeavoured to depreciate him. The volume of the *Muntazim* containing this notice is not accessible to me. As the statement of a contemporary it is of value.

<sup>3</sup> The word *ṭarīkah*, which is ordinarily used in this context, signifies a system of Sūfism. So in Hariri's last *Makāmāt* Hasan al-Basri is said to have the best *ṭarīkah*. The meaning of Kādirism in the present day is elucidated in the works mentioned at the head of this article; it undoubtedly enjoins the induction of a hypnotic state by the repetition of formulae and other methods; but it also appears to preach charity to all men. According to some authorities a Jew or Christian may be a Kādīri without changing his religion. Toleration of this sort was scarcely a principle of A.K. himself, since he proselytized on a great scale. A confession of faith ascribed to him is given in the *Futūḥ al-ghaib* (margin of Bahjah, p. 177), which differs little, if at all, from ordinary Moslem orthodoxy. A brief summary of his *ṭarīk* is given in the Bahjah itself (p. 84). The leading doctrine of the *Faṭḥ Rabbānī* is doubtless that of *Fana*, or personal extinction in the Deity: and he probably recommended a period of asceticism wherein the devotee could be weaned from the world, to which afterwards he should return, only, however, to take a minimum share therein. The period of asceticism in his own case is put at 25 years (Bahjah, p. 59), but this can scarcely be reconciled with the dates given above. Palgrave seems right in deriving such ideas from India, yet the systematic division of life into periods which Indian theorists reached is not found in A.K.'s writings. If the word rendered 'silence' (*samt*) be anything more than a jingle with the other, it must signify a negative as well as a positive system.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Ḳalā'id* (p. 15): "I used to sit in the oratory at the Halbah Gate: then it grew too small for the people, and they brought the pulpit inside the wall between the furnaces (تنانير) and people used to come at night with torches."

not suffer him to give 'Abd al-Kādir a longer notice than this; his prejudice against him was too strong. God keep us from such passion!

Abū Bakr Ibn Tarkhān<sup>1</sup> states that the following information was given by the Shaikh al-Muwaffaq<sup>2</sup>; being asked about the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir, he gave the following reply: "We found him still living, but at the end of his life. He lodged us in his school, and looked after us. He often sent his son Yahyā<sup>3</sup> to light the lamp, and would frequently send us food from his own lodging. He used to lead in the regular prayers, and I recited to him from memory out of the book of al-Khiraqī<sup>4</sup> in the morning, whereas 'Abd al-Ghanī the ḥāfiẓ<sup>5</sup> used to recite to him from the book called *al-Hidāyah fi'l-Kitāb*.<sup>6</sup> We were the only persons studying with him during that time. We remained with him a month and nine days, when he died; and we prayed over him at night in his school. I never heard more tales of miracles told about anyone than about him, nor did I ever see anyone more generally respected for his piety than he was. We only went through with him a few portions of his books."

I read in the handwriting of Saif al-dīn Ibn Majd al-dīn<sup>7</sup> as follows: "I heard Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd al-Marātibī<sup>8</sup> say: 'I heard the late Shaikh Abū Bakr

<sup>1</sup> 600-690; otherwise called 'Izz al-dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Suwaīdī. He was a personal friend of Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'ah, who has an appreciative notice of him and his works (ii, 266, 267).

<sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> 550-600, according to the Bahjah (p. 115). He would have been 11 years of age at this time.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Mukhtaṣar of Ḥanbalite law by Abu'l-Kāsim 'Umar al-Khiraqī, ob. 334.

<sup>5</sup> See note 11, p. 289.

<sup>6</sup> A Ḥanbalite Hidāyah is mentioned by II. Kh. as the work of Ibn al-Khattāb Maḥfūẓ al-Tūbādī, which is probably to be corrected Abu'l-Khattāb al-Kalwādī, 432-515, a Ḥanbalite jurist, grammarian, and poet, of whom Yāqūt has a notice (iv, 302).

<sup>7</sup> In the Ghibṭah (p. 47) this story is ascribed to al-Sharaf, i.e. Sharaf al-dīn Ibn al-Majd, 'Isā Ibn al-Muwaffaq, i.e. son of the person mentioned in note 1, p. 290.

<sup>8</sup> A Rukn al-dīn al-Marātibī is mentioned in the Bahjah (p. 112) as one of those who claimed to be disciples of A. K. The Ghibṭah has al-Murā'ī, clearly

'Imād al-dīn<sup>1</sup> say: "I had been reading about the metaphysics of religion, and certain doubts had been instilled into my mind; but I thought I had best wait till I had attended a lecture by the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir, since he was supposed to address himself to the inmost thoughts of his audience. So I went to his lecture-room, and the first words I heard were: 'Our faith is the faith of our pious ancestors and the Companions.' I thought to myself that this remark was accidental. Then he went on, and, turning to the part of the room in which I was he repeated the observation. But I said to myself, 'A preacher is always turning in one direction or another.' Then he turned towards me a third time, and said: 'Abū Bakr! Abū Bakr! rise, for your father has come.' Now he had been away; so I rose and hastened homeward, and found my father had, in fact, just arrived."'''

I may observe that a similar story to this is told by the jurist Abu'l-Kāsim Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khālīd,<sup>2</sup> who says: "We were informed by our Shaikh Jamāl-al-dīn Yuh'yā Ibn al-Ṣairafī<sup>3</sup> that he had heard the grammarian Abu'l-Bakā<sup>4</sup> say: 'I attended a lecture of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir, and found the students reading in his presence with wrong

a corruption. From Dhahabī's *Mushtabih*, p. 471, we learn that this person's title was Taqī al-dīn, that he was head of the Ḥanbalites in Damascus, and a special friend of al-Muwaffaq.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps identical with the Shaikh Abū Bakr 'Atīk or Ma'tūk al-Bandanījī of the Bahjah (p. 110) and 'Imād al-dīn Ibn Kamāl al-Bandanījī of Yāqūt (i, 745).

<sup>2</sup> In the Bahjah (p. 136) a Mājid Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khālīd al-'Irākī is mentioned whose kunyah was Abū Muḥammad. Perhaps this was a brother.

<sup>3</sup> 583-678. There is a life of him by Dhahabī, anno 678, MS. Laud. 279, fol. 110. He was also called Ibn al-Ḥabashī. He was born in Harrān, went to Baghdad in 607, where he heard, among others, Omar al-Suhrawardī, then to Damascus, and thence returned to Harrān: he taught at all these places, and numbered Ibn Taimiyyah among his pupils.

<sup>4</sup> 538-616. 'Abdallah Ibn al-Husain Ibn 'Abdallah al-'Ukbarī al-Baṣrī, the blind grammarian and commentator on Mutanabbi. I.Kh. has a short notice of him. The story told in the Bahjah, p. 110, is somewhat different. Al-'Ukbarī, passing by A.Ḳ.'s lecture-room, said to himself, "I will enter and hear the talk of this foreigner." He entered; A.Ḳ. stopped his discourse and said, "O blind of eye and heart, what have you to do with 'this foreigner's' talk?" Al-'Ukbarī went up and demanded the *khirḳah*, which A.Ḳ. gave him. This story and that in the text are mutually exclusive.

intonation, and I said to myself, "I wonder that the Shaikh does not censure them." The Shaikh thereupon said, "Here comes a man who has studied a few chapters of Law, and finds fault." I thought to myself, "Perhaps he means some one else and not me." Then he said, "It is you I mean." So I repented inwardly of having criticized the Shaikh, who told me that God had accepted my repentance.'"

I heard our Shaikh Ibn Taimiyyah<sup>1</sup> say: "I heard the Shaikh 'Izz al-dīn Aḥmad al-Fārūthī<sup>2</sup> say: 'I heard our Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī<sup>3</sup> say: "I intended to apply myself to metaphysics and the basis of religion, but said to myself, 'I will first ask the advice of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir.' So I went to see him. Before I could utter a word he said, 'Omar, it is no preparation for the grave!' which he repeated twice. So I abandoned the subject.'"

Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd al-Marātibī<sup>4</sup> says: "I asked the Shaikh al-Muwaffaq whether when he was staying with the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir he had seen any miracle wrought by him? He replied, 'I fancy not. However, he used to lecture on Fridays, when we would leave him and go to hear Tradition of Ibn Sānī,<sup>5</sup> but we

<sup>1</sup> 661-728. The famous controversialist. A biography of him is given in Kutbi, i, 35, and at the end of his "Refutation of the Christian Religion," Cairo, 1905, where reference is made to a work called *Jal' al-'ainain*.

<sup>2</sup> 614-673. His name was Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm; he was preacher at the Muayyad Mosque (in Damascus?), and wrote on Tradition, etc. (Appendix to I.Kh., MS. Poc. 331). "Fārūth is a large village with a market on the bank of the Tigris, between Wasīt and al-Madhār, of which all the inhabitants are Rāfiḍīs" (Yākūt).

<sup>3</sup> 539-632. Abū 'Abdallāh 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad. I.Kh. has a notice of him. His visit to A.Ḳ. is dated 560 in the Bahjah, p. 235. Ibid., p. 32, this story is told with the variation that A.Ḳ. passed his hand over 'Umar's breast, in consequence of which he entirely forgot the books on the subject that he had learned. Suhrawardī mentions A.Ḳ. occasionally in his *Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, see above, p. 274, and p. 301, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See note 8, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> We should probably read *Ibn Shāfi'*, who is cited twice in Yākūt's geographical dictionary. The death-date 560, given in Wüstenfeld's index, is due to an oversight of the editor. He is probably identical with Abu'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Šāliḥ Ibn Šāfi' al-Jili (Ghibṭah, p. 30, Bahjah, p. 89); ob. 565 (Ibn al-Athīr). And, indeed, Dhahabī, in his life of this person, states that these two persons studied tradition with him.

got no good from hearing it.' Saif al-dīn<sup>1</sup> says this means they got no good from hearing it owing to the occurrence of certain events. The books they heard were the Musnad and Bukhārī."

Our Shaikh Abu'l-Ḥusain al-Yūnīnī<sup>2</sup> said: "I heard the Shaikh 'Izz al-dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Salām<sup>3</sup> say that the only miracles that had been transmitted by a continuous tradition were those of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir. He was asked how this could be, when his belief was what it was known to be? He replied that the consequences of a system did not belong to the system."<sup>4</sup>

Ibn al-Najjār, in his life of 'Abd al-Kādir, says as follows: "He came to Baghdad in the year 88, being then 18 years of age. He studied law with Abu'l-Wafā Ibn 'Aḳīl,<sup>5</sup> Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>6</sup> Abu Sa'd al-Mubārak al-Mukharrimī, and Abu'l-Ḥusain Ibn al-Farrā,<sup>7</sup> till he had mastered Roots, Branches,

<sup>1</sup> See note 7, p. 294. He meant, then, that miracles wrought by A.Ḳ. prevented their benefiting by the other's instruction.

<sup>2</sup> Kutb al-dīn Mūsā Ibn Muḥammad, ob. 726, author of an abridgment and continuation of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī's *Mir'āt al-Zamān*. He wrote a biography of A.Ḳ. called *Manāḳih*. His nisbah comes from Yūnū or Yūnān, near Baalbek, and he had two brothers, Sharaf al-dīn 'Alī and Badr al-dīn Ḥasan, and a sister, Amat al-Raḥīm (Tāj al-'Arūs).

<sup>3</sup> 577-660. 'Abd al-'Azīz of Damascus. There is a life of him by Kutbī (i, 287), who mentions Yūnīnī among his pupils. Yūnīnī himself (MS. Poc. 132) has a long account of him. See too Ibn Iyās, i, 94, 95, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning appears to be that a man is not bound to hold doctrines that follow logically from other doctrines that he holds. Great offence was given by the saying attributed to A.Ḳ. that his foot was on the neck of every saint of God; the author of the *Raudāt al-Jannāt* is very bitter about it. A treatise explaining away this utterance, called *Makhāzin al-Kādirīyyah* (in Persian), by Ishāq Ibn Muḥammad, is in the British Museum (Or. 248). The author, after making the necessary exceptions, quotes in favour of A.Ḳ.'s pretension Ibn 'Arabi in the F.M., and al-Insān al-Kāmil, by Yāfi'i (ob. 753), a work apparently unknown to the bibliographies, though Yāfi'i's apology for A.Ḳ., called *Khulāṣat al-mafāḥir*, figures in them. Ibn 'Arabi (*loc. cit.*, i, 262) apparently states that A.Ḳ. was commanded to govern the world, and calls him the Kutb of his time; he has also respectful references in ii, 24 and iii, 44. Apparently Ibn 'Abd al-Salām rejected the argument that because he believed in A.Ḳ.'s miracles he was bound to accept his pretensions.

<sup>5</sup> His name was 'Alī (Bahjah, p. 106). H.Kh. states that he died in 513, and enumerates various works of his, among them an encyclopedia in 470 volumes (?).

<sup>6</sup> Maḥfūz Ibn Aḥmad al-Kalwadhānī, ob. 510 or 515. (Note 6, p. 294.)

<sup>7</sup> Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, son of the Kādī Muḥammad Ibn Ya'li, who died in 438. The son is mentioned (with the kunyah Abu'l-Ḥusain) among the teachers of Ibn Hubairah (I.Kh., de Slane, iv, 115). So anxious are the Kādīs to make their founder the teacher rather than the taught, that the Bahjah (p. 107) makes the father of this person (ob. 438) declare himself the disciple of A.Ḳ. (born 470), and that on the authority of Ibn al-Akḥḍar (b. 524).

and Differences. He also heard Tradition (here a list of teachers was given). He read Literature with Abu Zakariyyā al-Tabrizī.<sup>1</sup> He devoted himself to preaching till he became an adept. Then he betook himself to solitude,<sup>2</sup> asceticism, wandering, self-denial, sleeplessness, residence in wastes and deserts, and became the companion of the Shaikh Hammād al-Dabbās,<sup>3</sup> from whom he learnt the doctrine of the Path. Then God revealed him to mankind, and caused him to be favourably received. He formed his first congregation in the year 521, when God revealed wisdom by his tongue; then in the year 528 he sat in his Shaikh's school<sup>4</sup> to lecture and answer legal questions. He formed the object of pious visits and vows, wrote on the Roots and Branches,<sup>5</sup> and was a powerful preacher in the style of the people of the Path. Traditions have been told us on his authority by his son 'Abd al-Razzāk, Aḥmad Ibn al-Bandanijī,<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Ḳubbaitī,<sup>7</sup> and others."

<sup>1</sup> Ob. 502.

<sup>2</sup> He professed to have wandered in the desert twenty-five years (Bahjah, p. 85).

<sup>3</sup> Ob. 525. There is a brief notice of him in Lawākih al-Anwār (i, 186), where an attempt is made to show that he was the pupil, not the master. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī (MS. Marsh, 658, anno 625) gives some more details: he used to give all who were suffering from the fever almonds and dried grapes to eat, and this remedy was effective. He used at first to accept vows and distribute them; afterwards he refused. The Bahjah (p. 53) makes A.Ḳ. associate with him in 499 and 508, when Dabbās professed to have 12,000 disciples (*murīdīn*), whose names he recited every night. In 523 (p. 20), when A.Ḳ. had already become a preacher, he is represented as warning the latter against taking too high a tone. In 529, on 27 Dhū'l-Hijjah, A.Ḳ. with a great following visited his grave in the Shūnizī cemetery, where he had a vision of Dabbās, otherwise bedecked with gold and jewels, but unable to move the right hand which smote A.Ḳ. The latter, however (with the aid of 5,000 dead walīs), interceded, and his right hand was restored. When A.Ḳ. announced this, all Dabbās's followers in Baghdad came to A.Ḳ.'s school, and asked for evidence. They agreed to refer the matter to Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Shu'ayb al-Kurḍī. People offered A.Ḳ. a week, but before this proposition was accepted the two shaikhs came running to the school to confirm what A.Ḳ. had said from their own revelations. Probably an alibi could be proved for Yūsuf.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Mukharrimi's, which was enlarged by public subscription.

<sup>5</sup> His work *Ghunyah* is rather in the style of Ghazālī's *Ihyā*. A work called *Yawāqit al-Ḥikam* mentioned by H.Kh. was probably homiletic. Some other works (enumerated by I.e Chatelier) are forms of prayer.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Bahjah (p. 110) all the jurists of Bandanijain, a district near Nahrāwān, professed to be followers of A.Ḳ. A story is told on his authority in the *Ḳalā'id* (p. 48), where he is associated with Jamāl al-dīn Ibn al-Jauzī.

<sup>7</sup> See above, note 7, p. 290.

'Abdallah Ibn Abi'l-Ḥasan al-Jubbā'i<sup>1</sup> wrote to me<sup>2</sup> with his own hand as follows: "The Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir told me: 'My soul one day worried me for a lust, which I resisted, going down street after street till I could get to the desert. Whilst I was walking I saw a leaf of paper flung on the ground, which I found contained the words, "What have the strong to do with lusts? Lusts were created for the weak, that they might fortify themselves thereby to obey Me." When I read this, the lust departed from my heart.' He went on to say that he used to sustain himself by wild carobs and lettuce from the river bank."

I read in the handwriting of Abu Bakr 'Abdallah Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ḥamzah al-Taimī<sup>3</sup> as follows: "I heard 'Abd al-Kādir al-Jilī say: 'During a famine that befell Baghdad I was in such straitened circumstances that I remained some days without food, trying to find refuse, and one day I went to the river-bank on the chance of finding a lettuce or other vegetable. Wherever I went I found that others had been there before me; so I went towards the country, and could find no place where there was likely to be any refuse where I had not been anticipated. Finally, weakness overcame me, and being unable to hold out any longer I entered a mosque,<sup>4</sup> and was just facing death, when a young Persian came in, who had with him some bread and roast meat. He sat down and began to eat. Each time he raised his hand to his mouth I nearly opened mine, so hungry was I; and I blamed myself for my want of self-control. Presently

<sup>1</sup> Ob. 605, according to Yāqūt and Dhahabī, Mushtaḥiḥ (p. 84), where we are told that he came from Juḥbah, in the district of Tarābulus, and went to Isfahan. This person is called in the Bahjah (p. 109) with its usual superlatives "chief of the Musnads and jurists." His written communications to Ibn al-Najjār form perhaps our chief source of information about A.K. Besides those copied by Dhahabī, there is one given in the Bahjah (p. 102), according to which Bishr al-Kurāzī recovered four camels in the desert by invoking A.K.'s name. He saw a man in dazzling white raiment pointing out where they were.

<sup>2</sup> The same story is told in the Ghibṭah (p. 8).

<sup>3</sup> Author of a work called *Anwār al-nāzir*. In the Ghibṭah (p. 8) this story is told as part of a narrative given by Ṭalḥah Ibn Muẓaffar al-'Althī, ob. 593, of whom Yāqūt (iii, 711) has a brief notice.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Ghibṭah the Mosque of Yasin; according to the Kalā'id, in the Sūkh al-Raiḥāniyyā.

the lad turned round and saw me. He said, "In the Name of God" (handing me a morsel), but I refused; he conjured me, and, anxious as I was to accept, I still resisted my inclination, and refused. Finally he conjured me till I accepted, and ate, yet sparingly. Then he asked me what my business was and whence I came. I replied that I was a law-student, and that I came from Jilān. "I too," he replied, "am from Jilān, and do you know a young man of Jilān called 'Abd al-Kādir, and known as daughter's son to Abū 'Abdallah al-Ṣauma'ī the ascetic<sup>1</sup>?" "That is I," I said. He was alarmed thereat and his face changed. Then he said: "By Allah, my brother, I came to Baghdad having still some journey money with me, and asked after you, but no one could give me any information, till all my journey money was exhausted, after which I remained for three days, in which I could not find the cost of my maintenance except from your money which was in my possession. On this fourth day I said to myself, 'Three days have now passed in which I have eaten nothing, and I am now permitted by law to eat dead flesh.'<sup>2</sup> So I took some of your money which had been entrusted to me, and with it bought this bread and roast meat, so you may eat it with a good conscience, since it is your own, and I here am your guest." "What do you mean?" I asked. He replied: "Your mother sent with me eight dinars for you, and I assure you I have not cheated you till to-day." So I quieted and comforted him, and gave him part of the money.'"

'Abdallah Ibn Abi'l-Ḥasan<sup>3</sup> al-Jubbā'ī wrote to me: "The Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir said to me: 'I was in the desert repeating my law-lesson, in a terrible state of poverty, when some one, whose person I did not see, said to me, "Borrow enough to maintain you while you are studying

<sup>1</sup> This person's praises are recounted by Ibn al-Wardī, and indeed A.Ḳ.'s mother and aunt are made out to have been saints.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. of animals that have died a natural death.

<sup>3</sup> In the Ghibtah a similar story is given on the authority of 'Abdallah al-Salamī, with considerable variations; the same is told *ibid.*, p. 10.

law." I replied, "How am I to borrow, when I am so poor,<sup>1</sup> and could never pay?" He answered, "Borrow and We undertake the payment." So I went,' he said, 'to a grocer, and said to him, "Would you deal with me on the condition that I am to pay you whenever God eases my way, while if I die I am to be acquitted of payment? Say you give me every day a loaf and some cress?" The man burst into tears, and said to me, "Sir, I am at your service." So I took his goods for a certain time, till I could endure it no longer.' Then I fancy he said:<sup>2</sup> 'Then a voice said to me: "Go to a certain place, take whatever you find on the seat, and give it to the grocer." So I went and found on a bench there a large piece of gold. So I took it and gave it to the grocer.'

He continued: "At one time I had a fit of insanity,<sup>3</sup> and was taken to the madhouse; a series of ecstasies seized me till I died. Grave-clothes were brought, and I was placed in the lavatory, and then my fit passed over. I rose up and bethought me that I would leave Baghdad owing to the constant disturbances there. So I went to the Habbah Gate,<sup>4</sup> when some one said to me, 'Whither goest thou?' He then gave me a push which knocked me down. 'Go back,' he said, 'for you can do the people good.' I said, 'I wish to keep my religion sound.' He said, 'That is granted you.' All this time I did not see the speaker. Then I was seized with a fresh set of ecstasies and wished to find some one to remove them. As I passed by

<sup>1</sup> In the *Ghibṭah* (p. 33) Ibn al-Najjār is quoted for the statement that A. K. was the owner of land which was cultivated for him by disciples, while others undertook to grind his corn and bake his bread. At a later time he (like other saints) lived largely by vows, i.e. money vowed by persons who were desirous of obtaining something, and obtained it. In the *Bahjah* (p. 104) there is a case quoted in which a vow of this sort amounted to 30 dinars; ordinarily they were of far less value. A. K. kept open house on these receipts. According to Suhrawardī (*loc. cit.*, ii, 71) all his four wives "spent money on him cheerfully and gladly."

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is a rather interesting confession on Jubbā'i's part that the only miraculous part in the story is a romance of his own.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn 'Arabī makes (if I remember rightly) the same confession.

<sup>4</sup> "The present Bāb al-Tilsam" (*i.e.* Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 291).

al-Zafariyyah,<sup>1</sup> a man, opening his door, said to me, 'Abd al-Kādir, what did you seek yesterday?' Having forgotten, I was silent. The man got angry, and slammed the door violently in my face. When I went on I recollected what I had been asking God, and went back to look for the door, but could not recognize it. Now the man was Ḥammād al-Dabbās, whom I got to know afterwards, and who cleared up all my difficulties. If ever I absented myself from him in the pursuit of knowledge, when I returned he would say to me, 'What has brought you to us? You are a jurist, and had better go to the jurists.' And I had no answer. One Friday I went with the others with him to the place of prayer<sup>2</sup> on a very cold day. When we got to the bridge over the river, the Kādī<sup>3</sup> knocked me into the water. I said to myself, 'This is the Friday washing. In the name of God!' I had on me a woollen *jubbah*, and there were MSS. in my sleeve. So I raised my sleeve that the MSS. might not be injured. The others then left me and went on. I squeezed out my *jubbah* and followed the party, but suffered severely from the cold. The Shaikh used to ill-treat me and beat me, and if ever I came to him hungry he would say, 'Lots of bread and cake have come for us to-day; we have eaten all, and left none for you, because we did not want your company.' His pupils used to take the hint, and say to me, 'You are a jurist; what do you want with us?' But when the Shaikh saw them annoy me, he took my part, and said to them, 'You hounds, what do you mean by teasing him, when there is not one among you to be compared with him? I am only teasing him in order to prove him. And now I find him to be an immovable mountain.' After a time there came a man from Hamadhān, called

<sup>1</sup> "Took its name from the Garden of Zatar, one of the chief servants of the Caliph, though of which caliph, or when Zafar flourished, is not stated" (Le Strange, *ibid.*, p. 288).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Rusāfah Mosque (Ghibtāh, p. 13; Bahjah, p. 53). The chronological difficulty in the latter is noticed above.

<sup>3</sup> This title implies that in another form of the story Mukharrimī was the culprit.

Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī.<sup>1</sup> He used to be called the Pole. He took up his abode in a monastery. When I heard about him I went thither; not seeing him I asked about him, and was told that he was in the cellar.<sup>2</sup> So I descended, and when he saw me he rose up, made me sit down, and scrutinized my features; he then recounted to me all the experiences which I had undergone, and solved all my difficulties. Then he told me to speak in public. 'Sir,' I replied, 'I am a foreigner, without admixture, and speechless; how am I to speak before the orators of Baghdad?' He said, 'You have committed to memory the Law, its Roots, the Differences, the Vocabulary, and the interpretation of the Koran; surely you are qualified to speak. Mount the pulpit, therefore, and address the people. I see in you a cutting that will develop into a palm.'"

The Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir told me further: "I used to receive orders<sup>3</sup> and prohibitions both in sleep and waking hours, and the things to be said used to crowd upon my heart and overwhelm me; if I did not utter them I should have choked, and could not be silent. At first two or three men sat with me and listened; then people heard about me, and numbers crowded to hear, till about 70,000 used to gather at a single meeting.

"I have examined," he said, "all acts, and can find none more meritorious than the bestowing of food. How I wish

<sup>1</sup> 440-535. A life of him is given by I.Kh., after Ibn al-Najjār and Sam'ānī. According to this he was born in the village of Buzauajird, came to Baghdad, where he studied with Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī and other eminent jurists, and travelled to Isfahan and Samarcand, where he acquired further knowledge, and also devoted himself to piety and asceticism. Afterwards he returned to Baghdad in 515, where for a time he taught and preached in the Nizāmiyyah College. After this he spent his life at Merv and Herāt, and died at Bama'in on the Merv road. In the *Lawā'ih al-Anwār* we are told that his body was afterwards transferred to a sanctuary at Merv. Some of his miracles are recorded in this work; among them that he released a captive lad at Constantinople, and brought him through the air in the twinkling of an eye to Hamadhān. Further details about him are given in the *Hada'ik al-wardiyyah fi ha'ik al-Nakshabandiyyah* (Cairo, 1308, p. 109), where we learn the names of some of his books—*Khuṭbat al-hayāt*, *Manāzil al-Sā'irīn*, *Manāzil al-Sālikīn*.

<sup>2</sup> It was a form of asceticism to dwell under ground; in the *Bahjah* (p. 31) a certain Ibn Ḳā'id is said to have lived thus fourteen years.

<sup>3</sup> *Bahjah*, p. 49.

the whole world were in my possession, so that I might feed the hungry therewith! My hand," he said, "has a hole in it; it can retain nothing. If I were to receive two thousand dinars not one would be left with me by nightfall."

If anyone brought him gold, he would tell the bringer to put it under the prayer-carpet.<sup>1</sup>

He said to me besides: "I should like to be in the desert and waste places as I was at first, neither seeing mankind nor being seen. Yet," he went on to say, "God desired to benefit mankind through me, and indeed more than five hundred persons<sup>2</sup> have by me been converted to Islam, and more than 100,000 robbers<sup>3</sup> and bandits have been brought by me to repentance. And this is a great deal of good."

He said to me further: "Burdens come down upon me so heavy that mountains would be crushed beneath them. When this happens I lie on my side on the ground, and read the verse<sup>4</sup> 'Verily in difficulty there is ease'; presently I raise my head, and the troubles have all disappeared. When a child is born to me,"<sup>5</sup> he added, "I take it in my arms and say, 'This is doomed to die.' I remove it from my heart, and if the child dies it leaves no impression on me."

Ibn al-Najjār continues: "I heard 'Abd al-Razzāk, son of 'Abd al-Ḳādir, say: 'Forty-nine children<sup>6</sup> were born to my father, twenty-seven males and the rest female.'"

<sup>1</sup> Bahjah, p. 104, where the passage goes on: "nor would he touch it with his hand. And when his servant came, he would say to him, 'Take what is under the carpet, and give it to the baker and grocer.'" The expression 'under the prayer-carpet' is used in Cairo now for secret commissions and profits.

<sup>2</sup> Bahjah, p. 96, where this citation from al-Jubbā'ī is followed by examples of such conversions, which, however, were not effected by A.K.'s eloquence, but by mysterious voices or dreams. Similar stories are told of other saints, e.g. Abū Sa'īd.

<sup>3</sup> The *'ayyārūn* are frequently mentioned in the histories of this time. The form *manhālīyah* = *shulūh* is not apparently registered in the dictionaries.

<sup>4</sup> Sūrah xciv, 5, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Bahjah, p. 87, where we learn that the Shaikh would continue his sermon after such news had been brought him, and after it had finished go and bury his offspring.

<sup>6</sup> Since the last citation implies that many of them died, Carra de Vaux is probably mistaken in supposing some of these to have been spiritual descendants. Rinn (p. 178) gives the names of nine sons: 'Isā (died in Cairo, 573), 'Abdallah (b. 508, d. at Baghdad 589), Ibrāhīm (d. at Wāsiṭ, 592), 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. at Baghdad, 593), Yahyā and Muḥammad (both d. at Baghdad,

He continues: "‘Abdallah Ibn Abi'l-Ḥasan al-Jubbā’i wrote to me as follows: ‘I used to hear the book *al-Ḥilyah*<sup>1</sup> read before Ibn Nāṣir,<sup>2</sup> and my heart softened, till I said to myself, “I should like to separate myself from mankind, and devote myself to the service of God.” I prayed behind the Shaikh ‘Abd al-Ḳādir, and when he had finished we sat down. He looked at me and said, “If you want to retreat, then before you do so study Law, attend the courses of the Shaikhs, and learn some literature; otherwise you will remain as you are, an unfledged chick.”’”

Ibn al-Najjār goes on: “I was informed by Abū ‘Abdallah Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘īd,<sup>3</sup> the Witness, on the authority of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, son of ‘Abd al-Ḳādir, of the following: ‘I heard Abu'l-Thanā ‘Ibn Abi'l-Barakāt al-Nahrmalkī say: “A friend told me he had heard it said that no fly<sup>4</sup> ever alighted on the garments of the Shaikh ‘Abd al-Ḳādir. I said, ‘I know nothing of this.’ The following Friday we went in the morning to the Shaikh’s meeting-house. He

600), ‘Abd al-Razzāk (b. 528, d. at Baghdad, 603), Mūsā (b. 539, d. at Damascus, 613), ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (532-602, Ḳalā‘id, p. 54; migrated to Jiyāl, a village of Sinjār, Bahjah, p. 114). Depont et Coppelani add the names ‘Abd al-Jahbār (ob. 575, Ḳalā‘id; mentioned Bahjah, p. 114, but without details), ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, ‘Abd al-Ghanī; “‘Abd es-Settān” (perhaps ‘Abd al-Salām) and “Salah” (probably Sālīh), who, they further add, were grandsons. To this list of twelve we may add from the Bahjah the eldest son, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, 508-587. Perhaps the most interesting figure is ‘Abd al-Salām, son of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (ob. 611), who (says Ibn al-Athīr) held several important posts, but was suspected of being a philosopher; he was imprisoned in consequence, and his books burned at the Bāb al-‘āmmah, but he was himself released presently by his father’s intercession. Further details are given above. The India Office (MS.) Catalogue mentions a treatise on the family of A.Ḳ., but I have been unable to see it. Though the forty-nine children were not all by one mother, it is not clear that the saint (though he married late, ‘Awārit al-Ma‘āri’, § 21) had more than one wife at one time, since the youngest, Yahyā, was born 550. Their births therefore cover a period of forty-two years, and there may have been some twins. It is, however, to be observed that with the Ṣūfis, as interpreted by Sha‘rānī, polygamy was rather a merit than the reverse in a saint. The Ḳalā‘id gives full details of the family for many generations.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the *Ḥilyat al-awliyā* of Abū Nu‘aim (ob. 430).

<sup>2</sup> 467-550. Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir al-Salāmī. A short life by I.Kh. i, 618.

<sup>3</sup> I.o. al-Dubaithī, 558-637. I.Kh. has a life of him. He wrote a continuation of Sam‘ānī’s Supplement. For ‘the Witness’ the Ghibṭah (p. 44) has ‘the General’ (*al-Ḳā‘id*); probably both are corrupt for *al-Dubaithī*.

<sup>4</sup> In the Ghibṭah *Abu'l-Baḳā*. Probably the former is right, but the person meant is unknown.

<sup>5</sup> This was actually asserted by A.Ḳ.’s servant (Bahjah, p. 86).

turned to us and said, 'What should a fly want with me, who have neither the fig-paste of this world nor the honey of the other?''''''

He continues<sup>1</sup>: "I was told by Abu'l-Bakā 'Abdallāh Ibn al-Ḥusain al-Ḥanbalī as follows: 'I heard Yaḥyā Ibn al-Najāḥ al-Adīb<sup>2</sup> say: "I said to myself, 'I should like to count the number of times the Shaikh cuts off penitents' hair';<sup>3</sup> so I went to his meeting-house, taking with me a thread, and each time he cut off some hair I made a knot in the thread under my garment. And although I was quite in the back row, the Shaikh called out to me, 'While I loosen, you tie!''''''"

He goes on<sup>4</sup>: "I heard the Shaikh of the Sūfis, 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī, say: 'In my youth I studied Law, and it came into my mind to read some treatise on metaphysical theology, yet I communicated my intention to no one. Now it happened that I prayed with my uncle the Shaikh Abu'l-Najāb,<sup>5</sup> with whom the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir happened to be on a friendly visit. My uncle asked him to invoke a blessing on me, and informed him that I was a law-student. So I rose up and kissed his hand. Taking my hand he said to me, "Repent of your design! So will you prosper." Then he was silent, and let go my hand. Still, I did not alter my design of studying metaphysical theology, till all my affairs went out of order, and my life was embittered; and I knew that the reason was my disobedience to the Shaikh.'"

He goes on: "I heard Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Akḥḍar<sup>6</sup> say: 'I used to visit the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir in

<sup>1</sup> Bahjah, p. 94; Ghībṭah, p. 44, where, however, for *al-'Ikrimī* we should read *al-'Ukbarī*, this Abu'l-Bakā being the same as that of note 4, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confused with the author of *Subul al-Khairāt*, a Spanish writer who died 422.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently this was a symbolic act, signifying that the person was let go free (cf. Jacob, *Beduinenteben*, 137, and I.Kh., de Slane, ii, 382).

<sup>4</sup> We had a similar story above. Another form of it is given in the Bahjah, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Ob. 563. See I.Kh., de Slane, ii, 150.

<sup>6</sup> 524-611. His name was 'Abdallāh Ibn Abī Naṣr Maḥmūd Ibn al-Mubārak al-Junābidhī (Bahjah, p. 110). Yāḳūt, however (ii, 121), calls him 'Abd

midwinter, when it was bitterly cold. He had on him a single tunic, and a *tākiyah*<sup>1</sup> on his head, while around him were people fanning him, and all the time he was perspiring as though it were exceedingly hot.'"

He continues: "I heard 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Shaibānī say: 'I heard the ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Ghanī<sup>2</sup> say: 'I heard Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Khaṣṣhāb<sup>3</sup> the grammarian say: 'When I was a lad I studied grammar, and heard people describe the beauty of the language of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir. I wanted in consequence to hear him, but could not find time. One day, however, I at last went to his meeting-house, but when he spoke I neither admired his language nor could I understand it. So I said to myself, "This is a wasted day." Turning to the part of the room where I was seated he said, "What! you prefer grammar to sermons! You definitely make choice of the former? Follow me and we shall make you a Sibawaihi!"' " " " "

He continues: "Our Shaikh Aḥmad son of Zafar, son of the Vizier Ibn al-Hubairah,<sup>4</sup> says: 'I asked my grandfather

al-'Azīz, and states that he lived in Darb al-Ḳayyār in the district of Nahr al-Mu'alla in East Baghdad. Yākūt was his pupil and praises him highly. The story is told in the Bahjah (p. 88).

<sup>1</sup> Originally a skull-cap worn under the turban, according to Dozy, *Noms des vêtements*, who was not then aware that it formed part of the Sūfī livery. In the Bahjah (p. 69) a certain Khalaf Ibn 'Ayyāsh al-Shār'i, al-Shāfi'i, being sent to Baghdad to buy a copy of the Musnad of Ibn Hanbal, determines to visit 'Abd al-Ḳādir, and arranges in his mind a number of things that the saint should do; among them that "he should put on me the *tākiyah* before I ask him." The saint reads his thoughts exactly and does all that had been in Khalaf's mind. Similarly (p. 43), "then A.K. placed on my head a *tākiyah*, and when it touched my skull I felt a coolness spread therefrom to my heart." In *Lawā'iqih al-Anwār*, i, 192, we read of the two *khirkahs*, the garment and the *tākiyah*. And so in the Bahjah (p. 133) the converted brigand Abū Bakr al-Butā'ihī receives both from Abū Bakr the Caliph in a dream.

<sup>2</sup> See note 11, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> 492-567. 'Abdallah Ibn Aḥmad. I.Kh. has a life of him.

<sup>4</sup> 497-560. Yahyā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Hubairah. I.Kh. has a full biography. He was a Hanbalite like most of the persons mentioned in this text. According to I.Kh. he left two sons, 'Izz al-dīn Muḥammad and Sharaf al-dīn Muẓaffar. The first of these is brought twice into A.K.'s lecture-room by the Bahjah. In the first case (p. 30) we have a story told by Abū'l-Khair Muḥammad Ibn Muḥfūz Ibn 'Atīmāh at his house in the Azaj Gate, Baghdad, on Rejeb 3, 592. He and the following persons were all present in the lecture-room of A.K. on a certain occasion: Abū'l-Su'ūd al-Harīmī (lived till 579. p. 75; F.M. i, 243, 323; ii, 24), Muḥammad Ibn Kā'id al-Awānī (F.M. i, 243, 262), al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī Jamīl, "the man of the step and the thunderbolt"

to give me leave to visit the Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir. He not only gave me leave, but sent a sum of money with me, telling me to pay it to the Shaikh, and also told me to greet him. I presented myself, and when the meeting was over, and he had come down from the pulpit, I saluted him, but recoiled from handing the money to him before that assembly. The Shaikh anticipated my thoughts, and said, "Hand over what you have got, never mind."'''

I was informed by Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn al-Mubārak al-Marḳa'ānī,<sup>1</sup> who said<sup>2</sup>: "I accompanied the Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir"— (The author's fair copy reached as far as this point, but we may supply the rest from the *Maṣāḥib*.)

The author of the "Mirror of the Time"<sup>3</sup> says the silence of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir was more lengthy than his discourse, and he spoke direct to people's hearts, and he enjoyed great fame and perfect popularity. He never quitted his school except on Friday or when he went to his cell. The bulk<sup>4</sup> of the people of Baghdad repented through him, and most of the Jews and Christians were by him converted to Islam. No one could see him except at prayer-

(his story told p. 83), 'Umar Ibn Mas'ūd al-Bazzāz (lived till 592, p. 100), 'Umar Ibn Abi Naṣr al-Ghazzāl, Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad al-Sarṣurī (lived till 631, p. 82), 'Alī Ibn Ghunā'im al-Batā'iḥī (ob. 573), Ibn al-Khidrī, Muḥammad son of the Vizier Ibn Hubairah, 'Abdallāh Ibn Hibātallāh, and 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṣāhib. The Shaikh offered to give them anything they wished for; all the others desired spiritual gifts, but the vizier's son wanted to be deputy vizier; 'Abdallāh Ibn Hibātallāh wanted to be ustādḥ al-dār (mayor of the palace), and 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad to be chamberlain. All these wishes were granted. In the second case we are told by Mas'ūd Ibn 'Umar al-Hūshimī that the three statesmen, with a fourth, Amīn al-dīn 'Alī Ibn Thābit, were so roundly rated by A.K. that they "died," i.e. were thoroughly humiliated. Kutbi (i, 198) has a life of Zafar son of Ibn Hubairah, who should be the person mentioned in the text; but the death-date 652 seems too late; perhaps we should read 562. And since Kutbi states that Zafar was imprisoned in his father's lifetime, was released after his death, and then executed for trying to quit Baghdad, we see why Aḥmad asked his grandfather's leave. In the *Ḳalā'id* (p. 50) Aḥmad is called Abu'l-Faṭḥ).

<sup>1</sup> This person is mentioned by Yāqūt (iii, 711) as a teacher of al-'Althī. In the *Bahjah* (p. 116) the nisbah is given as *Marfaghani*. Neither is explained in *Lubb al-Lubāb*.

<sup>2</sup> The story that follows in the *Ghibtah* is to the effect that A.K. took great trouble with the instruction of a dull foreigner, and, being asked why he did so, explained that the man would die within a week, a prophecy which was fulfilled.

<sup>3</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī, 583-651.

<sup>4</sup> Clearly a gross exaggeration.

time. He would speak the truth boldly from the pulpit, and reproach those who were put in authority over the people. When al-Muḩṩafī<sup>1</sup> appointed as judge the wicked Ibn al-Murakkhim,<sup>2</sup> he said from the pulpit,<sup>3</sup> "You have appointed over the Moslems the wickedest of the wicked: how will you answer presently before the Lord of the Worlds?" He performed striking miracles, of which a number were related by many shaikhs whom I myself met.

I was told by my maternal uncle Khāṣṣ Bey,<sup>4</sup> etc.

And I was told by Muṩaffar al-ḩarḩī,<sup>5</sup> a pious man, as follows: "I used," he said, "to sleep in the school of 'Abd al-Kādir for the sake of his sermon. One night I went and climbed on the roof of the school, when the heat was very great, and I longed for fresh dates, till I said, 'O Lord God, if I could only have five dates!' Now the Shaikh had a trap-door in the roof, which he opened, and he came out with five dates in his hand. And he called out, not that he knew me, 'Muṩaffar, find what you sought!'" He adds that there were many more stories of the sort.

He states also that Ibn Yūnus,<sup>6</sup> vizier of the Caliph Nāṣir, assailed 'Abd al-Kādir's family, dispersed them, and injured

<sup>1</sup> 530-556. According to one of A.ḩ.'s servants (Muḩammad Ibn al-Khiḩr al-ḩusain al-Mauṩilī, Bahjah, p. 86) he used to receive visits from caliphs and viziers, and when he wrote to the Caliph his letter was as follows: "'Abd al-Kādir writes, bidding thee do this or that: he has a right to command thee, and thou art bound to obey him; he is thy pattern, and evidence against thee." The Caliph, when he received such a missive, would obey at once. Al-Mustanjid (555-566) was also severely rebuked by A.ḩ. (pp. 61, 77).

<sup>2</sup> One of the first acts of Mustanjid (555) was to cashier this Kādī, whose wickedness partly consisted in his possessing philosophical books, such as Avicenna's *Shifā* and the *Ikhwān al-Safā*, which were burnt in the marketplace. (Ibn al-Aṩīr.) His name was Wafā (Yūkūt, *Udabā*, fol. 122b).

<sup>3</sup> Similar boldness was displayed by Ibn 'Abd al-Salām (note 3. p. 297), according to Kutbī, i, 288. He was in consequence deprived of the office of Khaṩīb.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Balankri, vizier of the Sultan Mas'ūd the Seljūki, who, on his death in 547, set his son Malikshāh on the throne (Ibn al-Aṩīr, anno 547). Presently he deposed Malikshāh and made his brother Muḩammad successor, with the object of deposing him also; he was, however, forestalled by Muḩammad and killed. The story that follows is not fit for translation. We learn from it that his name was Zubair.

<sup>5</sup> This person figures as A.ḩ.'s servant in the *ḩalā'id* (p. 10). *Ibid.* (p. 97), there is added *من أهل الحرمة*.

<sup>6</sup> It is not clear who is meant.

them in every possible way. He banished them to Wāsiṭ. God in requital dispersed the power of Ibn Yūnus and dispatched him, so that he died a most horrible death.

I have to add that the Shaikh was matchless, far-famed, and a leader both in knowledge and conduct. The Shaikh Nūr al-dīn al-Shaṭṭanaufī the Mukrī composed a lengthy work in three volumes on his life and work, wherein he has produced milk with the cud<sup>1</sup> equally, and has mixed with truth statements that are groundless and false, being told on the authority of persons of no worth. So they assert that the Shaikh took thirteen steps in the air off his pulpit at a meeting;<sup>2</sup> and that once when the Shaikh was discoursing and no-one was moved, he said, "You are not moved, and feel no pleasure. Ye lamps, manifest *your* delight!" whereupon the lamps moved about and the dishes danced. In general, however, his miracles are recorded by a sound chain, and he left no-one after him like himself. The Shaikh died on 10 Rabī' ii, 561, being 90 years old. His funeral was attended by a countless multitude. A saying reported by al-Jubbā'ī as uttered by the Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir is, "Mankind screen you from your soul, and your soul screens you from God."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Lane, col. 400a.

<sup>2</sup> Bahjah, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> See al-Faṭḥ al-Rabbānī, forty-third discourse.

## XIII.

MODERN HINDUISM AND ITS DEBT TO THE  
NESTORIANS.<sup>1</sup>

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MUCH of what I shall say here has appeared before in scattered essays which are not likely to have been seen by many members of the Royal Asiatic Society, and I am grateful for the opportunity now given for considering the question as a whole, and for hearing in the discussion which will, I hope, follow, any arguments that may have escaped my notice for and against the theories advanced. The object of the present paper is to show how the beliefs of the early Nestorian Christians have been absorbed by Hinduism, and how they have profoundly affected the religious system current over a large portion of India.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell at length on the fact that all religions are more or less syncretic. They take, often unconsciously, elements from other religions and adapt them to their own systems. In Hinduism the process is extremely wide in its application. Hinduism is a religion which can absorb anything and everything with which it is brought into contact. It has absorbed the aboriginal cults and deities, till in some parts of India the current Hinduism can hardly be recognized as an offspring of the nature-worship of the Vēdas. On the other side there are instances of its taking from the Musalmāns the idea of Monotheism, and an Allāh Upaniṣad<sup>2</sup> has been added to the never completed canon of the Hindū scriptures. All this is well known, and there is no reason for surprise at finding, given the opportunity, the elements of Christianity also borrowed in the same way.

<sup>1</sup> Read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on January 15th, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> It was written under the auspices of the Emperor Akbar. See J.A.S.B., xl, p. 170.

Let us first consider the opportunities. There were undoubtedly Christian colonies in India from very early times. For a convenient grouping together of all the ascertained facts I can refer you to chapter ix of Sir William Hunter's "India." The important points are as follows :—It is almost certain that St. Thomas the Apostle himself visited the North-West of India and preached there in the early part of the first century.<sup>1</sup> Long before this there had been commercial traffic between the East and the West, and from the date of its foundation Alexandria had been the European entrepôt. Alexandria also became a great centre of early Christian influence. One of its exports to India was slave-girls, and it is reasonable to presume that some of these professed the new faith. Then the destruction of Jerusalem aided the spread of Christianity, and we read of colonies of Christian Jews existing on the west coast of Southern India not later than the commencement of the third century after our Lord's birth. Rumours of this community reached Alexandria, and several evangelists were then sent out to convert the heathen of India. The great source of missionary activity in those days was, however, not Alexandria, but the Nestorian Christians of Syria; and a flourishing Nestorian community gradually rose in Southern India. These being isolated from their brethren in the West, their faith became corrupt. In 660 A.D. they had no regular ministry. In the fourteenth century they had even given up the rite of baptism, and a mixed worship, Christian, Musalmān, and Hindū, went on at the old hill-shrine of St. Thomas at Mylapore, near Madras. We need not pursue their history further; what is important for our present purposes is that the Christians had been in India for fourteen hundred years, and that they were on friendly terms with their Hindū neighbours. The same phenomenon presents itself at the present day. There are still Christian shrines in Southern India at which both Hindūs and Christians worship, each in

<sup>1</sup> The latest researches on this subject will be found in Mr. Philipp's "The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India," in *Indian Antiquary* for 1903.

their own way. If the Christians became Hinduized, the Hindūs must also have become Christianized, or else all analogy is a mistake.

During the earlier centuries of the Christian era India was partly Hindū and partly Buddhist. As time went on Buddhism was gradually absorbed by the older faith, and orthodox Hinduism appears before us in two concurrent aspects. In one of these there was the Vēdāntic belief in a passionless, impersonal, Supreme Deity, unmoved by prayer or adoration, from whom souls were kept apart by ignorance. In the other aspect there was the belief in numerous subordinate gods and demons, whom it was judicious to propitiate, as they could save from trouble in this life, although they could not give final release (that is to say, loss of personal identity by absorption into the Supreme) after death. In both aspects the only way to this ultimate salvation, this *mukti* or 'release,' was to know oneself and thereby to know God. In the words of M. Barth, religion was resolved into a matter of knowledge, rational, intuitive, or revealed.

Beside this there was the universal belief in the "Old Stories" of gods, demigods, and deified heroes, and of these the most popular were the legends of the nine incarnations of Viṣṇu. According to these, the Supreme, identified by the narrators with the ancient Vedic god Viṣṇu, became incarnate to relieve the world from some physical calamity or from some tyranny. Having performed his task, Viṣṇu returned to his impersonal condition, and to a Hindū of those days his exploits were merely an event in history to which he could look back with gratitude, but which in no way affected his present or his future existence.

Suddenly, like a flash of lightning, there came upon all this darkness a new idea. No Hindū knows where it came from, and no one can date its appearance; but all the official writings which describe it and which can be dated with certainty were written long after the Christian era. This new idea was that of *bhakti*. Religion was now no longer a matter of knowledge. It became a matter of emotion.

It now satisfied the human craving for a supreme *personality*, to whom prayer and adoration could be addressed; inasmuch as *bhakti*, which may be translated by 'faith' or 'devotion,' requires a personal, not an impersonal, God. The late Professor Cowell pointed out how nearly it corresponds to what St. Augustine has said: "Quid est credere in Deum? Credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in Eum ire, et ejus membris incorporari."<sup>1</sup> ("What is it to have faith in God? By faith to love Him, by faith to be devoted to Him, by faith to enter into Him, and by personal union to become one with Him.") The first works dealing with *bhakti* were written in Sanskrit, and European scholars are therefore to a certain extent familiar with its theory. Its official textbook is a modern Sanskrit treatise, which, with its commentary, has been admirably translated by Professor Cowell, under the title of *The Aphorisms of Śaṅḍilya*.<sup>2</sup> In Appendix II, I give a summary of its contents so far as they refer to the general question of *bhakti*, and it is unnecessary for me to do more than draw attention to the many striking points of resemblance with doctrinal Christianity, and even with actual texts in the Bible. That the whole scheme of belief is radically different from that of the ordinary Hinduism of Sanskrit literature needs no proof. It must be remembered that though we do not know the actual date of the work from which the abstract is compiled, it is certainly very modern.

Probably the earliest book in which we find the doctrine of *bhakti* developed as a working system is the well-known *Bhagavad Gītā*. So long ago as 1869<sup>3</sup> Dr. Lorinser traced Christian influences in this beautiful work, and, indeed, the coincidences between its teaching and that of the New Testament are often startling; but most scholars are agreed in laying no stress upon these; for, though the coincidences do exist, there is nothing essentially Christian in any of them. The quotations which were collected by Dr. Lorinser

<sup>1</sup> See the preface to Cowell's translation of Śaṅḍilya's *Aphorisms*.

<sup>2</sup> Calcutta, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> See also *Indian Antiquary* for 1873.

are all such as might have been written by any elevated thinker, Christian or non-Christian, nor are all of them new to India. Moreover, the date of the poem is a matter of some dispute, and though I think myself that it is pretty certain that it is a comparatively late work, I do not consider that it should be taken into account in our argument. *Bhakti* is certainly described in it, but it is *bhakti* which has no distinctively Christian attributes, and if the work is pre-Christian it only proves that the idea of *bhakti* is Indian, but proves nothing about its later developments.

In another<sup>1</sup> and very late section of the Mahābhārata, there is a much more important account of a visit paid by three Hindū saints, under direct inspiration of God, to "a land of great splendour on the northern shore of one of the oceans," called the "White Continent." "The inhabitants have complexions as white as the rays of the moon, and are full of *bhakti* to Him who moves upon the waters. They believe and worship only one God." "Go ye thither," said the Oracle, "for there have I revealed Myself." When the saints arrived at this mysterious continent they found the inhabitants possessing "every mark of blessedness. The faces of some were turned to the north and of others to the east, all with hands clasped in prayer, silently, with unuttered words, meditating on the Supreme . . . All the inhabitants were perfectly equal in glory, there was no superiority or inferiority among them. We then suddenly beheld a light arise that seemed to be the concentrated effulgence of a thousand suns. The inhabitants, assembling together, ran towards that light, with hands clasped, full of joy, and uttering the words 'We bow to Thee.' We then heard a very loud noise uttered by them all together. It seemed that those men were employed in offering a sacrifice to the Great God. . . . The sound said, 'Victory to Thee, O Thou of eyes like lotus-petals. Salutations to Thee, O Creator of the universe . . . O Lord of the organs of sense—O Foremost

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhārata, xii, 337 ff.

of Beings—Thou who art the First-born.’ This is what we heard, uttered distinctly and melodiously. . . . Without doubt God appeared in that place whence the sound arose, but, as regards ourselves, stupefied by His illusion, we could not see Him.” It is then explained to them that “these white men, who are divested of all outer senses (i.e., who are pure in heart), are alone competent to see God. . . . Go hence, ye Saints, to the place whence ye came. That great Deity is incapable of being ever seen by one that is destitute of *bhakti*.”

Is not this just the account that would be given by a devoutly-disposed stranger of the gorgeous ceremonies of some of the ancient Eastern Christian congregations?—the universal equality; the proclamation of monotheism; the necessity of pureness of heart for seeing God; the great church into which God, visible only to the eye of faith, Himself descended; the adoration of the First-born; the silent prayer; the bursting forth of the loud *Gloria in excelsis*; the melodious chant of the eucharistic ritual. This account is taken from the greatest and most popular of the religious books of India. The pilgrims tell the story of a state of affairs existing outside India, and for which India itself was not yet ripe. It was here, they were told, that perfect *bhakti* existed, and from here it must be brought to India. It came.

Still more decisively Christian are certain curious facts quoted by the late Professor Weber from the *Bhaviṣya* and *Bhaviṣyōttara Purāṇas*. We are familiar with the legend of the Kṛṣṇa incarnation of Viṣṇu. Kṛṣṇa, on his birth, was pursued by his wicked uncle, who wished to kill him; and his mother, in order to save his life, gave him away to some cowherds immediately after he was born. Moreover, in many parts of India the word ‘Kṛṣṇa’ is pronounced ‘Krishta.’ So far there is a slight resemblance to the accounts of our Lord’s birth as recorded in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. But Weber has shown, from the two purāṇas just mentioned and from other sources, that round this ancient legend there has grown up a festival.

And the extraordinary part is that the ritual of the festival does not follow the legend, but alters it to agree with our Gospel narrative. The mother does not give away the child. She escapes while he is yet unborn to a cowherd's shed, there she gives birth to a son, and we are shown Indian pictures of her lying peacefully asleep, holding the suckling child to her bosom, with herdmen and herdmaidens round her glorifying her and singing her praises; an ox and an ass by her side, and the redemption-bringing star in heaven. There are other Indian pictures which resemble, even in minute details, Byzantine representations of the "Madonna Lactans," which it is known are of Egyptian origin.

The subject, as above described, has been much discussed by Sanskrit scholars, and to many here I have been telling no new thing; but it was necessary to repeat it, for the evidence is in its nature cumulative. So far we have been dealing with Sanskrit literature, and, on this evidence, opinion has been much divided. The late Professor Weber was the leader of those who maintained the Christian origin of this *bhakti*, while M. Barth may be mentioned as one of the most prominent of those who held the opposite opinion.<sup>1</sup> Professor Hopkins occupies an intermediate position.<sup>2</sup>

So far, previous scholars.<sup>3</sup> I now proceed to deal with the more modern phases of the doctrine. We are still in the stage when religious literature was couched in Sanskrit, when we see arising in Southern India two eminent teachers named Rāmānuja and Viṣṇuswāmī. The former flourished early in the twelfth century, and it is important to note that he was born at Perumbūr and studied at Kāñcīpura (Conjeeveram), each of which is within a few miles of the Nestorian Christian shrine of St. Thomas at Mylapore, to which allusion has already been made. About Viṣṇuswāmī we know hardly anything, except that he came from the

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, *The Religions of India*, pp. 219 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, *Religions of India*, pp. 428 ff.

<sup>3</sup> H. H. Wilson, of course, in his *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*. deals with some of the people whom I shall mention, but not from my point of view.

south. For our present purposes he is important, not so much for his own teaching, but as the founder of a sect which in later years had noteworthy developments. These two preached the doctrine of *bhakti* with great fervour and success. I have said that *bhakti* implies faith in a personal God, and as, according to the accepted belief of the time, the Supreme Deity was impersonal, each took one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu as the object of his adoration. Rāmānuja took Rāmacandra, and Viṣṇuswāmī took Kṛṣṇa. Rāmānuja's teaching was fully explained in this room by Dr. Thibaut in the year 1902. What he did was, not to controvert the fashionable Vēdāntic pantheism of his time, but to introduce into it the doctrine of *bhakti*. He taught that God was personal, and that by His *prasāda* or 'grace' the faithful after death obtained undisturbed personal bliss "near the Lord."

Let me pause for a moment to point out how this idea of Rāmānuja's of an everlasting life "near the Lord" has persisted through all the developments of the system. It is still the keynote of the *bhakti-mārga*. As an illustration of this there is the story, very probably a true one, of Nanda Dāsa, the Bernard of Clairvaux, if I may so call him, of the modern sects. He was one of those mystics who ever dwelt in communion with his deity, and who fretted against the mortal chains which kept him from a still closer approach. The Emperor Akbar, hearing of his fame as a poet, sent for him, and asked him to sing one of his hymns. He sang one ending with the words *Nandadāsa, thāyḥō nipaṭa nikaṭa*, "My soul, stand thou very close and near Him." The Emperor pressed him hard to show what he meant by standing "very close and near Him." Stung by the unbelieving monarch's gibe, the mystic gave the most effective possible answer; for he became at once rapt in a trance which ended in his death, and, freed from its earthly shackles, his soul actually went, as he had sung, to stand "very close and near" his Master.

Rāmānuja taught all this rather as a system of philosophy, couched in Sanskrit, than as a religion, and it was studied only by Brāhmins, on whom the most stringent caste-rules

were imposed. It was not, nor was Viṣṇuswāmī's, a popular religion. Their doctrines were mainly confined to the country of their origin, southern India.

Late in the 14th century, or early in the 15th, a teacher of Rāmānuja's school, named Rāmānanda, drank afresh at the well of Christian influence, and, quarrelling with his co-religionists on a question of discipline, founded a new sect, which he carried with him northwards to the Gangetic plain. From his time Sanskrit was no longer the official language of the *bhakti*-cult. It was preached and its text-books were written in the vernacular. Moreover, his motto was *Jāti pāti pūchai nahi kōi, Hari-kō bhajai sō Hari-kā hōi*, "Let no one ask a man's caste or sect; whoever adores God, he is God's own." In other words, all castes were admitted to his communion. He had twelve apostles (note the number), and these included, besides Brāhmins, a Musalmān weaver, a leather-worker (one of the very lowest castes), a Rājput, a Jāt, and a barber. Nay, one of them was a woman.<sup>1</sup>

And now I must ask you to accompany me into a strange land,—strangest of all to those who have studied Indian religions only in the light of Sanskrit literature. We shall visit, for far too brief a space, a land of mysticism and of rapture. We shall meet spirits akin, not to the giant schoolmen of Benares, but to the poets and mystics of Mediaeval Europe, in sympathy with Bernard of Clairvaux, with Thomas à Kempis, with Eckhart, and with St. Theresa. All this is unknown or almost unknown to Sanskrit literature, and yet here we are in the face of the greatest religious revolution that India has ever seen, a revolution the effects of which are still the moving force of the spiritual life of millions upon millions of Hindūs. Let me repeat the description which I gave on a former occasion of the theology of Rāmānanda's greatest follower, Tulasī Dāsa. Different teachers varied

<sup>1</sup> The *Bhaktamāla* list of these twelve apostles is: (1) Anantānanda, (2) Kabīr, (3) Sukhānanda, (4) Surasurānanda, (5) Padmāvat, (6) Nārāyaṇānanda, (7) Pīpā, (8) Bhuvānanda, (9) Raidāsa, (10) Dhanū, (11) Śama, (12) Surasurī (a woman). Wilson's list on p. 55 of *The Religious Sects of the Hindūs* (ed. 1861) is wrong, owing to a misreading of the somewhat difficult text.

in details, but the essence of all was the same,—the love of a personal God for humanity,—an idea altogether foreign to the orthodox Hinduism of Sanskrit literature. There is one God, says Tulasī, inconceivable, unknowable, and absolutely pure. The world is very wicked. Out of pity for the miseries of this world this Supreme Being became personal, i.e., he became incarnate in the person of Rāma, “the Redeemer of the world.” He is now in heaven, still a personal deity, full of love, and, with all his experience of man’s weakness, full of compassion. Knowing by actual experience how great are man’s infirmities and temptations, and Himself incapable of sin, He is ever ready to extend His help to the sinful being that calls upon Him. “Although,” he cries, “my every word is foul and false, yet, O Lord, with Thee do I hold the close kinship of a perfect love.” Sin is no longer considered merely as an impediment to ultimate salvation. It is far more than that, for it is hateful in itself as being incompatible with the pure nature of the incarnate God. Finally, the belief in the universal brotherhood of man was not a duty, the brotherhood itself was a fact, for every man or woman was the child of the infinitely loving All-Father.

The object of man’s creation, the chief aim of man, is to glorify Him, and the end is *mukti*, salvation. A work called the *Bhaktakalpadrūma* devotes an interesting chapter to discussing what this salvation really is. The author goes through all the old Indian theories, only to reject them, and shows that to the true follower of *bhakti*, *Brahma-svarūpa hō-jānē-kā nāma mukti hai* (“Salvation is the becoming like” or “having the nature of the Supreme”). There is no talk here of annihilation or of absorption; on the contrary, as I said above, this “likeness” causes the released soul to dwell for ever with the Lord (*us paramapadamē rāsa kartā-hai*).

A century later than Rāmānanda, Vallabhācārya, another teacher from southern India, and a follower of Viṣṇuswāmī, did for Kṛṣṇa-worship what Rāmānanda had done for Rāma-worship, and since then these two branches of *bhakti*

have gone on peacefully side by side. There is this difference between the two, that in Rāma-worship the love of God to man is compared to that of a father for his son, while in the case of Kṛṣṇa it is compared to that of a man for a maid. The latter belief has in modern days occasionally degenerated into the grossest lewdness, but in the times of which I am now speaking there was nothing of this sort. The converts lived and moved in an atmosphere of the highest spiritual exaltation, while over all there hovered, with healing in its wings, a divine gospel of love in its purest ideal, smoothing down inevitable asperities, restoring breaches, and reconciling differences between conflicting modes of thought. Each sect naturally considered its own tenets the right ones, but the story of the saint Alī Bhagavān shows the mutual relations which existed between them. He was a follower of Rāma, and in the course of his wanderings came to Mathurā, the headquarters of the Krishnaites. Attracted by the ecstasies and raptures which presented themselves to his notice, he abandoned his worship of Rāma, and followed that of Kṛṣṇa instead. His old spiritual teacher heard of this and came to remonstrate with him; nevertheless, when he found that his quondam disciple was not moved by a mere passing impulse, but was heartily devoted to the new doctrine, he gave him his blessing, saying that so long as he loved the God behind the incarnation the rest was of small import.

In those early days the north of India was filled with wandering devotees, vowed to poverty and purity. Visions, trances, raptures, and even reputed miracles were of common occurrence. Rich noblemen abandoned all their possessions and gave them to the poor, and even the poorest would lay aside a bundle of sticks to light a fire for some chance wandering saint. Nor were these confined to the male sex. Of devout and honourable women there were not a few. There were Mīrā Bāī, the queen-poet of Udaipur, who gave up her throne rather than join in the bloody worship of Śiva; Bānkā, the poor woodcutter's wife, who could not be tempted by a purse of gold; the chaste Surasurī with her

tiger guardian ; Gaṇēśa Dōrānī, queen of Madhukara Shāh of Orchā, who hid the wound inflicted by a mad ascetic, for fear her husband should take indiscriminating vengeance ; the penitent Magdalen of Delhi, who gave her life and the only art she possessed, her dancing, to the service of the deity in whom she had taken refuge ; and many others. Of men, there were Haridāsa, the sweet singer, to hear whom Akbar disguised himself as a menial servant and travelled far ; Nanda Dāsa, already mentioned, the hymn-writer ; Caitanya, the prophet of Bengal ; Caturbhujā,<sup>1</sup> the apostle of the Gōṇḍs, who taught that right initiation meant "being born again" ; Jayadēva, the author of the mystical *Gīta Gōvinda* (one of the few Sanskrit works of the sect) ; Sūra Dāsa, the blind bard of Agra ; and, greatest of all, to my mind the greatest poet that India has produced, Tulasī Dāsa, the teller of the deeds of Rāma. These are but a few of many, and I mention but three others for the sake of the legends attached to them. There were Gōpāla,<sup>2</sup> who when smitten on one cheek turned the other to the smiter ; Vilvamaṅgala,<sup>3</sup> whose eye offended him, and who blinded himself ; and the unnamed king of Purī,<sup>4</sup> who cut off his right hand and cast it from him for the same reason.<sup>5</sup> Legend after legend has accumulated round all these persons, and miracle on miracle is recorded about them. Much that we read is insipid and perhaps even childish to our Western minds, but the student who possesses sympathy with the naive joy of an Oriental nation that has discovered divine love for the first time will never regret the hours spent in its study. He beholds the profoundest depths of the human heart laid

<sup>1</sup> *Bhaktamāla*, 123. Cf. John iii, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhaktamāla*, 106. Cf. Matt. v, 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhaktamāla*, 46. Cf. Matt. v, 29. The "offence" was exactly the same as that mentioned in the preceding verse.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhaktamāla*, 51. Cf. Matt. v, 30.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Kūśiprasād Jayaswāl has drawn my attention to *Bhaktamāla*, 204. Here the author gives examples of the incarnate God's graciousness to his servants. One of these examples is that Kṛṣṇa washed his servants' feet. The reference is to *Mahābhārata*, ii, 35. But there Kṛṣṇa is represented as washing the feet of Brāhmanas. Nābhā has put "*Santas*," i.e., those who possess *bhakti*, in place of "Brāhmanas." Here the original Hindū legend is actually changed to agree with our Gospel narrative. Cf. John xiii, 5.

bare with a simplicity and freedom from self-consciousness unsurpassed in any literature with which I am acquainted. As Tulasī Dāsa himself says in the preface to his great poem, "If the hearers have no understanding of true devotion to the Lord, the tale will seem insipid enough: but the singer's *bhakti* towards his Master will itself be an embellishment sufficient to make the good to hear and praise the melody."

We have seen how this *bhakti*-cult suddenly appeared as a practical basis of religion in the immediate vicinity of the Christian colony in Madras. We have seen how it spread over India in wave after wave, always receiving fresh impulse from the south, and we have further seen the remarkable resemblances between its ground principles and their effects and those of Christianity, but when we come to details the cases of evident borrowing are even more striking.

No one seems to have noticed how absurd it is to call the well-known group of three gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva—the Indian Trinity. Nevertheless, the comparison is one of our English commonplaces. Excepting the number, three, there is no single element in the group which suggests it. But Vaiṣṇava Hinduism has a Trinity closely corresponding to ours, viz., the Supreme Deity, His incarnation, and His *Śakti*, or energetic power.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough, the energetic power has become personified as a woman, just as the Syrian Christians substituted the Virgin Mary for the Third Person of our Trinity.<sup>2</sup>

In minor points, too, there are numerous instances of agreement with Christianity, each by itself of small importance, but all adding to the cumulative proof. There is the same remarkable reverence for spiritual teachers. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles says, "Thou shalt by night

<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary to point out that the Śiva religions of India, although the more modern forms also have their *Śaktis*, have (with one or two insignificant exceptions) no incarnations as objects of worship.

<sup>2</sup> There are many Sanskrit words for God. Of these Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja agreed in selecting one for the personal deity. It was *Īśvara*, the exact equivalent of the *Kύριος* of the Septuagint and of the New Testament. In the Septuagint this word represents the Hebrew YHWH, Jehovah.

and day remember him that speaketh to thee the word of God; thou shalt know him as the Lord"; and the *bhakti*-scriptures are full of similar remarks. The early Christians and the early *bhakti*-teachers alike insisted on the paramount necessity of a teacher of the highest grade being a wanderer from city to city. Just as the Gnostics deified the Apostles and called them 'Saviours of men' (*Σωτῆρες τῶν ἀνθρώπων*), so the companions of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa have been given god-like rank. In both there is the same extravagant belief in the power of the Name of the incarnate God. Thomas à Kempis speaks of "the holy utterance, short to read, easy to retain, sweet to think upon, strong to protect," while Tulasī Dāsa praises "these two gracious syllables, the eyes as it were of the soul, easy to remember, satisfying every wish, a gain in this world and felicity in the next." Nay, in southern India, *bhakti*-worship has developed the same quarrel that has cursed the West between the followers of the doctrine of 'irresistible' and that of 'co-operative grace.'

Here is an echo of a well-known text in the Gospel of St. John (iii, 16):—"A certain king once said to a learned sage, 'As God is all-powerful, what necessity was there for Him to become incarnate? Why should He not provide in some simpler way for those that love Him?' The sage made no reply at the time, but went away and got a doll made exactly like the king's little son. He gave the doll to the child's bearer, and said to him, 'Carry it in your arms along the bank of the river when his Majesty and I go out for an airing in a boat.' The bearer did so, and when the boat came to the shore the sage reached out and took the doll from him as if to give it to the king: But, as he did so, he let it drop into the river. The king, under the impression that it was his own son that had been let fall, without considering the risk to his own life or the danger of drowning, leaped himself into the Jamna. The sage had him pulled out, and said, 'There were hundreds of your Majesty's servants and sailors ready to help. Why did you yourself leap into the river?' The king replied, 'Owing to my love and affection for the boy, I could not stop to think or give orders, but at once

jumped in myself.' 'So,' said the sage, 'is it with God. When He seeth His servants in sorrow He tarrieth not, but Himself cometh as an incarnate Deity to save them.'"<sup>1</sup>

Of all *bhakti*-writers, the most Christian in his ideas was Tulasī Dāsa, but he has already formed the subject of a paper lately published in the *Journal* of this Society, and therefore I do not particularly refer to him on the present occasion. Kabīr, the Musalmān weaver, and one of Rāmānanda's twelve apostles, has also left many reflections of Christianity in his writings. He talks of God as 'Life.' "From not knowing God," he says, "the world has been swallowed up in death." He cries, "When the Master is blind, what becomes of the scholar? When the blind leads the blind, both will fall into the well." Again, speaking in the person of the Deity, he says, "I have wept for mankind, but no one has wept with me; he will join in my tears who comprehends the Word. All have exclaimed, 'Master, Master,' but to me this doubt arises, 'How can they sit down with the Master whom they do not know?'"

Note the use of the expression *śabda* or 'Word' in the last quotation. Kabīr's doctrine of the Word is a remarkable copy of the opening verses of St. John's Gospel. Here is the account given by a follower of the sect to Mr. Foss Westcott, the missionary:—In the beginning God alone existed, but from Him issued forth the Word. When God willed that creation should come into existence, He gave command by His Word, i.e. the Word was uttered, and thus through the Word were all things made that were made. Although the Word issued from God, it is not distinct from God, but remains with Him, as thought remains in the heart of man. God's voice goes forth that men may have knowledge of the Word, and so the Word is in the world, and also with God.

It is difficult to imagine whence this, and much more like it, could have come, if it did not come from Christian sources.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Bhaktakalpadruma*.

A common feature of many of these *bhakti*-sects is the sacramental meal or *Mahāprasāda* (i.e. 'Great Grace'). It is well known that it is distributed in the temple of Puri, and it was in consequence of disrespect offered to it there that the king of whom I spoke a short time ago cut off his right hand. But the fullest and best account of the ceremony is that given by Mr. Foss Westcott as current among the Kabīrpanthīs. It has been suggested that the ceremony may have been borrowed from the Jesuit missionaries at Agra, but this is not likely, for (1) the headquarters of the sect are at Benares, not Agra; (2) the sacrament is performed in widely distant places in India, and is not confined to any particular sect; (3) it is certainly not a modern innovation, being mentioned over and over again in the *Bhaktamāla*; (4) communion in both kinds is permitted to the laity; and (5) amongst the Kabīrpanthīs it is followed by a love-feast, which is not a Roman Catholic institution, but was common among the early Christians. On the evening of the appointed day the worshippers assemble, and the Mahant, or leading celebrant, reads a brief address, and then allows a short interval for prayer and meditation. All who feel themselves unworthy to proceed further then retire to a distance. Those that remain approach the senior celebrant in turn, and placing their hands together receive into the palm of the right hand, which is uppermost, a small consecrated wafer and two other articles of consecrated food. They then approach another celebrant, who pours into the palm of the right hand a few drops of water, which they drink. This food and water is regarded as Kabīr's special gift, and it is said that all who receive it worthily will have eternal life.' Part of the sacramental food is 'reserved' and is carefully kept from pollution for administration to the sick. After the sacrament there is a substantial meal which all attend, and which in its character closely resembles the early Christian love-feasts.

I trust that I have shown that the great Indian reformation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was suggested by ideas borrowed from the Nestorian Christians of southern

India. The evidence is, as I have said, cumulative, and there are numerous small matters of detail which time has not allowed me to catalogue, but I think that what has been brought forward is sufficient proof.

At the present day this *bhakti* is the foundation of the beliefs of the large majority of Hindus. In certain parts of the country the worship of Śiva or of Durgā is predominant, but even there a well-defined section of the community follows the cult of Viṣṇu. A small, a very small, minority of the educated bases its religious conceptions on the pantheistic Vēdānta philosophy about which a great deal has been heard in Europe. In the hills the aboriginal tribes, even when nominally Hindū, are still in the stage of animistic belief; but over the great plains of India, south and north, the mass of the non-Musalmān population is Vaiṣṇava, and Vaiṣṇavism means a *bhakti*-cult. That all who profess it follow its precepts, I do not pretend; but it is the theoretical working basis of their conduct, and the lives of the Vaiṣṇava saints are everywhere accepted as models of a perfect life.

Let me conclude, therefore, with a plea for the serious study of the Indian vernacular literature by all interested in our great Eastern possession, whether as administrators or as missionaries. Practically nothing is known about it. Its extent is so great that one or two students can make no impression upon it. Unfortunately it is not fashionable. Fashion decrees that we must study Sanskrit or else books written by scholars, great scholars I freely admit, whose linguistic horizon is bounded by that language. Sanskrit has a noble past, but it belongs to that past. From it little can be learnt of the hopes and fears, of the beliefs and superstitions, which build up the character of the modern Hindū. No one would pretend that a knowledge, however complete, of the glories of Latin literature would enable anyone to understand or describe modern Italy; and yet it is thus that we seem to think that we can act towards India. Believe one who has tried it, that the quotation of a single verse of Tulasī Dāsa or of a single pithy saying of the wise

old Kabīr will do more to unlock the hearts and gain the trust of our eastern fellow-subjects than the most intimate familiarity with the dialectics of Śaṅkara or with the daintiest verses of Kālidāsa. A knowledge of the old dead language will, it is true, often win respect and admiration, but a very modest acquaintance with the treasures,—and they *are* treasures,—of Hindī literature endows its possessor with the priceless gift of sympathy, and gains for him, from those whose watchword is *bhakti*, their confidence and their love.

## APPENDIX I.

### LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED.

SĀṆḌILYA *bhakti sūtras*, with SYAṆNĒŚVARA's commentary (ed. BALLANTYNE, Calcutta, 1861; and English translation by COWELL, Calcutta, 1878).

*Bhaktanāmamālā* (commonly called the *Bhaktamāla*), of NĀRĀYAṆA DĀSA, alias NĀBHĀJĪ, with the commentary of PRIVĀ DĀSA, entitled *Bhaktirasabōdhinī* (ed. Lucknow, 1883).

*Bhaktakalpadruma*, of PRATĀPASIṂHA (ed. Lucknow, 1884). This is a paraphrase of the foregoing in modern Hindī, with some additional matter.

*Caurāsi Vaiṣṇavō-kī Vārttā*, by GŌKULANĀTHA (ed. Mathurā, 1883).

*Bhaktanāmavālī*, of DHṚUVA DĀSA, with commentary of RĀDHĀ-KṚṢṆA DĀSA (ed. Allahabad, 1901).

*Śrī-Rasikaprakāśa-Bhaktamāla*, of JĪVARĀMA, with commentary of VĀSUDĒVA DĀSA (ed. Bankipur, 1887).

The following works by the late HARIŚCANDRA, of Benares. They can all be found in the collected edition of his works entitled the *Harīścandrakalā* (Bankipur, 1897 and ff. years).—

- (1) *Caritāvalī* (Lives of RĀMĀNUJA, ŚĀṆKARĀCĀRYA, JAYADĒVA, VALLABHĀCĀRYA, SŪRADĀSA).
- (2) *Vaiṣṇavasarvasva* (a history of the early Vaiṣṇava sects).
- (3) *Vallabhīyasarvasva* (a history of the sect found by Vallabhācārya).
- (4) *Yugulasarvasva* (accounts of Kṛṣṇa's companions in Gōkula).
- (5) *Tadīyasarvasva* (the *Nāradya bhakti sūtras*, with a translation and commentary in Hindī).
- (6) *Bhaktisūtravaijayanī* (the *Śāṇḍilya bhakti sūtras*, with a similar translation and commentary).
- (7) *Īśa Kṛṣṇa aur Īśa Kṛṣṇa*.

## APPENDIX II.

THE OFFICIAL HINDŪ ACCOUNT OF *BHAKTI*:

*According to the Aphorisms of Śāṇḍilya and his commentator  
Śraṇpēśvara as translated from the Sanskrit by Professor  
Cowell.*

(Numbers refer to aphorisms in the original text.)

In the following I have throughout left the word '*bhakti*' untranslated. I have only abstracted those portions which deal directly with this subject.

- In his preface the commentator attacks the Vēdānta doctrine that 'liberation' or salvation arises from knowledge of the soul. The true method is *bhakti*, or devotional faith, directed to the Lord. This is the immediate cause of salvation. Knowledge is an auxiliary to *bhakti*, and may become useful by washing away the filth of unbelief, but it will not itself abolish the veil which exists between the soul and the Supreme, any more than the knowledge that he has jaundice will prevent a man's seeing a white shell as yellow.
- Mark xvi, 16. *Bhakti* is of two kinds, either highest or inferior. In the highest form it is an affection fixed upon the Lord. It is an affection directed to a person, not mere belief in a system. Affection is its essence. It is not mere knowledge of God, for it is possible that even those who hate Him may have knowledge of Him. Nor is it knowing the Lord as an object of worship, etc., for these are outward acts, and *bhakti* is not necessarily present in them. It is simply an affection. It follows knowledge of the greatness and other attributes of the Adorable One, but is not that knowledge. The particular knowledge which it follows is that there is a promise of immortality to him who abides (i.e. has *bhakti*) in Him (3).
- CHAPTER I,  
SECTION 1:  
What the highest *bhakti* is, and what it is not.
- Cf. Jas. ii, 19.
- Cf. 1 Cor. ii, 2;  
Rom. x, 17.
- Cf. John vi, 57.

'Abiding' is something more than mere knowledge. A hater (as above) may have knowledge, but does not abide in Him (4). Moreover, affection is unselfish. It is not a wish. It is expressed by the phrase "I love, I have an affection for, and yet I do not wish for," since 'wish' refers only to what one has not obtained, but affection refers equally to what is obtained and what is not obtained (6).

*Bhakti* is not an action (a 'work'). It does not depend, as knowledge does, upon an effort of the will (7). Hence, as it is not an action, its fruit (beatitude) is endless. Every action, on the other hand, ultimately comes to an end, so that everything gained by works ultimately perishes (8).

The means are knowledge, concentration, etc. The end is *bhakti* (10).

Knowledge is subsidiary to *bhakti*. Experience teaches us that in common life knowledge produces affection, and not *vice versa* (13). Moreover, knowledge is not essential, though a means, and an important one. Affection occurs even in the absence of knowledge (14). It is inaccurate to say that we know by *bhakti*. All that we can say is that we recognize by *bhakti*, a term which implies previous knowledge (15).

Concentration of thought, indifference to worldly objects, and the like, so far from being ends are only subsidiary to both knowledge and *bhakti* (19).

*Bhakti* is therefore superior to both these categories (20). *Bhakti* (or 'faith') is not *śraddhā* (or 'belief'). Belief may be merely subsidiary to ceremonial works, not so faith. Belief is a preliminary subsidiary to faith, but is not faith (24, 25).

Knowledge means "the certain knowledge concerning the Supreme." Its acquisition is to be practised till *bhakti* is thoroughly confirmed (27).

*Digression.* What should be the object of this knowledge?

Kāśyapa (i.e., according to Cowell, probably Rāmānuja) says the object should be the attributes of the Supreme (28).

The Vēdāntists say it should be the soul.

Śaṇḍilya (the author) says it should be both the attributes of the Supreme and the soul (29-42).

SECTION 2 :

The nature of knowledge, concentration, etc., and *bhakti*, as respectively the means and the end.

CHAPTER II :

Aids or means to the attainment of the highest form of *bhakti*.

SECTION 1 :  
Knowledge and concentration (*yōga*).

This includes a further digression in which the author asserts the real existence of matter (denied by Vēdāntists). The two ultimate causes are the Supreme (i.e. the intelligent) and primæval matter (i.e. the non-intelligent) (37-42).

How do we know that *bhakti* is thoroughly confirmed ?  
 Cf. Jas. ii, 18. We infer it from signs (43). Such signs are respect, honour, joy, sorrow for sin, doubt in every other object,  
 Cf. Gal. v, 22, celebration of His praise, continuing to live for His sake, considering everything as His, regarding Him as being in  
 23.  
 Cf. Acts xxi, all things, resignation to His will, etc. (44) ; absence of  
 14; xv, 9. anger, envy, greed, and impure thoughts (45).

The highest *bhakti* may be directed not only to the Supreme, but also to His incarnations. This is proved from (Hindū) scripture (47), and from the fact that His incarnate body is produced solely by His will and power, and not from any material cause or grosser elements as is the case with an ordinary body. The circumstance that His incarnate body is not composed of grosser elements is no bar to its being considered to be actually a body, for the true idea of a body is (not that it is the seat of enjoyment and hence necessarily based on grosser elements, but) that *it is the seat of voluntary effort*. Effort implies a certain kind of action (48). His object in thus acting is 'compassion' in its highest sense. No earthly compassion is entirely disinterested. His alone is disinterested, as he disinterestedly abolishes others' woe (49). This is true of any incarnation, although the example taken by the author is that of Kṛṣṇa. It is accordingly also true of the Rāma-incarnation (55).

SECTION 2: Other aids to *bhakti* are the inferior forms of *bhakti* itself.  
 Aids to *bhakti* continued. Such are:—

Inferior forms of *bhakti*.

Worship (56).

Recitation of the Name (57).

Cf. Matt. x, 42.

Offering. "He who gives to Me, in *bhakti*, a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or water—I receive it as offered in *bhakti*. Whatever thou doest, whatever thou eatest, whatever thou offerest, whatever thou givest, whatever penance thou undergoest, give it all to Me" (58).

Cf. 1 Cor. x, 31; Col. iii, 17.

Fasting (58).

Paying homage (58).

Meditation on Him (58).

These all result in purification, which is itself a means to *bhakti* (59). Purification implies surrender of all one's actions, or 'works,' to Him, as it is said, "Whatever I do, good or evil, with or without my will, that being all Cf. Ph. ii, 13. surrendered to Thee, I do it as impelled by Thee." Good actions must be done, but not for the good results which they produce (for then they are bondage). They must Cf. Ph. iii, 6, 7. be surrendered in *bhakti* to Him. Here, when we say "surrendered to," we recognize that such actions are impelled by Him and are not our own. Nor would it follow in this way that a man might do as he pleased, under the pretence of acting as impelled by Him; because the absence of doing evil is really one part of the divine impulsion (64).

Aphorisms 65-70 discuss in detail the results of various good actions, such as sacrifices, worship, etc. In all these ceremonial acts, the various forms of *bhakti* contained in them are the chief things, because they tend to produce the highest *bhakti* described in the first chapter (71).

Aphorisms 72-75 discuss the various kinds of subordinate *bhakti*, e.g. *bhakti* arising from sorrow, from desire to know, from desire to be happy. These are all subordinate means towards the highest *bhakti*.

It has been said above (Aph. 8) that *bhakti* is not an action; but even a little act, *if done in bhakti*, is effectual Cf. Jas. ii, 22; Rom. iv, 2-5. in destroying sin, because, being done in *bhakti*, the fruits of the act are abandoned (i.e. are not a reason for the act). Even such an act as a single remembrance of His Name is an effectual expiation, provided it be done in *bhakti* (76).

All, even the despised castes, are capable of practising Cf. Matt. xi, 5. *bhakti*. All have a right to the doctrine of *bhakti*, as may be seen from the universality of its practice in the White Continent (78, 79) (the home of perfect *bhakti*).<sup>1</sup> No person is too sinful to practise it. A sinner first acquires the

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 315.

subordinate *bhakti* arising from sorrow (see 72-75 above), which destroys sin, and renders him capable of the highest *bhakti* (82).

As the highest *bhakti* is the true identity with the Supreme, and is therefore the *summum bonum*, it follows that religious duties and the like are means of salvation *only* so far as they produce that highest *bhakti* (84).

CHAPTER III,  
SECTION 1:  
What is the  
object of  
*bhakti*?

(The doctrine of *bhakti* is described in the foregoing two chapters. The author now attempts to deal with an altogether different set of ideas, the nature of God, and the nature of liberation or salvation. He follows Rāmānuja, as against Śaṅkara, in asserting the real existence of matter, but follows the latter, as against the former, in asserting that the soul, on attaining liberation, loses its individuality. As these theories do not form an essential part of the doctrine of *bhakti*, and as at least one, and that the most numerous, of the sects which follow the doctrine, adopts the teaching of Rāmānuja that the soul does retain its individuality after attaining liberation, it will be sufficient to give a very brief sketch of the contents of this chapter. It must be remembered that the teaching of this chapter is not in its entirety followed by those *bhakti*-worshippers whose incarnate God is Rāma.)

Cf. Heb. iv, 13. He is existence. All that exists is Him. Existence is knowledge, because the certainty or real existence of a thing depends on knowledge.<sup>1</sup> The Vēdānta and Nyāya systems of philosophy are wrong on this point. (Arguments too long to be quoted (85).) His almighty power is called Māyā, which is not an unreal illusion as maintained by the Vēdānta, but is the totality of the non-intelligent creation. The Supreme consists of pure Intelligence united with the unintelligent Creation, and both are real (86). He is the

<sup>1</sup> Here Professor Cowell points out that He is not the possessor of knowledge, a desire to create, and will, as Nyāya would maintain: He is Himself pure knowledge. Cf. Zanche, *De nat. Dei*: "Hæc est causa cur verius appelletur Deus vita quam vivens, sapientia quam sapiens, lux quam lucidus, atque ita de reliquis. Quamobrem? Quia seipso vivit, non per vitam; seipso perque suam essentiam sapiens est, non per sapientiam aliquam que essentia divine sit addita." Cyprian, *Ep.* 52: "Unus ille et verus Pater, bonus, misericors, et pius; immo ipsa bonitas, misericordia, et pietas."

ultimate efficient cause as well as the material cause. His material causality consists in His being identical with all His effects; His efficiency arises from His knowledge extending to all objects which are to be known (87).

Order of creation described (87-91).

Liberation consists in the individual soul becoming one with the Supreme. The highest *bhakti* destroys that internal organ which is the soul's disguiser, viz., that which hinders the soul's appreciation of its oneness with the Supreme. When the disguiser is destroyed this essential oneness comes out without any contradiction (93).

The disguiser is 'understanding' (*buddhi*). This is destroyed by undeviating *bhakti* (96). This mundane existence (with its separation from the Supreme) arises from want of *bhakti*, and not (as the Vēdāntists and other philosophers assert) from ignorance (98).

SECTION 2:  
What is libera-  
tion or salva-  
tion?



## XIV.

## PHALLUS-WORSHIP IN THE MAHABHARATA.

By B. C. MAZUMDAR, M.R.A.S.

FOR want of a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, such an eminent scholar as Professor Rhys Davids has been led to think that, though there is no mention of the worship of Śiva under the form of the Linga in the old Buddhistic records, "Phallus-worship is often mentioned, quite as a matter of course, in the *Mahābhārata*" ("Buddhistic India," p. 165). Whatever may be the date of the *Mahābhārata* Samhitā, it may be successfully shown that the Linga, as a form of Śiva, is not recognised in that great epic.

The only chapters in which the Linga is found mentioned as a form of and name for Śiva are vii, 200 and 201, and xiii, 14 and 17, which are all palpable interpolations of a very late date. If we leave these chapters out of consideration, there cannot be found a single line in the whole of the *Mahābhārata* Samhitā in which the Linga form of Śiva is even remotely hinted at. (*Vide* Fausböll's "Indian Mythology," under Rudra and Śiva.)

The sudden appearance of Vyāsa, first before the depressed son of Droṇa, in the middle of vii, 200, and next before the elated Arjuna in vii, 201, is altogether meaningless and irrelevant. Droṇa's son became very much distressed when he found that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna had escaped unhurt. He asked Vyāsa, who came to the spot of his own accord to preach the Śaiva religion and not to render any help to Aśvatthāman, the reason why Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna could not be killed. Vyāsa informed him in reply that as Kṛṣṇa was a worshipper of the Linga form of Śiva, the Linga god kept him under his protection (vii, 200, 48 to 90). Aśvatthāman is none the wiser; and Vyāsa disappears after preaching his

creed that Śiva is superior to Viṣṇu. The chapter then closes with the one short statement that Aśvatthāman retired from the field of battle and Droṇa breathed his last. That this Vyāsa episode portion in this chapter is an interpolation by a Linga worshipper, becomes clearer when we read the next following chapter (201), which is altogether an interpolation, as an additional chapter to the Droṇa Parva, by the selfsame sectarian hand.

No event of the war is described in vii, 201, for there is really nothing left to tell in connection with the fate of Droṇa. Sañjaya merely relates to his master that Vyāsa appeared again before Arjuna on his preaching tour. In praise of Śiva a long list of his names is given, and of all names the Linga is specially eulogised. After making this inartistic addition to the Parva at its end, the sectarian interpolator repeats over again that Droṇa died after fighting for four days more, forgetting altogether that Sañjaya had communicated that very information in almost identical words to his master, and that chapter 200 ended with those words. The interpolator could not help repeating the words, for otherwise the new chapter would stand self-condemned by having no connection with the story of Droṇa.

This spurious chapter (201) closes with a stanza composed in faultless *śālinī*. Professor Hopkins has shown in his "Great Epic of India" (p. 318 ff.) that there are only a very few complete *śālinī* stanzas in the whole of the *Mahābhārata*. There is no doubt that they all occur in very late chapters only. I am uncertain whether the text Professor Hopkins had before him contains chapter 201 of the Droṇa Parva, for the *śālinī* stanza here referred to by me is not noticed by him in his thorough analysis.

I need hardly point out that there are several chapters in the *Mahābhārata* previous to xiii, 14 and 17, devoted to giving the names of Śiva, and composed with the distinct object of edifying Yudhiṣṭhira. It is curious that Yudhiṣṭhira still insists upon getting a fresh list of these names from the lips of the dying Bhīṣma in xiii, 14. In the whole of the *Mahābhārata* there are only six *āryā* stanzas, and they

are all found in this fourteenth chapter. It is true that *āryā* occurs in the old Pāli literature; but it does not appear to have been adopted in any composition in Sanskrit till as late as the third or the fourth century A.D. There cannot be any doubt that *śārdūlavikrīḍita* is a very modern metre. In the *Mahābhārata* there are only four stanzas and a half in this metre (Hopkins, "Great Epic," p. 358). Of these four and a half stanzas, two and a half occur in this fourteenth chapter, and the special character and glory of the Linga are celebrated in them (229 and 234). This chapter is also adorned with one stanza of *puṣpilāgrā* (190) and one of *Vasantatilakā*. These signs of lateness, coupled with the very character of the chapter itself, lead to the conclusion that this is a spurious chapter only recently added.

The zealous sectarian and interpolator goes on enumerating the very names of Śiva over again in the seventeenth chapter; and poor Yudhiṣṭhira has been made to listen to the tediously long list with an undesirable sort of coolness of head. In this seventeenth chapter bare names of Gaṇeśa and Durgā also occur. That Gaṇeśa, regarding whose origin, character, and mythology the *Mahābhārata* is entirely silent, and who appears only in the first chapter, which is also spurious, was unknown when the *Mahābhārata* was compiled, is perhaps admitted on all hands. Regarding the lateness of the goddess Durgā, I have already published a paper in this Journal (1906, pp. 355-362).

Having thus disposed of the chapters in which the cult of the Linga is taught, I may safely conclude that whatever the origin—whether indigenous or not—and whatever the age of this creed may be, Phallus-worship was unknown to the compilers of the *Mahābhārata* Saṁhitā.



## XV.

THE TRADITION ABOUT THE CORPOREAL RELICS  
OF BUDDHA.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

## III.

**Mahāvamsa.**

IN continuing the inquiry into the tradition about the subsequent fate of the eight original deposits of the corporeal relics of Buddha,<sup>1</sup> we take next the second Ceylonese chronicle, the Mahāvamsa; or, more precisely, the earlier part of that work, which was composed, by way of being a commentary on the Dīpavamsa, by the Thēra Mahānāma, in or about the period A.D. 520 to 540.<sup>2</sup>

Like the Dīpavamsa, the Mahāvamsa does not present any narrative such as that found in the Divyāvadāna. But, as we shall see, it gives a story about the relics at Rāmagrāma which is not found in either of those works.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the preceding articles on this topic, see this Journal, 1906. 655 ff., 881 ff. The list of the places at which the corporeal relics, and the *kumbha* and the embers, were enshrined, is at page 671.

At page 671, line 14, read "At or in Pippalivana," etc. At page 912, line 13 f., read "Pāvākū (*sic*), Vēṭhadīpa, and Kusinārā, and caused," etc.

The last paragraph of note 1 on page 896 is not quite correct; see page 344 below.

On page 112 above, in line 20, for *sākyā(naw)* read *sākyā(na(m))*.

<sup>2</sup> The supposed period is A.D. 459 to 477. But see this Journal, 1906. 894, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> If that story stood in the Dīpavamsa at all, we should expect to find it in connexion with chapter 19, verses 1 to 20; where, however, there is no indication of it. That chapter is, indeed, described by the editor as being very confused and fragmentary. But, even so, there would surely have been traceable there some hint of the story, however slight, if it was current when the Dīpavamsa was being written.

Again like the *Dīpavaṃsa*, it does not say anything about relics of Buddha in connexion with Asōka-Kālāsōka, the son of Susunāga. Differing from the *Dīpavaṃsa*, it mentions him only as Kālāsōka (Turnour, 15, 19, 20; Wijesinha, 11, 14, 16), and not as Asōka.

It mentions Asōka the Mōriya, grandson of Chandagutta and son of Bindusūra, as Asōka and Dhammāsōka, and does not appear to present his appellations Piyadassi and Piyadassana, or to give the form Asōkadhamma. Like the *Dīpavaṃsa*, it does not seem to say anything about his having had the appellation Chandāsoka. In respect of his appellation Dhammāsōka, it merely says, somewhat inconsequentially (T., 35; W., 24), that at first, on account of his sinful deeds, he was known as Asōka, but subsequently he became known as Dhammāsōka because of his meritorious actions.

In chapter 17 (T., 104; W., 67) it gives, without any indication as to whence Asōka had obtained any relics of Buddha, the story, which we have cited from the *Dīpavaṃsa* (this Journal, 1906. 895 f.) and from *Buddhaghōsha* (ibid., 904 f.), about the Sāmaṇēra Sumana, deputed by the Thēra Mahinda, procuring relics (*dhātuyō*) of Buddha from Asōka, and obtaining the right collar-bone of Buddha from the god Sakka (Indra), in order that king Dēvānampiya-Tissa of Ceylon (B.C. 246 to 228) might found a Thūpa of Buddha. Whereas, however, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Buddhaghōsha* indicate (see ibid., 895, and note 5; 904) that it was Sumana's alms-bowl that Asōka filled with relics, the *Mahāvamsa* distinctly asserts something else. It represents Sumana as being directed to say to Asōka (T., 105):—*Muninō dhātuyō dēhi pattam bhuttam cha Satthunā sariradhātuyō santi bahavō hi tav=antikē*; "Give relics of the Saint, and the alms-bowl used by the Teacher; for thou hast many corporeal relics." And the immediately following instructions to Sumana run thus:—*Pattapūram gahetvāna gantvā dēvapuram varam*; "Having taken the bowlful, and having gone to the excellent city of the gods," remind Sakka (Indra) that

he has a right tooth<sup>1</sup> and the right collar-bone of the Teacher, and ask him for the collar-bone. And it goes on to say of Sumana that:—Thērassa vachanam vatvā rājatō laddha-dhātuyō pattapūram gahetvāna Himavantain upāgami; “Having delivered the message of the Thēra (Mahinda), and having taken the relics, filling the bowl, obtained from the king, he went to Himavat.” Depositing there the bowl, with the relics, he went on into the presence of Indra. From that god (T., 106; W., 68) he obtained the right collar-bone, from the Chūlāmanichētiya.<sup>2</sup> And then, taking that relic and the other relics and the bowl, he returned to the Chētiyagiri mountain, and gave them to the Thēra (Mahinda). The latter placed all the relics there on the mountain; whence that mountain, the Missakapabbata,

<sup>1</sup> This tooth-relic is mentioned in the account of the mission of Sumana as given by Buddhaghōsha (this Journal, 1906, 904), but not in the account given in the Dīpavamsa (ibid., 895). For the manner in which Indra obtained it, according to Buddhaghōsha, see ibid., 906 f.

Turnour said (Mahāvamsa, 105, note) that this tooth is the one which, according to the Mahāvamsa (T., 241; W., 154), was transferred in A.D. 370 (as adjusted from his date, A.D. 310) from (Dantapura in) Kālīnga to Ceylon, in circumstances detailed in the Dāthādātuvamsa, and was installed in the edifice called Dhammachakka built by Dēvanūpiya-Tissa; adding that in his own time it was enshrined in the Daladā-Māhāgāya temple at Kandy. But I do not find any explanation by him as to how it passed from the possession of Indra to Dantapura; and the verses added at the end of the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta (see this Journal, 1906, 665 f.) speak of a tooth in Kālīnga in addition to a tooth in heaven.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned by Buddhaghōsha (see this Journal, 1906, 907) as the shrine in which Indra installed the tooth, when he took it away from the Brāhman Dōga.

I have not been able to trace any exact statement as to how Indra became possessed of also the collar-bone. But Hsien-tsiang has said (see, e.g., Beal, *Records*, 2, 40 f.) that, after the division of the relics into eight shares for “the kings of the eight countries,” shares were claimed by Śakra (Indra) on behalf of the Dēvas, and by the Nāga kings Anavatapta, Muchilinda and Ēlaputra. Accordingly, the relics were redivided into three portions: one for the Dēvas, one for the Nāgas, and one for “the eight kingdoms among men.” It may also be remarked that in another place (see, e.g., Beal, *Records*, 1, 126, 132 f.) he has allotted one of the shares in the relics, and a Stūpa over them, to Uttarasēna, king of Udyāna. This person is represented as the son of one of the four Sakyas who (see this Journal, 1906, 166 f.) were banished from Kapilavastu, because they had the temerity to withstand an attack by king Virūdhaka.

And it may be added that, according to the Mahāvamsa (Turnour, 4; Wijesinha, 5), the Thēra Sarabhlū, a disciple of Sāriputta, received the *giratthi*, *grivānthi*, the neck-bone of Buddha, at the funeral pile, and enshrined it in a Chētiya in Ceylon over which king Duṭṭhagāmini eventually erected the Mahiyāngana Thūpa.

It seems probable that, if once we go away from the simple narrative of the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta, an extensive list of variations might be made out.

obtained the name Chētiyapabbata. And then, having installed<sup>1</sup> the alms-bowl and the relics (*inside it*) on the Chētiyapabbata, the Thēra took the collar-bone, and went, attended by his disciples, to the appointed place, the Mahānāgavana park, where he was met by the king.

The rest of this narrative runs as in Buddhaghōsha's version (this Journal, 1906. 905); except that the name of the exact place where the Thūpa was made seems to be here given as Pamojavatthu, and that it appears to be located in the Mahāmēghavana garden (T., 107; W., 69). And so, eventually (T., 108 f.; W., 70), the king installed that relic, the right collar-bone, in the Chētiya, and caused the Thūpa to be completed, and founded the Vihāra known as the Thūpārāma.

The following may be added regarding the ultimate disposal of the alms-bowl of Buddha and the relics with which Asōka had filled it. Later on (T., 122; W., 78), Dēvānapiya-Tissa announced to the Thēra Mahinda his intention of building many Vihāras, and asked the Thēra how he might obtain relics to be deposited in Thūpas at them. The Thēra reminded him of the relics, filling the alms-bowl of Buddha, which had been brought by Sumana and had been installed on the Chētiya mountain. Accordingly, those relics were transported thence on the shoulders of an elephant. Vihāras were made at the distance of a *yōjana* from each other; and the relics were there deposited in Thūpas. And the alms-bowl of Buddha was installed *vatthu-gharē subhē*, i.e., according to the translators, "in a superb apartment of the royal residence."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The word used here is *thapetvā*, while, in the preceding verse we have *thapēsi* where I have translated "he placed," and in a previous passage we have *thapetvāna* in respect of temporarily "depositing" the alms-bowl and its contents in the mountain Himavat. Against these we have, further on, *patitthāpēsi* in respect of Dēvānapiya-Tissa "installing" the right collar-bone in his Thūpa. We gather, however, from Buddhaghōsha (see this Journal, 1906. 905), that the alms-bowl and its contents were regularly installed in some place on the Missaka-Chētiya mountain.

<sup>2</sup> The history of the alms-bowl does not fall within the scope of our present inquiry. The following notes, however, may be given here.

The bowl consisted of four stone bowls, of the colour of a *mugga* or kidney-bean, presented by the four Dēvarājas, which Buddha placed one above another,

So far as the preceding accounts go, the relics at Rāmagrāma had remained untouched. The Mahāvamsa, however, in a subsequent portion of its earlier part (chapter 27 ff.) presents the following romantic story regarding them:—

King Duṭṭhagāmini of Ceylon (about B.C. 100 to 77)<sup>1</sup> found, inscribed on a golden tablet that had been deposited in a box in his palace (Turnour, 161; Wijesinha, 103), a record of a prophecy, uttered by Mahinda to king Dēvānampiya-Tissa,<sup>2</sup> that after 146 years Duṭṭhagāmini would erect the Mahāthūpa or Great Thūpa, and do certain other things. Duṭṭhagāmini fulfilled the prophecy, in the first instance, by building the Lohapāsāda palace, to serve as an *upōsatha*-hall (T., 163; W., 104). And he then determined to construct the Mahāthūpa (T., 165; W., 106).

The work was commenced (T., 169; W., 108), and was carried as far as the formation of the *dhātugabbha* or relic-

or one within another, and caused to become one; see the Nidānakathā, in the Jātaka, 1. 80, line 21 ff., and Hiuen-tsiang, in Beal, *Records*, 2. 129 f.

Fu-hian says (Beal, *Records*, 1. introd., 78) that it was originally preserved in Vaiśālī, but in his own time it was in the borders of Gandhāra, or (ibid., 32) in the country of Fo-lu-sha. He mentions other countries, including Ceylon, which it had visited or was to visit. And he says that eventually it would resolve itself into four bowls again, which would return to the Pin-na or An-na mountain, whence they had come.

Hiuen-tsiang says (Beal, *Records*, 2. 73 f.) that Buddha gave it as a token of remembrance to the Licchavis, when he parted from them after leaving Vaiśālī on his last journey. He further says (*Records*, 1. 98; 2. 278) that after the death of Buddha it went to Gandhāra and was worshipped there for many centuries, but in his own time it was in Persia, in the king's palace, after traversing different countries.

The Buddhavamsa, 28. 8, allots the bowl, along with the staff and the robe, to Vajirā, a place at which there arose the schismatic Buddhist school of the Vajiriyas, and which seems (see this Journal, 1906. 666, note 3) to have been also a Jain centre.

<sup>1</sup> The supposed period is B.C. 161 to 137. But see this Journal, 1906. 894, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The utterance of this prophecy and the recording of it are mentioned by Buddhaghōṣa in his Samantapāsādikā (see Vinayapitaka, 3. 341). But the fulfilment of it does not come there; and there is no hint there of the story about the Rāmagrāma relics. That the story, however, was in some form or another known to Buddhaghōṣa, seems to be established by the remarks in his Sumaṅgalavāsini (see this Journal, 1906. 908) that the danger which in the time of Ajātasattu was hanging over the other relics did not threaten those at Rāmagrāma, because the Nāgas had taken charge of them, and that they were destined for the great Chētiya at the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon.

chamber (T., 179; W., 114).<sup>1</sup> That was prepared from six cloud-coloured stones obtained from the land of Uttara-Kuru by two Sāmaṇēras, Uttara and Sumana: one was placed on the flower-offering ledge, in the centre; four were placed on the sides, in the form of a coffer (*mañjūsa*); and the sixth, which was to be the cover, was placed apart, out of sight, on the east.<sup>2</sup> Various wonderful things, including a golden *bōdhi*-tree, were made for placing in the relic-chamber. And then there remained the matter of obtaining relics and enshrining them (T., 183; W., 117).

For the mission of obtaining relics there was selected a young ascetic, a Thēra named Sōnuttara, who, though only sixteen years old, had already acquired the six supernatural faculties. And, in answer to an inquiry as to where he might obtain them, the assembly of Thēras gave him the following statement (T., 184; W., 118):—

When Buddha was lying on the couch on which he died, he spake thus to the god Indra:—"Lord of the gods!, amongst the eight *dōṇas* of my corporeal relics, one *dōṇa* will be honoured by the Kōliyas at Rāmagāma. Taken thence to the world of the Nāgas, it will be honoured next by the Nāgas; and it will be deposited in the Mahāthūpa in the island Laṅkā, Ceylon."

Moreover,—said the priests (T., 185; W., 118),—the far-seeing Thēra Mahā-Kassapa, the great ascetic, perceiving

<sup>1</sup> The process of construction is detailed at great length; and the account is instructive. An abstract of it has been given by Cunningham in his *Bhilsa Topes*, 169 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In this case, the *dhātugarbha*, though shaped like a box, seems to have been a structural part of the Stūpa. For other apparently structural relic-chambers, reference may be made to the illustrations of three *dhātugarbhas* from the Bhattiprōlu Stūpa, given in ASSI, 6. 9, plate 3: there, however, in each case, only two stones were used, a bottom slab and another to cover it, and the relic-chambers were sunk in the lower slabs; the inscriptions accompanying them were (with the exception of that on the hexagonal piece of crystal) engraved on the lower slabs, round the relic-chambers (see EI, 2. 324, plates). We seem to have another structural *dhātugarbha*, somewhat like those at Bhattiprōlu, from the Boria or Lakha Medi Stūpa, near Junāgadh; see JASB, 60, 1891. 18, plate 5.

We have *dhātugarbhas* which are actual boxes from Sāñchi; see Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, plate 20, and a mention of two others on page 297. So, also, the stone coffer at Piprahwa, inside which the inscribed vase and other things were found, is evidently to be classed as a *dhātugarbha*; see *Antiquities in the Tarai*, 43, and plate 27, fig. 3.

that a distribution of relics would be made by king Dhammāsōka, induced king Ajātasattu to make a great deposit of relics in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha, causing to be carried there seven *dōṇas* of relics;<sup>1</sup> but, mindful of (*what had been said by*) the Teacher, he did not take the *dōṇa* which was at Rāmāgāma. Having seen that great deposit of relics (*at Rājagaha*), the king Dhammāsōka set his mind on causing the eighth *dōṇa* also to be brought. But sanctified ascetics prevented Dhammāsōka, telling him that that deposit had been predestined by the Jina, i.e., the Conqueror, Buddha, to be enshrined in the Mahāthūpa. Now, the Thūpa at Rāmāgrāma had been made on the bank of the Ganges, and was broken open by the current of that river; and the box containing the relics (*dhātu-karaṇḍaka*), being carried away to the sea, came to rest on a bed of gems at the place where the waters are divided in twain,<sup>2</sup> and lay there covered with rays. Some Nāgas saw the box, and going to Mañjērīka, the abode of the Nāgas, apprised their king, the Nāga Kāla.<sup>3</sup> He, going there with ten thousand crores of Nāgas, did reverence to the relics, and took them away to his own abode; and, having erected over the relic-box a Thūpa made of all sorts of jewels and also a house, he, with the Nāgas, ever respectfully did worship to it. There is a close guard over it; but go there, and bring the relics here; to-morrow, the king will place them in this receptacle.

The story proceeds as follows (T., 186; W., 119). On the next day, the king started in procession for the Mahāmēghavana garden, with a great accompaniment of

<sup>1</sup> The text does not name the places whence he obtained them.

<sup>2</sup> The intention seems to be to indicate Gaṅgāsāgara, the place where the waters of the river and the ocean meet.

<sup>3</sup> The Nāga king Kāla was celebrated for singing the praises of Buddha when the latter, having ascended the *bōdhi*-throne, was waiting to undergo the temptation by Māra; see the *Dhammapada*, ed. Fausbøll, 118.

Of another Nāga king, Chakravāka, an interesting statue was obtained at Bharaut; see Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 21, right. And a bas-relief from the same place shews another, Ērapata, Ēlāpata, doing worship to (the invisible figure of) Buddha; see *ibid.*, plate 14, right.

instrumental and vocal music, to enshrine the relics. Sōnuttara, in his cell (T., 187; W., 119), heard the music, and knew from it that the procession was on its way; so, diving into the earth, he proceeded to the habitation of the Nāgas, presented himself before their king, and demanded the relics. The Nāga king, unwilling to give them up, but apprehending that Sōnuttara was quite able to take them by force, secretly intimated to his nephew, Vāsuladatta, that they should be transferred to some other place. Vāsuladatta accordingly went to the Chētiya, swallowed the box containing the relics, and betook himself to the foot of the mountain Sinēru (Mēru), where he coiled himself up, with his body, three hundred *yōjanas* long, rolled up within the circuit of a *yōjana*. Throwing forth thousands of hoods, he emitted smoke and fire. And, creating thousands of serpents similar to himself, he made them coil themselves around him; while gods and Nāgas came there in numbers, expecting to see a great fight between him and the Thēra.

The uncle, having satisfied himself that the relics had been removed, told Sōnuttara that they were not in his possession, and (T., 188; W., 120), when the Thēra persisted in demanding them, sought to pacify him by shewing him the Chētiya-house,—the house which he had erected over the Thūpa in which he had placed the relics,—exquisitely built and adorned with all sorts of gems; and, claiming that even the jewels on the lowest step of its staircase surpassed all the jewels in Laṅkā, he protested that a removal of the relics from such a place to an inferior one could not be proper. Sōnuttara, however, pointed out that a comprehension of the Truth was unattainable by Nāgas, and that it was quite right to remove the relics to a place where the Truth could be reached, and, further, that in this matter there was an intention of Buddha to be fulfilled; and he demanded the surrender of the relics without any more trouble. The Nāga said:—"If, reverend Sir!, thou seest the relics, take them and depart!" Sōnuttara made him repeat these words three times; and then, standing where he was, he stretched forth a subtile arm, and, thrusting his

hand into the nephew's mouth, took out from him the casket containing the relics. Then, bidding the Nāga remain where he was, he dived into the earth, and ascended again at his cell.

At the place where he emerged from the earth (T., 189; W., 121), the god Sakka received the box containing the relics from him, and placed it in a golden casket (*chaṅgōṭa*) on a jewelled couch or cushion under a jewelled canopy made by Vissakamma. Then (T., 190; W., 121) king Dutthagāmini arrived, and placed that casket in a golden casket which he brought there on his head. Carrying them so on his head, he, attended by the community of friars, marched in procession round the Thūpa, and, ascending it on the eastern side, went down into the relic-chamber. And so, eventually (T., 191 f.; W., 122 f.), after various formalities and miraculous manifestations, in the course of which the relic-box, rising into the air, opened itself spontaneously and the relics came forth and assumed the form of Buddha, the Rāmagrāma relics were installed by Dutthagāmini in the Mahāthūpa; the Sāmaṇēras Uttara and Sumana closed the relic-chamber with the sixth stone; and the Thūpa was completed and was crowned by a square capital.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the Nāgas, the story adds (T., 188; W., 120) that, when Sōnuttara, having secured the box containing the relics, disappeared from the presence of the Nāga king, the latter, not realizing what had happened, sent a message to his nephew:—"The friar has departed, outwitted by us; bring back the relics!" The nephew, however, knew quite well that the casket was no longer in his stomach, and returned lamenting, and told his uncle what had happened; whereupon the latter exclaimed:—"It is we who have been outwitted!", and wept. Then the Nāgas repaired in a body to the community of Thēras and friars (in Ceylon), and

<sup>1</sup> Owing, however, to the sickness and death of Dutthagāmini, the construction was not then quite finished off. The canopy, pinnacle, or spire was added, the whole erection was plastered, and a surrounding wall decorated with figures of elephants was built, by his brother and successor, Saddhā-Tissa (T., 200; W., 128).

complained sorely about having been deprived of the relics. They were consoled, however, by the gift of some small relic, or a few of the relics; and they seem to have contributed some utensils of worship in return for it.

### Hiuen-tsiang.

We come, finally, to the statements left on record by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsiang, who travelled in India between A.D. 630 and 644.

There is no evidence that Hiuen-tsiang visited, out of the places mentioned in the list given in this Journal, 1906. 671, (4) Allakappa, (6) Vēṭhadīpa,<sup>1</sup> and (7) Pāvā.

He visited (3) Kapilavastu and (8) Kuśinagara. But there is no mention for either of these two places, either in the Si-yu-ki or in the *Life*, of a Stūpa containing corporeal relics of Buddha.

He visited, as did Fa-hian, between Rāmagrāma and Kuśinagara, (10) the Stūpa over the extinguished embers of the funeral pile.<sup>2</sup> Like Fa-hian, he has not mentioned either Pippalivana or the Mauryas in connexion with this memorial. And he has, in fact, attributed it to some unnamed Brāhman, and has placed it, but perhaps without any important difference, in a grove of *nyagrōdha*-trees.<sup>3</sup> He has added that 'ever since the time (when this Stūpa 'was erected), extraordinary prodigies manifest themselves 'here without interruption; and sick persons who come to 'pray at this place, are for the most part healed.'

<sup>1</sup> A suggestion mentioned by me (this Journal, 1906. 900, note 1), that this place might be the modern 'Betiah, Bettia, or Bettia,' is not tenable; Dr. Grierson having told us (page 166 above) that the latter name is Betiyā, Bityā, with the dental *t*.

<sup>2</sup> See Julien, *Mémoires*, 1. 332; Beal, *Records*, 2. 31; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, 2. 23. This Stūpa seems to be not mentioned in the *Life*.

<sup>3</sup> The Pāli name, as given in the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta, is Pippalivana; see this Journal, 1906. 665. The *nyagrōdha*, Pāli *nigrōdha*, is 'Ficus Indica, the banyan-tree.' In Pāli we have *pippala*, — the Sanskrit *pippala*, 'Ficus religiosa, the sacred fig-tree,' and *pippali*, — the Sanskrit *pippali*, with, according to Childers, the meaning of 'the wave-leaved fig-tree,' in addition to that of 'long pepper, Piper longum,' which is given for *pippali* by Monier-Williams.

Of the other places with which we are concerned, Hiuen-tsiang visited first Ian-mo, = Rāma, = (5) Rāmagrāma, between Kapilavastu and Kuśinagara. And in connexion with Rāmagrāma he has left on record the following detailed statement,— a fuller version of the story given by Fa-hian (this Journal, 1906. 901 f.),— of which I give a rendering from the French of M. Julien (*Mémoires*, 1. 325 ff.):<sup>1</sup>—

‘On the south-east of the ancient capital, there is a brick ‘Stūpa, a little less than 100 feet high. In days of yore, ‘after the *nirvāṇa* of the Tathāgata’ [the death of Buddha], ‘the first king of this realm obtained his share of the relics, ‘brought them into his realm, and [326] built this Stūpa ‘to honour them. Various miracles display themselves here ‘from time to time; and sometimes (*the relics*) shed abroad ‘a divine lustre.

‘By the side of this Stūpa, there is a pool of pure water. ‘Every day the dragons used to come forth from it to walk, ‘and, transforming themselves into men, used to respectfully ‘circumambulate the Stūpa. Some wild elephants, mustered ‘in a troop, used to pluck flowers and scatter them; encouraged by a secret power, they continued these meritorious ‘acts without interruption.

‘This is the Stūpa in which king Aśoka (Wu-yau) deposited ‘his share of the relics. Those which the other seven kings<sup>2</sup> ‘had to construct, were already commenced.’

It must be parenthetically observed that there is plainly something wrong about the last two sentences, either in the text which M. Julien had before him, or in his rendering

<sup>1</sup> Compare Beal, *Records*, 2. 26 ff., and Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, 2. 20 ff. And for a briefer statement see the *Life*, Julien, 128; Beal, 96: that account does not add any details; on the contrary, it omits the story about Aśoka.

One would prefer to cite Mr. Watters’ rendering of Hiuen-tsiang; partly because it is in English, partly because it is the latest rendering, and so, presumably, the most up-to-date: unfortunately, however, he has almost always used the inconvenient *oratio obliqua*, and has in many places passed over details which are given in the other two versions. Of those other versions, M. Julien’s seems to be generally the preferable one. But, both in using it and otherwise, I substitute Mr. Watters’ transliterations, whenever I can find them, of the Chinese forms or translations of Indian names and words.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the meaning of the expressions “the seven kings,” “the eight kings,” see this Journal, 1906. 897.

of it; if only because there was not any king *Asōka* at the time when the original *Stūpas* were made. We must therefore quote the other renderings also :—

Mr. Beal has said (loc. cit., 26) :—“ In former days, when “ *Asōka-rāja*, dividing the relics, built *stūpas*, having opened “ the *stūpas* built by the kings of the seven countries, he “ proceeded to travel to this country, and put his hand to “ the work (*viz., of opening this stūpa*).”

Mr. Watters has said (loc. cit., 20) :—“ When king Asoka “ was dispersing the Buddha-relics of the eight topes, having “ taken away those of seven of the topes, he came to *Rāma*, “ in order to carry off the relics in its tope also.”

However, M. Julien's version runs as rendered above, and then proceeds thus :—

“ When he had arrived in this kingdom, he wished to put ‘ hand to the work ’ [*of opening the Stūpa*]. ‘ But the dragon ‘ of that pool, fearing an invasion of his domains, assumed ‘ the form of a *Brāhmaṇ*, and, prostrating himself at the feet ‘ of the elephant, said :—“ Great king !; you have devoted ‘ your affections to the law of Buddha, and have sown largely ‘ in the field of happiness. I venture to ask you to turn aside ‘ your chariot,<sup>1</sup> and to deign to visit my abode.” “ Where ‘ is your abode,” said the king : “ is it near, or far away ? ” ‘ [327] “ I am the king of the dragons of this pool,” replied ‘ the *Brāhmaṇ* ; “ as I learnt that Your Majesty wished to ‘ lay the foundations of an excellent happiness, I have ‘ ventured to come to solicit the honour of your visit.”

“ The king, having accepted the invitation, entered forth- ‘ with the palace of the dragon. When he had sat there for ‘ a long time, the dragon came forward ’ [*in his own shape*] ‘ and said :—“ It is because of my evil actions that I received ‘ this form of a dragon. I hope that, in making some

<sup>1</sup> Beal has said “ to detain your carriage awhile ; ” Watters, “ to dismount.” The text seems to mean plainly that the king was riding in a chariot drawn by an elephant. Such chariots were one of the customary means of conveyance; see, for instance, the *Paṭṭadakka* inscription (IA, 11. 125), of the time of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king *Dhruva* (about A.D. 783), which records that *Bādipodḍi*, a harlot of the temple of *Lōkamahādēvi*, presented a horse-chariot and an elephant-chariot.

‘offerings to the relics, I may be able to efface my past crimes. I desire that the king should himself go near to the Stūpa, that he may examine it and also offer his homage (to the relics).’

‘When king Aśoka (Wu-yau) had finished looking, he was seized with fear, and said:—“None of the objects which you use for making offerings at all resemble those which are in use among men.” “If it is so,” replied the dragon, “I ardently desire that you should not destroy them.”’

‘King Aśoka (Wu-yau), recognizing that he was not strong enough to contend with the dragon, renounced the construction that he had designed’ [*? the intention that he had formed*].<sup>1</sup> ‘At the spot where the dragon came forth from the pool, there has been placed an inscription.’

Hiuen-tsiang goes on to narrate, much like Fa-hian, the story about elephants tending the place, and about the establishment, near the Stūpa, of a monastery which had been maintained under the direction of a Śrāmaṇera up to his own time. It seems unnecessary to repeat that. But a few words may be added about the position of Rāmagrāma; because there, if anywhere, there might be found an intact Stūpa containing really some of the corporeal relics of Buddha.

The place was named Rāmagrāma after the king, Rāma,—a king of Benares, who had abdicated and gone into exile because he was afflicted with leprosy,—by whom it was founded. It was named Kōlanagara, because (it seems) a *kōla*-tree, *Zizyphus jujuba*, or a grove of such trees, was cleared away to make the site for it. From the same source, the people derived their name Kōliya; and so the place was also known as Kōliyanagara, as being the town of the Kōliyas. And it was further called in Pāli Vyagghapajja, and in Sanskrit Vyūghrapadya, ‘the tiger’s path,’ in connexion with the circumstances in which Rāma found and

<sup>1</sup> Beal has “did not attempt to open the stūpa (to take out the relics).” Watters has “abandoned the idea of rifling the tope.”

married the eldest sister of the banished princes who founded Kapilavastu and the race of the Sakyas (see this Journal, 1906. 161 f., 163 f.), who had been immured in a subterranean abode because she also was afflicted with leprosy.<sup>1</sup>

Fa-hian and Hiuen-tsiang agree in locating Rāmagrāma on the east of the Lumbinīvana garden, the position of which is fixed by the now well-known Rummindēi. But it is quite certain that, for some reason or another, in this part of their narratives "east" means "south-east."<sup>2</sup>

Fa-hian says that the distance from the Lumbinīvana to Rāmagrāma was 5 *yōjanas*, = (see this Journal, 1906. 1012) 22·72 miles. Hiuen-tsiang puts it, according to 'Beal at 300 *li*, but according to Julien and Watters at 200 *li*, = (see *ibid.*, 1013) 24·24 miles. The two statements together, taken as plainly statements in round-numbers, indicate a distance of about 23 to 24 miles.

The Jātaka No. 536 (ed. Fausböll, 5. 412) mentions the town as Kōliyanagara, and places a river named Rōhiṇī between Kapilavatthunagara, the city Kapilavastu, and Kōliyanagara; i.e., as I understand the matter, not actually between the sites themselves of the two towns, but between the territories of which those towns were the capitals. It does not say whether Kōliyanagara was on the bank of the Rōhiṇī. But of course it has the effect of placing Kōliyanagara on the east of the Rōhiṇī; Kapilavastu being on the west.

The Mahāvainsa (see page 347 above) locates the Rāmagrāma Stūpa on the bank of a river. It calls that river the Gaṅgā, the Ganges. But we need only understand it as meaning, in accordance with a not infrequent license, some

<sup>1</sup> For the whole story, see Buddhaghōṣa's Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, ed. Davids and Carpenter, part I. 260 ff. For another account, similar in leading features but differing in details, see the Mahāvastu, ed. Senart, I. 348 ff.; according to that, however, Kapilavastu was built on the site of a grove, not of *śāka*-trees (teak or Sāl, as the case may be), but of *śākāṭa*-trees (*Trophis aspera*).

Will someone favour us with translations of these (and other) legends? There is much that is of interest in them. My own work leads me only to skim the surface of them.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly, they both did this part of their travels in the winter, and, starting on each stage at sunrise and taking their bearings by the sun, omitted to allow sufficiently for the declination of the sun.

river the waters of which flowed more or less directly into the Ganges.

These indications, taken together, point to the result that we should look for the Rāmagrāma Stūpa on or near to the east bank of the Rōhin Nadi, somewhere about six miles towards the west from a place which is shown as 'Bagapur,' in lat. 27° 12', long. 83° 34', in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 102 (1880), about thirty-two miles towards the north-north-east from Gōrakhpūr and twenty-five miles south-east-half-south from Rummindēi. And, while it is rash to speculate when one has not, as a basis, even the certified correct form of a modern place-name, it seems perhaps not impossible that some reminiscence of the name Vyāghrapadyu may be preserved in what the map shews as 'Bagapur.'

Hinen-tsiang visited next (9) the Stūpa raised by the Brāhmaṇ Drōṇa over the *kumbha*, the earthen jar in which the bones of Buddha had been collected. He has perhaps located this memorial in a kingdom,<sup>1</sup> visited by him between Po-lo-na-se (Vārāṇasī, Benares) and I'ei-shê-li (Vaiśālī), and mentioned by him as Tchen-tehou according to M. Julien, as Chen-chu according to Mr. Beal, and as Chan-chu according to Mr. Watters; which I take (see below) as meaning Chañchu. He has described it as being in ruins, but still several tens of feet high. And his statement in connexion with it runs as follows (Julien, *Mémoires*, 1. 383):<sup>2</sup>—

'In days of yore, after the Tathāgata had entered *nirvāṇa*, the great kings of eight realms divided amongst them his relics. The Brāhmaṇ who measured out the relics, smeared with honey the inside of the vase which he used. After distributing the relics to the eight kings, the Brāhmaṇ took his vase, and returned home. Having thus obtained some relics which had stuck therein, he erected a Stūpa, and

<sup>1</sup> It is usually understood that this Stūpa was in the kingdom in question. But, in describing his approach to it from the last preceding place visited by him, he says, according to Julien, 'in leaving this country.'—*en partant de ce pays*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Beal, *Records*, 2. 65; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, 2. 60. This Stūpa seems to be not mentioned in the *Life*.

'placed them with the vase in the centre of the monument.  
'Thence there came the name of that Stūpa.'

'Eventually, king Aśoka (Wu-yau) opened the Stūpa, and  
'took from it the vase which contained the relics. Then he  
'reconstructed the monument, and enlarged it.'

'Sometimes, when there comes a fast-day, a radiant light  
'is seen to issue from this Stūpa.'

A few remarks may be made on the locality of this Stūpa also.

M. Julien said that the Chinese form of the name, Tchen-tchou-koue as transliterated by him, means 'kingdom of the master of battles;' and he suggested either Yōdhapatipura as the Sanskrit original of that, or Yōdharājapura as the original of the form Tchen-wang-koue, 'kingdom of the king of battles,' which he found in a certain Buddhist encyclopaedia. M. Vivien de Saint-Martin pointed out (*Mémoires*, 2. 362) that, on that understanding, Yuddhapatipura or Yuddharājapura would be more accurate, and proposed to identify the place with Ghāzīpūr, on the north bank of the Ganges, about forty-five miles east-north-east from Benares.<sup>3</sup> General Sir Alexander Cunningham (AGI, 438 f.), accepting that identification as certain, cited a statement that the name Ghāzīpūr is a Musalmān adaptation of an original Hindū name Garjpur,<sup>4</sup> and proposed to take Hiuen-tsiang's form as the translation of a Sanskrit Garjanapatipura. Mr. Watters said that the term Chan-chu means 'fighting lord' or 'lord of battle,' and "is evidently a

<sup>1</sup> Hiuen Tsiang has not reported the name of this Stūpa, which might well come to be known as either the Drōṇa-Stūpa or the Kumbha-Stūpa.

Julien has told us that the Chinese word *p'ing*, used here to denote the vase, is one which occurs elsewhere as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *karka*, 'a water-jar.' Watters, however, has said that it is the recognized rendering of the Sanskrit *kumbha*.

<sup>2</sup> Beal says:—"Afterwards Aśoka-rāja, opening (*the stūpa*), took the relics "and the pitcher, and in place of the old one built a great *stūpa*."

Watters says:—"Afterwards King Aśoka took away the relics and jar, and "replaced the old tope by a large one."

<sup>3</sup> That is, as the crow flies; the distance along the bends of the river is much more.

<sup>4</sup> This, however, seems to be a mistake for Gādhīpura; see the Imperial Gazetteer of India, 5. 62, and Mr. Hoey in JASB, 69, 1900. 86.

translation of a Sanskrit name or epithet with a similar meaning ;” and, without expressing any definite opinion about the proposed identification, he further remarked that “*chan* is used to translate *yuddha* and *chu* stands for several words such as *pāti*, *svāmin*, and *īśvara*, and the Chan-chu of our text may be the rendering of a word like Yuddhapati, which may be an epithet of Siva.”

Now, M. Julien observed (loc. cit., 377, note 1) that this kingdom is the only one of which Hiuen-tsiang has given the name in Chinese, instead of offering us the pronunciation in phonetic characters. This being so, I venture to think, in spite of there being the form ‘Tchen-wang’ as well as ‘Tchen-tchou,’ that there has been a misunderstanding ; that Hiuen-tsiang has in reality, in accordance with his otherwise unfailing practice, given us here, also, his transliteration in Chinese of an Indian name, Chañchu ;<sup>1</sup> and that the supposition to the contrary is to be simply attributed to the fact that the Chinese syllables *chan-chu*, really used here as a phonetic rendering, happen to have an actual meaning, coupled with the fact that, though *chañchu* is a perfectly well known Sanskrit word, with various meanings (notably, ‘the beak of a bird’), it had not been found anywhere else as a place-name or as a part of such a name. As regards one point, we have a very similar case in the writings of Sung-yun, who (see Beal, *Records*, 1, introd., 103) mentioned a certain “tower” as “a Tsiok-li Feou-thou, a pagoda with a surmounting pole ;” to which Beal attached the note :—“*Tsiok-li* means a sparrow, but it is a phonetic for *śūla*, a surmounting spear or trident.” As regards the other, I find a mention of a place named Chañchu, which I take to be the same one, in the Sōhgaurā plate (JASB, 63, 1894. proceedings, 86, plate ; IA, 25. 262). That record, as I understand it,<sup>2</sup> is a public notification relating to three

<sup>1</sup> I may remark that, if Hiuen-tsiang’s Chan-chu had really to be taken as a translation, then, as Mr. Hoey has observed to me, a most appropriate Sanskrit original of it would be Raṇḍēvara, from which we might easily have a modern name such as that of Raarā in the Ballia district.

<sup>2</sup> See, fully, a separate article on this record.

great highways of vehicular traffic. It notifies that at the junction, named Manavasi, of the three roads, in two villages named Dasilimata and Usagāma, storehouses were made for the goods of people using the roads. It indicates the roads by mentioning, in line 3, the three places to and from which they led, as regards the junction of them. And I recognize Chañchu as one of the names there given.

Hiuen-tsiang places the capital of Chañchu on the Ganges, and plainly on the north bank, at 300 *li*, i.e. three days' journey, down the river to the east from Benares. Going thence 200 *li* to the east and about 100 *li* to the south-east, he came to a town Mo-ha-sho-lo, on the south side of the river. Thence he went 30 *li* east, and then, "in leaving this country," about 100 *li* south-east, and so reached the Stūpa over the *kumbha*. And thence, travelling to the north-east and crossing the Ganges to the north, he reached Vaiśālī by a journey of 140 or 150 *li*.

It appears certain that from Benares to Mo-ha-sho-lo, and perhaps for also the next short stage, Hiuen-tsiang was using the Ganges itself for travelling. And, going downstream, he would make very much more each day than the customary 12·12 miles (= 100 *li*) of travelling by road. On an examination of all the details, it seems to me that it is probable that Ghāzīpūr really is Chañchu, and that this Stūpa was a few miles on the west or south-west of Arrah in the Shāhābād district.

Hiuen-tsiang next visited (2) Vaiśālī. In his account of this place, after mentioning a Stūpa, built by Aśoka, which marked a spot where Śāriputra and others attained the condition of being Arhats, he has said (Julien, *Mémoires*, 1. 386):<sup>1</sup>—

‘To the south-east of the place where Śāriputra attained the dignity of being an Arhat, there is a Stūpa which was built by a king of Vaiśālī. After Buddha had entered into *nirvāṇa*, the first king of this realm obtained, in the

<sup>1</sup> Compare Beal, *Records*, 2. 67; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, 2. 65. This Stūpa seems to be not mentioned in the *Life*.

‘division, a portion of his relics, and, to honour them, expressly raised this monument.

‘We read in the In-tu-ki (Notes on India):—In this Stūpa, there was formerly a *drōṇa*<sup>1</sup> of relics of Buddha. King Aśoka (Wu-yau), having opened this Stūpa, took nine *teou*, bushels, of relics, and left only one.

‘In subsequent times,<sup>2</sup> there was a king of this realm who wished to open again the Stūpa and take the’ [*remaining*] ‘relics. But, at the moment when he went to apply himself to the work, the earth trembled, and he did not dare further to violate this monument.’

Huien-tsiang finally visited the locality which included (1) Rājagriha. And he was shown there a Stūpa, containing corporeal relics of Buddha, in respect of which he has given us the following statement (Julien, *Mémoires*, 2. 31):<sup>3</sup>—

‘To the east of the Karaṇḍa-Vēṇuvana, the bamboo-grove of Karaṇḍa,<sup>4</sup> there is a Stūpa which was built by king Ajātaśatru. After the *nirvāṇa* of the Tathāgata, the kings divided amongst them his relics (*she-li* = *śarīra*). King Ajātaśatru returned home with the share which he obtained, respectfully built a Stūpa, and offered homage to it.

‘King Aśoka (Wu-yau), having conceived a sincere faith, opened the monument, took the relics, and built in his turn another Stūpa.

‘We still see the remains of it, which constantly emit a brilliant light.’

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese text mentions here the measure *ho* or *hoh*, which Julien has explained as containing ten bushels, and for which he substituted *drōṇa* because *ho* answers to the Sanskrit *drōṇa* in the name of Ho-fan-wang, = Dṛoṇodanarāja, one of the uncles of Buddha. Beal has used the word *hoh*, and has explained it as meaning ten pecks. Watters has said “a bushel (*hu* or *drōṇa*).”

These various renderings illustrate well the difficulty of finding suitable western equivalents for oriental technical terms; especially if we bear in mind that a bushel contains only four pecks, not ten.

<sup>2</sup> Watters has not given this part of the statement.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Beal, *Records*, 2. 160; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, 2. 158. The *Life* does not add anything, except in one detail noted below. Neither in the *Si-yu-ki* nor in the *Life* is the number of the “kings” mentioned in this place.

<sup>4</sup> Julien, transcribing the Chinese by *Kin-lan-t'o*, took it as equivalent to Karaṇḍa. Beal followed him. Watters has given *Ka-lan-t'o*, and has taken it as meaning Kalanda.

In connexion with the last sentence, it is to be remarked that the *Life* says (Julien, 155; Beal, 115) that Aśoka allowed a small portion of the relics to remain there.

With a view to comparing Hiuen-tsiang's statement in this matter with Fa-hian's (this Journal, 1906. 901) and with the story given by Buddhaghōsha (ibid., 905 ff.), the following remarks must be made here.

In this locality there were two cities, which have come to be treated as "Old Rājagriha" and "New Rājagriha," though it is questionable whether the name Rājagriha ever really belonged to the older city, the original one.<sup>1</sup> And, as regards the connexion between the two cities, and the foundation of the later one, Hiuen-tsiang has given us an account, of which I give an abstract from Julien's *Mémoires*, 2. 38 ff.,<sup>2</sup> as follows:—

The old town was the one in which king Bimbisāra resided at first. Fires were constantly breaking out in it; and the houses were so crowded together that the fires always spread and caused great destruction.<sup>3</sup> Towards stopping the evil, Bimbisāra issued a decree that an inquiry should always be made into the origin of any such fire, and that the person responsible for it should be banished as an outcast into "the cold forest," the place where corpses were thrown. On a certain occasion, a conflagration had its origin in the palace of Bimbisāra himself; and, in pursuance of his decree, he resigned the government to "the Prince Royal or Crown Prince,"—to "his eldest son" (Beal); to "his

<sup>1</sup> The only statement in that direction, that I can trace, is in the *Dīpavanīsa*, 3. 52, which speaks of Bōdhisa (Bhātiva) the father of Bimbisāra, as reigning "amid the five mountains, in Rājagaha." This, however, appears to be worth no more, for purposes of accuracy, than a statement in the *Rāmāyana*, 1. 32, 8 f., which describes the river Sumagudhī, the Sōn, as looking, in flowing through Magadha, like a garland amidst the five hills which surrounded Vasumatī, Girivraja. Rājagriha was outside the five hills; and it is hardly possible that the Sōn can ever have flowed in between them.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Beal, *Records*, 2. 165 ff.; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, 2. 162.

<sup>3</sup> This story illustrates the danger from fire which, according to Buddha's prophecy, might befall Pātaliputra; see this Journal, 1906. 668. The danger from water seems to be attributable to the river Sōn, which at one time flowed into the Ganges on the east of Patna, but now joins that river some fifteen miles away to the west of the city.

heir" (Watters),—and banished himself. The king of Vaiśālī, hearing that Bimbisāra was absent in banishment, raised an army and prepared to make an invasion. The wardens of the marches having informed "the king,"<sup>1</sup> a city was built (*in order to ward off the invaders*).<sup>2</sup> And because "the king" was the first to inhabit it, it was named Rājagṛīha, "the (*town of the*) house of the king." Others say—(Hiuen Tsiang has added)—that this town, the new one, was only founded in the reign of Ajātaśatru.<sup>3</sup> The eldest son of that prince (of Ajātaśatru), on succeeding to the throne, forthwith established his residence there. And subsequently Aśoka transferred his court to Pāṭaliputra,<sup>4</sup> and gave Rājagṛīha to Brāhmaṇs.

Hiuen-tsiang reached first the older city; arriving at it, from the direction of Gayā, through the hills on the west of it (Julien, 2. 15; Beal, 2. 149; Watters, 2. 148). He has mentioned this as Ku-she-ka-lo-pu-lo (Watters, 2. 323), = perhaps Kuśāgrapura, perhaps Kuśāṅkurapura, and as "the city surrounded by mountains," i.e. Girivraja. Leaving that city by its northern gate (J., 2. 29; B., 2. 159; W., 2. 156), he came, by only one *li*, to the Vēṇuvana, the bamboo-grove, where Karaṇḍa or Kalanda built a Vihāra which he gave to Buddha. On the east of this grove, at a distance which he has not specified, there was shewn to him the relic-Stūpa built by king Ajātaśatru, his account of which has been given above (page 359). On the north of the Vēṇuvana Vihāra, at a distance of 200 paces, he came (J., 2. 38;

<sup>1</sup> That is, apparently, the king in exile, Bimbisāra. Beal added a note (loc. cit., 166, note 72) to the effect that this new town was built, "as it seems, "in the place where the king was living. From this it would appear that the "site of the new town of Rājagṛīha had been before used as a burial-ground "for the people of the 'old town.'"

The next sentence seems to imply a return of Bimbisāra from his self-imposed banishment.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the story about Pāṭaligāma, Pāṭaliputra; see this Journal, 1906. 667 f.

<sup>3</sup> So, for instance, Fa-hian; see page 362 below.

<sup>4</sup> On this point, compare another passage in Hiuen Tsiang's writings; see this Journal, 1906. 669. Julien has left it undetermined whether Aśoka is here mentioned as Wu-yau or otherwise; so also in the corresponding passage in the *Life*, 160; in respect of this detail, see this Journal, 1906. 669, note 2.

B., 2. 165; W., 2. 161) to the site of the Karaṇḍa or Kalanda pool or tank, which had dried up after the death of Buddha. At only two or three *li* to the north-west of that pool or tank, he came (loc. cit.; all three) to a Stūpa built by Aśoka, by the side of which there was a stone pillar bearing an inscription. And then, at a short unspecified distance to the north-east from that Stūpa and pillar, he arrived (loc. cit.; all three) at the city Ho-lo-shi-ki-li-hi (Beal), i.e. Rājagṛiha.

Fa-hian travelled by a different route, from Patna. He first reached, according to Laidlay (*Pilgrimage of Fa Hian*, 264), "the New Town of the Royal Residence; this new town was built by the king A-che-shi" (i.e., Ajātaśatru); according to Legge (*Travels of Fā-hien*, 81), "New Rājagṛiha, the new city which was built by king Ajātaśatru;" according to Beal (*Records*, 1. introd., 58), "the new Rājagṛiha; this was the town which king Ajātaśatru built." He says (Laidlay, loc. cit.):<sup>1</sup>—"On leaving by the western gate, you "arrive, at the distance of 300 paces, at a tower raised by "king A-che-shi, when he obtained a portion of the reliques "of Foo: it is lofty, grand, beautiful, and majestic." And he proceeds (ibid.):—"Leaving the town on the southern side, "and proceeding four *li* to the south, you enter a valley "which leads to the Five Hills: these five hills form a girdle "like the walls of a town; it is the Ancient Town of the "king Ping-sha" (i.e., Bimbisāra).

Thus, the southern exit from Rājagṛiha was at quite a short distance—according to Fa-hian, four *li*, a little under half a mile; with which the details given by Hiuen-tsiang fit in quite well,—from the northern gate of Girivraja. The relic-Stūpa which was shewn to Hiuen-tsiang, and was described to him as having been made by Ajātaśatru and opened by Aśoka, was to the east from a point, which was at one *li* from the northern gate of Girivraja, on the north-and-south line between Rājagṛiha and Girivraja; and it was evidently the Stūpa over the underground deposit which was made by Ajātaśatru, on the advice of the Thēra Mahā-Kāśyapa, for the purpose of ensuring the safety of the bulk

<sup>1</sup> For Legge and Beal, see this Journal, 1906. 901.

of seven of the eight original shares of the corporeal relics of Buddha, somewhere, as Buddhaghōṣa tells us (this Journal, 1906. 908 f.), on the south-east of Rājagṛiha. The relic-Stūpa made by Ajātaśatru, which was shewn to Fa-hian, was 300 paces outside the western gate of Rājagṛiha; and it was plainly the Stūpa which Ajātaśatru had made in the first instance (this Journal, 1906. 665, 908), over only his own share of the relics.





BUDDHIST SEALS FROM KASIA



## XVI.

## SOME SEALS FROM KASIA.

By J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.

IN his report on the Buddhist remains near Kasia (Allahabad, 1896) Mr. V. A. Smith adduced various arguments to disprove Cunningham's identification of Kasia with Kusinārā, and in a paper subsequently contributed to this Journal (1902, p. 139) the same author came to the conclusion that the scene of Buddha's death is to be sought in Nepāl territory. The finds of last year's excavations at Kasia—a full account of which will be published in the Annual of the Archaeological Survey—include documents directly bearing on this question.

A number of inscribed clay seals were found ranging in date from c. 400 to c. 900 A.D., which bear the following emblems and legends:—

- a. (c. A.D. 400.) Coffin between twin *sāla* trees.

Mahāparinirvāṇe cāturdiśo  
bhikṣu-saṅghaḥ.

Two complete specimens; one partly obliterated.

- b. (c. A.D. 400.) Funeral pyre with kneeling figure.  
Śrī-Makuṭabandhe saṅgha (last *akṣara* uncertain).

One complete specimen.

- c. (c. A.D. 600.) *Dharmacakra* and two antelopes.

Śrī-Baddhana-mahāvihā-  
re(ra) Ārya-bhikṣu-saṅ-  
ghasya.

One complete specimen.

- d. (c. A.D. 750.) *Dharmacakra* and two antelopes.

Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-  
mahāvihāriyārya-  
bhikṣu-[saṅghasya].

Two specimens, slightly damaged, and sixteen fragments.

e. (c. A.D. 900.) *Dharmacakra* and two antelopes.

Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-  
vihāriyārya-bhikṣu  
saṅghasyā.

Three specimens, two with one complete and two (resp. three) fragmentary seal impressions and eighteen fragments.

f. Indistinct figure.

Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-  
vihāra-bhikṣu-saṅgha[h].

One specimen.

(Reading uncertain.)

It will be seen that all these seals belong to "the Congregation of Reverend Friars of the Temple (or Convent) of the Great Decease." There are two exceptions belonging to the Makutabandhana sanctuary, which stood on the place of Buddha's cremation and is mentioned by I-tsing in the same abbreviated form in which it occurs on one of the two seals (c). I-tsing has said (Takakusu, p. 38):—"I once visited the Pan-da-na monastery (Bandhana), a spot where the great Nirvāṇa was preached (by the Buddha)."

As long as the use of these documents has not been ascertained it is impossible to decide whether their evidence tends to prove or to disprove Cunningham's theory. If they belong to the spot where they were found—and the variety of their dates and uniformity of their legends seem to point to that conclusion—they would vindicate Cunningham's identification. If, on the other hand, they were attached to letters and parcels—and this seems to be the most likely use they were put to—they would place beyond doubt that the Convent of the Great Decease is to be sought elsewhere. At present the only fact which can be deduced from them with certainty is, that there flourished a monastic establishment on the spot of Buddha's Nirvāṇa between at least c. 400 and c. 900 A.D., and that there existed another convent at the place of his cremation from c. 400 to c. 600 at least.

## XVII.

## THE CHRONICLES OF PEGU:

A TEXT IN THE MON LANGUAGE.

By C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE text of which the title is given below<sup>1</sup> has recently been published as part 3 of vol. cli of the "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse," and as it is the first work in the Mon language that has ever been edited and printed in Europe, probably the readers of this Journal will be interested to have some information about it.

The Mon, otherwise called Talaing or Peguan, language of Lower Burma is the oldest indigenous literary language of that country, but appears to have now fallen almost completely into the rank of a mere patois. Very few Mon-speaking individuals, it seems, are capable nowadays of reading or writing their mother-tongue, although its alphabet is almost identical with that of Burmese, which is superseding Mon even as a spoken vernacular in the few districts in which it still lingers. The Mon tongue is of peculiar interest, and belongs to a family of languages which has as yet received far too little attention at the hands of European scholars. It is nearly related to Khmer or Cambodian, as well as to a large number of little-known dialects in Central and Eastern Indo-China which are spoken by uncivilised tribes that have never acquired the art of writing, and is connected more remotely with Annamese. These languages form a family entirely distinct from the other Indo-Chinese tongues, such as Siamese, Burmese, Karen, etc., and the study of them is now being pursued by Professor Schmidt, the editor of the Mon text just published, who has already produced some extremely valuable

<sup>1</sup> *Slapat rāgāwān datow amin roñ.* Buch des Rāgāwān, der Königsgeschichte. Die Geschichte der Mon-Könige in Hinterindien nach einem Palmbblatt-Manuskript aus dem Mon übersetzt, mit einer Einführung und Noten versehen. Von P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D. (Wien, 1906.)

works in elucidation of their phonology and structure.<sup>1</sup> The text now under consideration is intended primarily as a contribution towards this line of research. Up to the present time no original Mon texts of any adequate length were available for the purpose of studying the syntactical peculiarities of the language.

The MS. from which the present text has been edited is inscribed with an iron stylus on strips of palm-leaf about 19 inches long by 2 inches broad. The title is written by itself on a separate strip, and is flanked by two little sketches of birds, the one on the left being a peacock, with what looks like a snake in its beak, while the one on the right, which has a comb, may represent a cock or possibly a hornbill or some crested bird. The text itself occupies 26 strips of palm-leaf, written on both sides, and thus forming 52 pages of 7 lines each, the lines being about 15 inches long and pretty close together. It was sent to me towards the end of the year 1892 by my friend Mr. H. L. Eales, I.C.S., of the Burma Commission, who was engaged about that time in working up the results of the census of Burma of 1891, which he had superintended.<sup>2</sup> He himself had obtained the MS. from one Maung Dut, a Talaing, who at that time was employed in the Government service as a Thugyi or revenue official, and who, as appeared from enquiries made subsequently, had acquired it from one Maung Meik of Saingdi, a village near the town of Pegu. The latter's account of it was that his great-grandfather, one Bala Theikti, was said to have gone to Bangkok in command of some troops, in a war waged by King Bodawpaya (of Burma, reigned A.D. 1781-1819), and to have brought back with him a MS., the original of the present one. This original he is said to have given to a Buddhist monk of Mokainggyi, but his son took the precaution of making

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., 1907, I, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> In his capacity of Superintendent of the Census Mr. Eales took a keen interest in the languages of Burma, and it is really to his initiative that the publication of this text is ultimately due. I desire here to acknowledge my indebtedness to the willing help rendered by him on several occasions in connexion with my attempts to learn something of the Mon language.

a copy, and the present MS. is that copy, the original having, it is believed, been lost. This statement is to some extent confirmed by internal evidence. The conclusion of the text itself gives, in Pali, the year 1128 (corresponding to A.D. 1766) as the date when the work was completed, while the Mon interpretation, which follows this Pali sentence, substitutes the year 1207 (A.D. 1845), which last was therefore probably the date when the actual copy was made. The colophon states that this was written at the monastery of Cān-Ḍew, which is presumably the same place as Saingdi, near Pegu.

When the MS. came into my hands, I was able with the help of Haswell's Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan language to decipher enough of it to enable me to recognise it as a Mon MS. and get a general idea of its contents. Later on I made a copy and a transliteration and translated some portions of the text, with a view to publishing it. But owing to my time being taken up with other duties I found myself unable to proceed with that scheme, and some years ago, hearing that Professor Schmidt was in want of Mon texts to assist him in pursuing his studies in that language, I was glad to hand the MS. over to him for publication, if he thought fit. This he has now done, and to his edition of the text in the native character (of which types were specially cut for the occasion) has added a transliteration, a German translation, critical and explanatory notes, two lists of hitherto unrecorded Mon words, and an introduction dealing with the origin of the MS., which I have just related, the other Mon MSS. that are known to exist, the peculiarities which the writing and punctuation of the MS. exhibit, its contents (of which an abstract is given in tabular form), its chronological data, and the system of transliteration adopted.

As regards this last point, which is involved in much difficulty, the editor has followed a course that may meet with some objection from practical students of the Mon language, but seems to be justified by the peculiar circumstances of the case. In most Indo-Chinese languages, as

indeed in our own English tongue, the spelling represents and to some extent embodies faithfully enough a long defunct stage of the language. This is to a marked degree the case in Mon, where the modern pronunciation has diverged completely from the old sounds that are stereotyped in the written language. Moreover, the spoken tongue has split up into local dialects, and there appears to be now no longer any standard of educated usage that could be appealed to when these dialects differ, as they very often do. Under these circumstances Professor Schmidt has, I think rightly, preferred to adhere strictly to the written symbols, which he has transliterated in accordance with what appear to have been their ancient values, disregarding entirely the modern phonetic developments of the language. As the alphabet is of Indian origin and is also used for writing Pali, of which a good deal is interspersed in the Mon text of this MS., there is a sound basis for such a reconstructive process to work upon. But one or two points remain in some doubt: Mon has a series of vowel sounds which had no parallels in the Indian language whence it derived its alphabet, and which it had therefore to express in more or less arbitrary ways, by such combinations as *ui*, *aai*, *uai*, *rai*, *oi*, and *uiai*. Here the editor has been forced to adopt conventional equivalents. Nor do the difficulties end here. The scribe who copied this MS. had the deplorable habit of making the same symbol do duty for several distinct combinations of letters. Thus *k* with subscript *h* has to serve for *kh*, *kh*, and *kkh*; and similarly *i*, *im*, and, I believe, also *in* are all represented by the same sign. It is more than likely that these ambiguities have led to some errors in the transliteration: e.g., I believe that the word for 'king,' which Professor Schmidt writes *smim*, ought really to be *smiñ*. But in this respect, as well as in some others, the present work must not be judged by the standard that would be applied to an edition of a text written in a language of which copious dictionaries and grammars are available. The apparatus for the study of Mon is as yet very incomplete and in many points deficient, and one often has occasion

to admire the ingenuity of the editor, who contrives to make sense of some very obscure passages.

The text of the work falls into four fairly distinct parts. First there is a short introduction in Pali with Mon interpretation, setting forth the general object of the work, namely, to give the Mon inhabitants of the Pegu district an abridgment of their royal chronicles. This is not, however, to be taken too literally, for there now follow some twenty-one pages (in the palm-leaf) giving a short account of the history of the world, from the point of view of Buddhism. There is the legendary story of the origin of the Sakya family, the life of the Buddha, and, as an episode of it which links it to Peguan local history, the story of how he gave to two merchants from Lower Burma some hairs of his head, which they reverently took back with them to enclose in the Shwe Dagon pagoda, near Rangoon. The fate of these relics and of the pagoda itself is interwoven with the subsequent history of Pegu. Of the dispersal of the Buddha's other relics a short summary is also given. The second main section of the work, to which it really owes its title of "Rājāwan," contains (in some twenty-six pages) a very concise history of the kings of Pegu (or Hamsāwatī) from its legendary foundation in the year 1116 after the death of the Buddha (assumed to be equivalent to A.D. 573) up to the year 1125 of the Burmese era (corresponding to A.D. 1763). Lastly, there is a brief conclusion, wherein the writer draws a moral from the fate of all the kings whose lives he has, unfortunately very sketchily, narrated. The historical part contains a good many dates, but sometimes skips several centuries without giving a single fact, and only in a few places does it broaden out into anything like a full narrative. Two episodes are given in some detail: one is the story of the pious maiden Bhadradevī, who, by her miraculous survival of the tortures of martyrdom, converted to Buddhism the impious king Tissa (or Tissa) and gained the earthly reward of becoming his queen. The other is the account of a pedantically just king, Bañā Barow by name, who went, it is said, to the length of executing cats that

killed mice, and in whose time there was such order in the land that no doors were ever required to be shut or warehouses locked, for thieves and robbers had altogether disappeared. Throughout the short history, the changes and chances that befel the fabric of the Shwe Dagon pagoda (Kyāḱ Lagun, as it is styled in Mon) occupy the writer's mind far more than the tragic fortunes of his country, though he was evidently not insensible to these, and sometimes has hard words to say about its Burmese oppressors, especially the last conqueror, Alompra.

As will be gathered from what has just been said, there is not much in the contents of this text that is of great importance. The Buddhist portions have been more amply dealt with in Bigandet's "Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese," and other works, while the historical section has been anticipated by Phayre in his "History of Burma," and also to some extent in his "History of Pegu" (which last appeared in vol. xlii, part 1, of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*). Nevertheless, as these authors had no direct access to Mon sources, but relied entirely on Burmese versions or paraphrases of them, it would be an advantage to collate their work with the Mon originals on which it ultimately depends. Burmese literature, both secular and religious, but especially the latter, appears to have been based to a considerable extent on Mon models. Unfortunately the present text is a mere abridgment, and it is hardly to be expected that it will reveal much that is new. On the other hand, it is of considerable importance from the linguistic point of view, and can be studied with profit by anyone who wishes to acquaint himself with the structure and grammar of a very interesting language, which up to the present time has remained practically unknown. That the editor has done his work in a scholarly fashion, worthy of his reputation, it is almost superfluous to say.

It is to be hoped that this, the first original Mon text to be edited, will not be the last. Mon MSS. are rare, but there are a few of them, even in Europe. The Royal Asiatic

Society possesses one, the British Museum has two, which are mentioned in Professor Schmidt's introduction. But there are many more in Burma, that have escaped the destruction in which the Burmese after their conquest of the Talaing country sought to overwhelm the language, both written and spoken, of the conquered race. Some twenty-eight years ago a search for MSS. was made by Government in certain districts of Lower Burma, and a number of MSS., including over fifty Talaing ones, were collected, catalogued, and have since then, I am informed, been preserved in the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon. So far as the Mon MSS. are concerned, nothing further appears to have been done; no proper descriptive catalogue of them seems to have been published, and none of the texts have apparently been edited or translated. Most of them are versions of Buddhist religious treatises, but there are also several works dealing with local history.

Nor is this all. According to Sir R. C. Temple, who some years ago visited a number of the caves that are a curious feature of the neighbourhood of Maulmain (the principal Mon district) and published an interesting account of them in the *Indian Antiquary*, there are in some of these caverns upper chambers, now closed, in which chests full of old MSS., stowed away there probably in times of trouble, are said still to exist. I am not aware whether any attempt has since been made to rescue and preserve these MSS. for posterity. Besides the above, it seems probable that some few MSS. (like the one from which this text has been edited) still exist in private hands, and possibly there are also some in monasteries, in parts of Lower Burma not covered by the search already referred to. Further, there are inscriptions on stone and other materials of a durable nature. I need only instance the long Kalyāṇī inscription of Pegu (A.D. 1476), which is bilingual, in Pali and Mon. The Pali portion has been published under the auspices of the Burma Government, but the Mon text, though far more important from a linguistic point of view, has not.

In conclusion, I want to put, to those whom it may concern, this question: "How much longer is the Government of Burma going to neglect the oldest vernacular in the province, and allow its ancient historical and literary records to remain uninterpreted?" The Burmese rulers of the country did their best, by a furious course of proscription, to destroy the Mon language: their British successors are, in a milder way, following their example, by ignoring its existence even in those parts of the country where it is still a living language, spoken by thousands, some of whom know no other tongue. It has been represented to me that it would be regarded as a boon by the Mon population of those parts if their language received more official recognition, if, for instance, it were made an optional subject in the higher standards of the Government examinations. It would be presumptuous for anyone without local knowledge to offer an opinion on a purely administrative question like this. But I cannot deny my sympathy with such modest aspirations as some members of the Mon remnant appear to cherish; and while, of course, no sensible person would wish to galvanise into life any language that is really extinct or to impose the use of any dwindling speech beyond the area where it still prevails, it does seem to me to be pitiful to allow an ancient literary language like this to die out and be lost for ever. At any rate, it is surely high time that steps were taken to get the Mon literature collected, edited, and translated, while there are still a few Mon-speaking natives left who are sufficiently well versed in their old language to give useful assistance towards its interpretation. Once the language is finally extinct, or even when the last person with a scholarly knowledge of it has passed away, it will be very much more difficult to undertake such a task than it is at present. Everyone interested in Oriental research will, I am sure, agree that this matter claims early attention, and I trust that someone, endowed with more influence and authority than I can aspire to, may press the subject upon the Burma Government.

## XVIII.

## MSS. CECIL BENDALL.

EDITED BY LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, M.R.A.S

## NOTE PRÉLIMINAIRE.

On trouvera dans le Journal, 1900, p. 345, une description sommaire de la petite collection de MSS. que C. Bendall avait empruntés à la Bibliothèque de Kāthmāṇḍu et dont il m'a laissé de bonnes photographies. La maladie, hélas ! ne lui a pas permis de la publier dans son ensemble : il n'en a fait paraître que deux pièces, d'ailleurs infiniment curieuses, un fragment du *Callavagga* et une page du *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* de l'Eglise du *Mahāyāna*. Mais de nombreuses notes manuscrites faciliteront ma tâche d'éditeur, et continueront pour moi le charme mélancolique d'une collaboration qui fut naguères la meilleure joie de mes études.

Je désigne les fragments par les numéros d'ordre, tout arbitraires, que C. Bendall avait assignés aux planches photographiques et auxquels il se réfère dans plusieurs passages du commentaire du *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. La notice paléographique accompagnera la reproduction des MSS. qui paraîtront dignes d'intérêt.

I. ŚROṆASŪTRAS (FRAGMENTS, XIX, 7, AND XXI, 2) =  
SĀMYUTTANIKĀYA, xxii, 49-50 (vol. III, p. 48 foll.).

Śāriputra idam avocet : ye ke cie Chroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā anityena rūpenādhruveṇānāsvasikena vipariṇāmadharmaṇā śreyāṁsaḥ sma iti manyante, sadṛśās<sup>1</sup> sma iti manyante, hīnā[h] sma iti manyante, <sup>2</sup> añyattra te Śroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā evaṁ yathābhūta<sup>3</sup> ādarsanāt ; ye ke cie Chroṇa śramaṇā vā [brāhma]ṇā vā anityayā vedanayā, saṁjñayā, saṁskārair, anityena vijñāna<sup>4</sup> nādhruveṇānāsvasikena vipariṇāmadharmaṇā vijñānena śreyāṁsaḥ sma iti

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.

<sup>2</sup> kim aññattha yathābhūta<sup>3</sup>ssa adassanā.

manyante, sadṛśā[h] sma iti manyante, hīnā[h] sma iti manyante, <sup>1</sup> nānyatra te Śroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā evaṁ yathābhūtasya darsanāt; ye tu kecit Śroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā anityena rūpeṇādhruveṇānāśvāsikena vipariṇāmadharmaṇā rūpeṇa <sup>2</sup> na śreyāṁsa[h] sma iti manyante, na sadṛśā[h] sma iti manyante, na hīnā[h] sma iti manyante, <sup>3</sup> nānyatra te Śroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā evaṁ yathābhūtasya darsanāt; ye tu ke cic Chroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā anityayā vedanayā, saṁjñayā, saṁskārair, anityena vijñānenādhruveṇānāśvāsikena vipariṇāmadharmaṇā vijñānena <sup>2</sup> na śreyāṁsa[h] sma iti manyante, na sadṛśā[h] sma iti manyante, na hīnā[h] sma iti manyante, <sup>3</sup> nānyatra te Śroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā evaṁ yathābhūtasya darsanāt[.] tat kim manyase Śroṇa rūpaṁ nityaṁ vā anityaṁ vā? anityaṁ idaṁ bhoḥ Śāriputra. yat punar anityaṁ duḥkhaṁ [vā] tan na vā duḥkhaṁ? duḥkham idaṁ bhoḥ Śāriputra. yat punar anityaṁ duḥkhaṁ vipariṇāmadharma api nu tac chrutavān āryaśrāvaka ātmata upagacched: etan mama, eṣo 'ham asmy, eṣa me ātmeti? no bhoḥ Śāriputra. kiṁ manyase Śroṇa vedanā, saṁjñā, saṁskārā, vijñānaṁ nityaṁ vā anityaṁ vā? anityaṁ idaṁ bhoḥ Śāriputra. yat punar anityaṁ duḥkhaṁ vā tan na vā duḥkham? duḥkham idaṁ bhoḥ Śāriputra. yat punar anityaṁ duḥkhaṁ vipariṇāmadharma api nu tac chrutavān āryaśrāvaka ātmata upagacched: etan mama, eṣo ham asmi, eṣa me ātmeti? no bhādanta Śāriputra. tasmāt tarhi Śroṇa yat kiṁ cid rūpaṁ atītānāgatapratyutpannam ādhyātmikaṁ vā bāhyaṁ vā audārikaṁ vā sūkṣmaṁ vā hīnaṁ vā praṇītaṁ vā, yad vā dūre yad vā antike, tat sarvaṁ: naitan mama, naiṣo ham asmi, naiṣa me ātmety evaṁ etad yathā bhūtaṁ samyakprajñayā draṣṭavyaṁ. tasmāt tarhi Śroṇa yā kā cid vedanā, saṁjñā, saṁskārā, yat kiṁ cid vijñānam atītānāgatapratyutpannam ādhyātmikaṁ vā bāhyaṁ vā audārikaṁ vā sūkṣmaṁ vā pūrvavad yāvat sa [

]vān āryaśrāvako rūpād api nirvidyate,

<sup>1</sup> kim aññattha yathābhūtaṁ adassanā.

<sup>2</sup> seyyo ham asmīti na samanupassanti . . . .

<sup>3</sup> kim aññattha yathābhūtaṁ dassanā.





vedanāyāḥ, samjñāyāḥ, saṃskārebhyo, vijñānād api nirvid-  
yate, nirviṇṇo virajyate, virakto vimucyate, vimuktasya  
vi[muktam iti jñānam bhavati : kṣīṇā jāti]r, uṣitān brahma-  
caryān, kṛtān karaṇīyān, nāparam aśnād bhavān prajānā-  
mīty. asmin khalu dharmaparyāye bhāṣyamāṇe Śroṇasya  
gr̥hapatiputrasya virajo vigutamalān dharmeṣu dharmā-  
cakṣur utpannam. atha Śroṇo gr̥hapatiputro dr̥ṣṭadharmā  
prāptadharmā viditadharmā paryavagādhadharmā tīrṇa-  
kāṃkṣas tīrṇavicikitso [ ] su  
vaiśāradyapṛāpta utthāyāsanād ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgam kṛtvā  
yenāyusmāṃ Chāriputrā tenāñjaliṃ pranamayya āyus-  
mantān Śāriputrā idam avocat : abhikrānto 'haṃ bha-  
danta Śāriputrābhikrāntaḥ, yathāhaṃ bhagavantaṃ śaraṇaṃ  
gacchāmi dharmā ca bhikṣusaṅghaṃ copāsakam ca mām  
dhārayādyāgreṇa yāvaj jīva [ ]  
Śroṇo gr̥hapatiputra āyusmanah Śāriputrasya bhāṣitam abhi-  
nandyaṇumodyāyusmanah Śāriputrasya pādaṃ śirasā vanditvā  
āyusmanah Śāriputrasyāntikāt prakrāntaḥ || ☉ || Rājagṛhe  
nidānam. atha Śroṇo gr̥hapatiputro divādivam eva jaṃghā-  
vihāreṇānucaṃkramyamāṇo 'nuvīcaran pādābhyām eva  
Gr̥dhrakūṭapārvatam abhīruhya yenāyusmāṃ Chāriputrā  
tenopasaṃkrānta ; upasaṃkramyāyusmanah Śāriputrasya  
pādaṃ śirasā vanditvaikānte niṣaṇṇaḥ. ekānte niṣaṇṇaṃ  
Śroṇaṃ gr̥hapatiputrān āyusmāṃ Chāriputra idam avocat :  
ye ke cie Chroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā rūpaṃ yathā-  
bhūtaṃ na prajānanti, rūpasamudayaṃ, rūpanirodhaṃ,  
rūpanirodhagāminīṃ pratipadaṃ yathābhūtaṃ na prajā-  
nanti, abhavyās te Śroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā tad  
rūpaṃ pariñātum ; ye ke cie Chroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā  
vā vedanāṃ, samjñāṃ, saṃskārāṃ, vijñānaṃ yathābhūtaṃ  
na prajānanti, vijñānasamudayaṃ, vijñānanirodhaṃ, vijñāna-  
nirodhagāminīṃ pratipadaṃ yathābhūtaṃ na prajānanti,  
abhavyās te Śroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā tad vijñānaṃ  
pariñātum ; ye tu ke cie Chroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā  
rūpaṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānanti, rūpasamudayaṃ, rūpaniro-  
dhaṃ, rūpanirodhagāminīṃ pratipadaṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajā-  
nanti, bhavyās te Śroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā tad rūpaṃ  
pariñātum ; ye tu ke cie Chroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā

vedanām, saṃjñām, saṃskārān, vijñānaṃ yathābhūtaṃ<sup>1</sup>  
[pra]jānanti, vijñānasamudayaṃ, vijñānanirodhaṃ, vijñāna-  
nirodhagāminīṃ pratipadaṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānanti, bhavyās  
te Śroṇa śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā tad vijñānaṃ parijñātum.  
kiṃ manyase Śroṇa rūpaṃ nityaṃ vā anityaṃ vā ? anityam  
idaṃ bhadanta Śāripu[tra] . . . .

Nos deux *Śroṇasūtras* démontreraient à eux seuls, s'il en était encore besoin après l'édition des feuillets Grünwedel, l'existence d'une rédaction sanscrite du *Sūtra piṭaka*. Suivis d'un troisième *Śroṇasūtra*, ils constituent la fin du premier chapitre du *Saṃyuktāgama* traduit en chinois.<sup>2</sup> Nos observations ne font que confirmer celles de M. R. Pischel sur l'indépendance de la recension septentrionale à l'égard de la recension singhalaise (*tāmaparṇiṇya*). Elles laissent d'ailleurs intact le problème capital, car elles n'éclairent pas suffisamment les procédés de compilation et de rédaction qui ont abouti aux divers groupements des *dharmaparyāyas*.

À comparer le *Saṃyutta*, xxii, 49, avec notre premier *Śroṇasūtra*, dont le début seul nous manque, on remarque d'abord l'identité du sujet, de la doctrine et de la dialectique ; par contre, la mise en œuvre est différente et plusieurs détails de style font contraste :—(1) Śāriputra est substitué au Bouddha ; ce n'est pas d'ailleurs un cas isolé. (2) À *dukkhena* (*Saṃ. N.* xxii, 49, 4), qui paraît en effet inadmissible, notre texte substitue *adhruceṇa*, bien meilleur ; il est vrai qu'il porte *duḥkham* un peu plus bas (p. 375, l. 23, and p. 376, l. 17) dans un passage qui rappelle la maladresse du compilateur pāli. (3) Nous avons signalé en note les autres variantes du premier paragraphe : la substitution de *na* à *kim*, qui est justifiée puisque Śroṇa ne répond pas ; le sens est le même : “ Une telle attribution de supériorité, etc., au moi en raison des skandhas ne se produit que manque de voir la vérité,” et inversement ; le déplacement de la

<sup>1</sup> MS. *oṭam jā*.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjio, 544.—Notre fragment correspond, dans l'édition japonais, à xiii, 2, p. 5<sup>a</sup>, col. 19–6<sup>a</sup>, col. 4.—D'après une obligeante communication de M. Sylvain Lévi.





negation : au lieu de *seyyo ham asmāti pi na samanupassanti* (xxii, 49, 13), nous avons *na śreyāṃsaḥ sma iti manante*, qui est au moins amphibologique. (4) La formule de la délivrance est modifiée—*nāparam itthattāyāti pajānāti* (xxii, 49, 24) = *nāparam asmād bhavaṃ prajānāmi*.<sup>1</sup> (5) La conclusion du récit sanscrit manque dans le Saṃyutta (depuis p. 377, l. 5 : *asmin khalu dharmaparyāye . . .*); et il semble que cette compilation emploie à l'occasion une formule différente (p. ex. iv, 47, 107 : *imasmim ca pana reyyā-karaṇasmim bhaṇṇamāne*)<sup>2</sup> bien que dhammapariyāya y soit fréquent.—On signalera la construction *abhikrānto 'ham . . . yathā* (p. 377, l. 12).<sup>3</sup>

Notre second Sūtra ne présente pas, pour l'exposé dogmatique, une aussi étroite ressemblance avec le Saṃyutta, xxii, 50. Il ne paraît pas cependant douteux qu'il y corresponde. Ici encore Śāriputra remplace le Bouddha, et si la scène reste fixée à Rājagṛha, le "Pic des vautours" est substitué au "Jardin des Bambous." La formule *evam mayā śrutam* fait défaut ; en revanche, nous avons une esquisse des pérégrinations pédestres de Śroṇa. Notre Sūtra établit que la connaissance exacte (*ye . . . yathābhūtam prajānanti*) des *skandhas* en fonction des quatre vérités, est la condition indispensable de leur abandon (*parijñātum*).<sup>4</sup> Le texte pāli déclare que les seuls religieux, les seuls brahmanes sont ceux qui possèdent la susdite connaissance (*ye . . . pajānanti : yathābhūtam* est omis). La dernière phrase que nous possédions du second Śroṇasūtra annonce un développement, une démonstration, qui manque au pāli.

<sup>1</sup> Même formule Abhidharmakośav. 216a, etc. Le tibétain confirme la lecture sanscrite : *lūi-las srad-pa gzhan mi ces-so* (Mūlhyamakāvatārahūṣya, p. 3, l. 4); de même Rgya-cher-rol-pa, 365. 9, malgré Lalitavistara 543. 1 (Lefmann, 418. 21). Pour la formule pālie, voir Suttanipāta, p. 15, et la traduction de Fausbøll : "There was nothing else (to be done) for this existence."

<sup>2</sup> Comparez Mahāvagga i, 6. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Comparez Mahāvagga i, 7. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *prahāṇāni parijñeti . . . prahāṇāni parijñāsabdenāpadiśyate sūtre* (Abhidharmakośav. citant Saṃyuttan. xxii, 106).



## XIX.

## THE KACHIN TRIBES AND DIALECTS.

By O. HANSON.

THE tribes of Upper Burma and Eastern Assam known as Kachins have, both before and after the annexation of Northern Burma, attracted a great deal of attention from ethnologists and philologists.<sup>1</sup> A considerable literature has accumulated on the subject since the time Colonel Hannay, in 1846, and Dr. Anderson, in 1868, gave us the first reliable information regarding these savage and warlike hill tribes. At present they occupy a large and fertile territory extending almost from 29° North latitude to 20° 30'. They number probably about half a million, of which one hundred thousand occupy independent territory, the larger part being under British or Chinese rule.

1. *Tribal Names.*

The original name of the tribes and race known to Europeans as Kachin is Jinghpaw, or probably more correctly Singlipo, as they still call themselves in Assam. The exact meaning of the term cannot be given with absolute certainty. If, as some contend, it originally meant man (*homo*), this meaning is now hardly traceable even in the antiquated religious language, where another term has been introduced. The word is probably of Tibetan origin,

<sup>1</sup> Transliteration and pronunciation of vernacular terms in this paper:—

VOWELS: *a* as in 'father'; *ā*, short and somewhat suppressed sound of *a*; *e* as in 'ten'; *ē* as *a* in 'ale'; *i* as in 'machine'; *u* as *oo* in 'moon'; *ai* as in 'aisle'; *au* as *ow* in 'cow'; *aw* as in 'law'; and *ou* as in 'oil.'

CONSONANTS: all of them as in English, with the exception of *chy*, the nearest equivalent of which is our *ch*; *g* is always hard; *hk*, *hp*, and *ht* represent the aspirated forms of the explosives *k*, *p*, and *t*. Thus, such words as *Jinghpaw* are pronounced as *Jing-hpaw*, never as *Jingh-paw*.

meaning a cannibal (*sin-po*). This name may have been given by the civilized Tibetans to the wild, savage, semi-nomadic border tribes, who, when on the warpath, often practised cannibalism. A name thus given in reproach by a higher race gradually became accepted by the rude tribes, and, as its meaning became forgotten, assumed the dignity of a generic term and racial designation. A similar change is now taking place. The opprobrious term Kachin, a Burmese corruption of the Chinese *ye jein* (wild men), will in time become accepted, as its unpleasant reference to the uncivilized and barbarous ways of the marauding hill tribes is no longer felt. The term Kachin is at present a foreign appellation, as is Shan to the Tai and Karen to the Braginyaw tribes. Jinghpaw, or, as it is often incorrectly spelled, Chinghpaw, is the racial name for the tribes and clans also known as Hkahku, Hkauri (Gauri), Märu, Lăshi, Atsis, and Nungs, as well as for the Jinghpaws proper. The Yaw Yin, or Lishaw, tribe are by some claimed as distant relatives, but they prefer to regard themselves as an offshoot from the Chinese, and in this are undoubtedly correct. In this survey the Jinghpaw dialect will be taken as the standard, as it is the most widely known, and is sure in time to take the place of the less important branches of the family.

## 2. *Roots, Grammar, and Vocabulary.*

The Kachin dialects (Jinghpaw, Hkahku, Hkauri, Märu, Lăshi, and Atsi) form a group of the Burman family in the Turanian, or, as some prefer to call it, *polytonic* class of languages. They were, in their earliest form, strictly monosyllabic and polytonic, but are now in the agglutinative state, and in the process are largely dispensing with the tones. About one-fourth of the vocabulary is still monosyllabic, and the rest mainly dissyllabic. It is still easy, however, to trace the root of nearly every individual word. Thus, from the root *ja*, to be hard, solid, we have *aja*, gold, *gumja*, golden, *kăja*, good, *lăja*, difficult, bad, *nja*, dear, *maja*, stubborn, and *shăja*, to persevere, as well as numerous other

forms and combinations. From *yan* (or *yang*), to be straight, are such formations as *a-yan*, straight, *gin-yan*, *gum-yan*, or *kāyan*, extended, *läyan* or *läyang*, a plain, *n-yan*, long, and *mayan*, a row or file.

The Kachin grammar (especially of the Jinghpaw dialect) agrees in the main with the dialects of the Burman family, and, as compared with Burmese, is remarkably full and exact. The numerous particles (see my Kachin Grammar) expressing all the shades of inflections and conjugations in the Aryan languages are almost done away with in modern Burmese, but to the fullest extent retained in Kachin. Some of the smaller clans, like the Hkauris, have a tendency to drop some of the verbal particles, and others in time will dispense with many of these rather troublesome adjuncts.

It has more than once been stated that the illiterate Kachins have a vocabulary of only three or four thousand words. This is, however, very far from the truth. Even the most ordinary mountaineer, however crude and uncultivated he may appear, has command of eight or ten thousand words, while the priests, 'prophets,' professional story-tellers, and minstrels use an additional three or four thousand.

### 3. *The Kachin Tribes and Dialectical Differences.*

Although the Kachins, in common with the Karens and some other hill tribes, have a vague tradition of a 'parchment book,' lost long ago, they certainly never had a written language. Being broken up into numerous tribes, clans, and families, different dialects developed, some of which are now regarded as distinct forms of speech. But amidst this expected diversity we find a remarkable uniformity, especially as compared with the linguistic problems among the Chins and Karens.

The original home of the Kachins according to their own, to some extent reliable, traditions, was North-Eastern Assam and the rugged Tibetan borderland. The Hukong Kachins claim as their ancestral home the mostly unexplored regions

now inhabited by the Nongs (Hkun Nungs) to the north of the Kamhti valley. Here we must try to locate the Mājoi Shingra Bum, 'the naturally flat mountain,' i.e. plateau, which, as the Kachin Eden, holds such a prominent place in their traditional lore. Two or three centuries ago the tribes began to migrate towards the south, and came in contact with the Shans and related races inhabiting the country around the Upper Irrawaddy. The divisions of the family now called Jinghpaws, Hkahkus, and Hkauris followed the west side of the river, partially subjugating the Kamhti Shans, and, taking possession of the Hukong valley, almost exterminated the remaining descendants of the once powerful Ahoms. Still pressing southward, they reached the more powerful Shans and Burmans around Mogaung, and, compelled to turn east, crossed the Irrawaddy (Mālikha) some miles north of the present site of Myitkyina. Pushing their way south on the east side of the river, they killed or drove out the Las, Palawngs, and remnants of Shans still found in the hills. Large numbers, however, remained behind and settled in the country adjoining the Upper Irrawaddy; they in time became known to their southern kinsmen as Hkahkus, 'up-river people.' A powerful clan of the Lāhpai tribe, called Hkauri, became entrenched in the natural hill-fortresses east of Bhamo, and, with the lawless tribes of Western Yunnan, became the terror of the Shans and Burmans on the plains. Powerful detachments of true Jinghpaws forced their way from time to time still further south on both sides of the river, coming in contact with the Thenie and Hsipaw Shans to the east and the Wonthós on the west, when their conquests came to an end. These southern Kachins have advanced further in civilization than their northern kinsmen, with the possible exception of a few of the Hukong families.

That these migrations, contact with higher forms of civilization, and settling among new surroundings, to a certain extent influenced both language and custom is what we would expect and what has actually happened. Their very aggressiveness, however, saved them from isolation,

and thus the unity of the language has been wonderfully preserved. While all Kachins recognize five parent tribes, the Lāhpai, Lāhtaw, Mārip, Nhkum, and Māran, the dialectical differences are fortunately not coextensive with the tribal. Only those who for some reason did not follow the main stream of emigration developed in their comparative isolation new forms of speech. Among those we will further on notice the Māru, Atsi, and Lāshi.

For the sake of convenience we will divide the Kachins speaking the Jinghpaw dialect into three divisions, which we will call Jinghpaws (or southern Kachins), Hkauris (Gauris, those under Chinese influence), and Hkahkus (up-river, or northern Kachins). Their speech is, strictly speaking, the same, and is understood by all from Assam to the Burma Shan States. But characteristic differences worthy of notice are found, which will help us to explain the more difficult questions relating to Māru, Atsi, and Lāshi, and the place these dialects take in the Burman family of the Turanian or polytonic class. Here we would first compare Jinghpaw and Hkauri, noticing (*a*) difference in vocabulary, (*b*) different use of preformatives, aspirates, and labials, and (*c*) different use of final letters and syllables:—

(*a*) Differences in vocabulary, which is comparatively small:

JINGHPAW.	HKAURI.
dai, <i>to be sharp.</i>	jung.
hkali, <i>fever.</i>	ara.
mādi, <i>to be moist.</i>	ke.
läsi, <i>to be lean.</i>	māhkru.

(*b*) Use of different preformatives:

bungli, <i>work.</i>	mangli.
gintawng, <i>the morning star.</i>	kantawng.
shintai, <i>a worm.</i>	dungtai.
nhtu, <i>a sword.</i>	ninghtu.
nbung, <i>wind.</i>	mābung.
sumpu, <i>a box.</i>	sampu.

Such preformatives as *gum* and *kum*, *gin* and *kin*, *n*, *ning*, and *num*, *sam* and *sum*, are often used interchangeably, even

in the same locality. For the same reason aspirates and labials show a most troublesome fluctuation; thus, *hkyen* or *shen*, to cut a jungle, *hpuu*, wood, *pfun*, *pyaw*, to be happy, *praw*, are only a few of the class which may here be given. The use of the *sh*, *pf*, and *pr*, instead of their corresponding aspirates, is one of the most noticeable characteristics of the Hkauri dialect.

(c) Different use of final letters and syllables :

JINGHPAW.	HKAU RI.
ma, <i>a child</i> .	mang.
māsha, <i>a person</i> .	māshang.
mājaw, <i>because</i> .	mājoi.
na, <i>from</i> .	nai.
mālut, <i>tobacco</i> .	mālawt.

The difference between Jinghpaw and Hkahku is to a certain extent the same as that of Jinghpaw and Hkauri. Most of the Kachins north of the Upper Defile have a tendency to use the final *ng* where the southern tribes would end in a vowel, and the full preformatives *gum*, *nung*, *num*, *kam*, etc., where in the south the shortened forms *ga*, *ka*, and *n'* would be sufficient. The use of the pronouns also more often agree with the Hkauri than with southern usage, and the same is often true of aspirates and labials. But in the usage of noun and verbal particles the northern and southern usage is closer than that of Jinghpaw and Hkauri, except that *de* as a connective is often used by the Singhpas on the Assam side. Besides these the following peculiarities should be noticed :—

(a) Difference of vocabulary :

JINGHPAW.	HKAHKU.
dumbau, <i>a rhinoceros</i> .	dun.
dābang, <i>a camp</i> .	sāhkan.
gāde, <i>where</i> .	gālaw.
law, <i>many, much</i> .	at.
lāngai, <i>one</i> .	ai mi.
moi, <i>formerly</i> .	mālaw.

JINGHPAW.	IIKAHKU.
māren, <i>same</i> .	ai ma.
noi hkrat, <i>rubber</i> .	gānoi.
hpa, <i>what</i> .	hkai.
shatmai, <i>curry</i> .	si.
suiwan, <i>fog</i> .	māhkup.
rum, <i>a waterfall</i> .	dat.
hkaizu, <i>maize</i> .	gawhpa or n-gawng.

While this list might be enlarged, it should be borne in mind that nearly all these and similar words are well known to southern Kachins, even though not in every-day use. For example, the word *mahkup* is in poetry nearly always found in Jinghpaw as a couplet of *sairan*, which is the colloquial expression. *Kumhpa*, mud (a word common in the Hukong valley), is in southern usage a couplet of their word *hkumpup*. *At*, many, would be recognized south, although the word there means 'to increase.' Thus representatives from north and south find no difficulty in understanding each other.

(b) Different pronunciation of the same word :

JINGHPAW.	IIKAHKU.
chyē, <i>to know</i> .	chyoi or chyeng.
hkyen, <i>frost</i> .	gyen.
jawn, <i>to ride</i> .	jau.
Myin, <i>a Burman</i> .	Man.
tsun, <i>to speak</i> .	su.
zawn, <i>as, like as</i> .	sawt.
yan, <i>ye two</i> .	yawn.

Broadly speaking, *chyē* is the southern, *chyoi* the northern, and *chyeng* the Iikaure form of the verb 'to know.' But this word is an exception. Taken as a whole we find differences in pronunciation unimportant and less than we might expect. The Sāsān dialect in northern Hukong presents more difficulties, both as to vocabulary and pronunciation, than any other Jinghpaw variation, having been influenced by the tribes from the Assam side.

Words introduced from kindred dialects will naturally vary in different localities. The Shans have influenced the Jinghpaws, both north and south, more than the Burmans. The Hkauris have borrowed mostly from the Chinese. The word for 'taxes,' for example, is generally *kanse* or *hkansi* in the Bhamo district, while *hpunda*, *ahkun*, or *kantack* are used north. The term for government officials may be *du ni*, *agyi ni*, *atsu ya ni*, *khun ni*, or *jau ni*, all except the first being introduced from Shan or Burmese. The number of such words is, however, small, as religious differences and the independent character of the Kachins has counteracted such outside influence as we would naturally expect from stronger and more civilized races.

#### 4. *The Relation of the Jinghpaw to the Märu, Atsi, and Lāshi Dialects.*

That the Märu (Lawng Waw), Atsi (or Szi), and Lāshi (Lāhkyik Waw) tribes belong to the same race as the Jinghpaws, and can be classed under the common name Kachin, admits of no controversy. In customs, tradition, and religion they are practically identical, and, although at a first glance it may seem that the Jinghpaw dialect is quite different from the other three, a closer examination at once reveals their common source. The same holds true in regard to the Nungs, Lākai Chins, and other less known tribes inhabiting Western Yunnan. Which one of these dialects comes nearest the original mother-tongue may be an open question, but it seems almost certain that the Jinghpaw, as being the one mostly spread and in closest touch with other forms of speech, has lost more of its primitive form than the others. In Märu, Atsi, and Lāshi we seem to come closer to the original source from which the Burman family of languages have sprung. If this theory is correct, it will help us to explain why in Märu and its daughters, Atsi and Lāshi, we discover a closer resemblance to Burmese than is apparent in Jinghpaw.

When the main body of Jinghpaws left the ancestral home at the head-waters of the Irrawaddy, taking possession of the country west of the river, smaller detachments, now represented by the Mārus, forced their way southward and established themselves in the territory north of the Nmai river. From here they succeeded in pushing their way still further south along the Chinese and Burman frontier. But the Mārus found the hills more difficult of conquest than the Jinghpaws the plains, and it was only after the latter had grown strong enough to invade the territory north of the Taping, and had gained a foothold in the old Palawng Hills south-east of Bhamo, that the Māru clans could seek new homes. They were allowed to settle among the Jinghpaws, and thus we find Māru villages and families scattered all over the hills. But their position from the first was more isolated than that of the Jinghpaws, and thus they in time developed their own dialect while in the main retaining the old customs and religious ceremonies. A large number of the Mārus came under the rule of the strong Lāhpai tribe, and by intermarriage a new clan called the Szi or Atsi grew up. They are mostly found along the Chinese frontier, and are for all practical purposes Jinghpaws. But their dialect comes from the Māru, while they, like the Hkauris, claim to be true Jinghpaw Lāhpais. From the Atsis, through intermarriage with Marans and others, sprung the Lāshis, the youngest of the distinct tribes with a dialect of their own, unless the Sāsans be so regarded, which seems unnecessary. The Lāshi also shows in his speech his Māru parentage, but in certain other respects represents the more modern conditions under which he has grown up. Thus the Māru, Atsi, and Lāshi are the same people, and the differences in speech may be regarded as variations (provincialisms or localisms) of the same dialect. How closely these resemble each other, and how near relatives they are to the Jinghpaw, will be seen from the following list, which could easily be indefinitely enlarged :—

ENGLISH.	JINGHPAW.	MÄRU.	ATSI.	LĀSHI.
<i>air</i>	nbung	la	lai	la.
<i>arm</i>	lähpum	law	lawpu	lawpu.
<i>bamboo</i>	wu	wu	waw	wu.
<i>bear, n.</i>	tsap	wè	wam	wöm.
<i>blood</i>	sai	sa	say	soi.
<i>body</i>	hkum	kaung	kungdu	kung.
<i>cattle</i>	nga	nung	nötsaw	nö.
<i>cat</i>	länyau	länyau	länyau	länyauk.
<i>dog</i>	gwi	lähka	hkwi	lähkwi.
<i>ear</i>	na	na	naw	noi.
<i>eye</i>	myi	myaw	myaw	myaw.
<i>flesh</i>	shan	shaw	shaw	shu.
<i>I</i>	ngui	ngaw	ngaw	ngaw.

5. *The place of the Kachin Dialects in the Burman Family of the Turanian Class.*

The three leading languages of Eastern Asia, Tibetan, Chinese, and Burmese, have unmistakably their common source in one of the ancient Mongol dialects. They in turn have become the representatives of the three families of speech which come under our survey. In the Tibetan family we include Tibetan, Magar, Lepcha, and other dialects of North-Eastern India. The China family includes Chinese, the Shan or Tai groups, the Karen dialects, and a large number of various forms of speech, as yet unclassified, found in Western China. To the Burman we would assign the Burmese, Kachin, Naga, and Chin groups.

The relation between the Kachin and Naga dialects shows a close affinity between the two groups, and the same holds true of Kachin and the Chin. The dialect of the Lākai Chins to the north-west of the Hukong Valley may be regarded as a branch of Kachin, but they call themselves Chins (Hkangs). The further south we go, however, the more marked become the dialectical differences. But the similarity of both vocabulary and grammar, not to mention customs and religion, prove beyond a doubt their common

ancestry. The Kachins and Karens have always claimed relationship, and some of the Karen traditions clearly prove that on their way south they passed the regions around Bhamo. Their customs and religious ceremonies are to a large extent identical. But though many of the roots in the dialects are the same, the tones and grammatical constructions identify the Karen group with the Chinese Shan rather than with the Burman family. The close relationship between the Kachin dialects and the Burmese is seen at a glance. At least one-fourth of the Burmese and Kachin roots are identical. Grammar and idioms are practically the same; both languages are rapidly dispensing with the tones, these being restricted to certain words only. In Märu and its daughters, Atsi and Lăshi, the family resemblance is, if possible, even more on the surface. A large number of every-day terms are the same, where the Jinghpaw has adopted new words. Thus, to mention a single case, the root *myi*, fire, is found in Burmese, Märu, Atsi, and Lăshi, while *wan* has become the Jinghpaw word, *myi* being retained only in a few combinations such as *myihprap*, lightning, flash-light, and *myihtantu*, a fire-fly. The following words will illustrate the close relationship between the Kachin, Burmese, Chin, and Karen groups:—

ENGLISH	JINGHPAW.	MÄRU.	BURMESE.	KAREN. (Sagaw.)	CHIN. (Sandoway.)	LĀKAI.)
<i>drink, v.</i>	lu	shauk	thank	u	ok	lin.
<i>cry</i>	likrap	nguk	ngu	haw	hi.	
<i>east</i>	sha	tsaw	sa	aw	è	shi.
<i>eye</i>	myi	myi	mye	me	ami	myuk.
<i>fire</i>	wan	myi	myi	me-u	me	wan.
<i>cave</i>	ginsu	nechyung	nuwa	wawhpyi	sawnu	mătsu.
<i>far</i>	tsan	wa	we	yi	lu	we.
<i>fowl</i>	u (wu)	raw	kyo	saw	à	wu.
<i>hear</i>	na	kyaw	kya	naho	yauk.	
<i>hog</i>	wa	waw	we	htaw	wō	wak.
<i>sleep</i>	yup	yap	eik	myi	i	yup.
<i>sun</i>	jan	jan	ne	mō	k'oni	rang.
<i>wood</i>	hpun		thin	thè	tén	hpun.

Passing from the Burman family (to which, strictly speaking, Karen belongs only as a near relative), to find the place for the Kachin dialects in the Turanian class, all we can do is to indicate the relationship between these and the Burmese, Tibetan, and Chinese. I do not regard the Burmese as a daughter of the Tibetan, but as a younger sister, while Chinese is without doubt older than either. The family resemblance between these leading representatives of Eastern Asiatic is both interesting and instructive. All are tonal, even though Burmese has to a great degree dispensed with the tones. The grammatical constructions vary, but the original roots, the tones, and noun and verbal particles still give form and structure to both grammar and idioms. In Chinese, and still more so in Tibetan, the national exclusiveness and conservatism, coupled with veneration for everything ancient and ancestral, has created a literary language which is often quite different from the colloquial. Traces of this tendency are found also in Burmese, but the situation of the country and pressure from outside have helped to modify the dialect and compelled the use of new terms and expressions, to meet the demands of new conditions. The following examples will help us to gain an idea of both the relationship and independent character of the Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, and Jinghpaw:—

ENGLISH.	CHINESE.	TIBETAN.	BURMESE.	KACHIN.
<i>ear</i>	nha	na	na	na.
<i>eat</i>	chi'h	sa	sa	sha.
<i>eye</i>	mein	mig	mye	myi.
<i>fish</i>	ü	nya	nga	nga.
<i>fire</i>	ho	me	myi	wan.
<i>flesh</i>	ruh	shu	tha	shan.
<i>grass</i>	tsing	tsa	myek	tsing.
<i>heap</i>	tui	hpung	paung	hpung (bum).
<i>road</i>	lu	lam	lam	lam.
<i>dog</i>	keo	k'yi	hkwe	gwi.
<i>I</i>	u	nga (nge)	nga	ngai.
<i>you</i>		k'yö	nin	nang.
<i>he</i>	ta	k'o	tho	shi.

ENGLISH.	CHINESE.	TIBETAN.	BURMESE.	KACHIN.
<i>one</i>	ih	chig	tit	langai.
<i>two</i>	leng (ri)	nyi	hnit	lähkawng.
<i>three</i>	san	sum	thon	māsum.
<i>four</i>	se (sü)	shi	le	māli.
<i>five</i>	vu	nga	nga	mānga.
<i>six</i>	luh	dr'ug	chauk	kru.
<i>seven</i>	tsih	dun	khunit	sanit.
<i>eight</i>	pa	gye	shit	mātsat.
<i>nine</i>	kyu	gu	ko	jähku.
<i>ten</i>	shö (shih)	chu	se	shi.

Regarding the morphological transitions and changes, as far as they now can be observed, little need be said. When we consider how easily an aspirate is changed into a sibilant, a labial to a dental, and *vice versâ*, how interchangeable are such letters and sounds as *y*, *r*, and *l*, such combinations as *ky*, *hky*, *ch*, and *chy*, we are prepared to find some of the roots presenting quite a different appearance than when they first began their long and eventful journey. The difficulties here encountered are, however, no greater than, and in most instances not as perplexing as, those in the Aryan and Semitic languages.

In concluding this rather hasty survey of this large territory, extensive parts of which are almost unknown, I may be allowed to venture a classification of the dialects known, in accordance with the views here expressed. I am aware that I differ from some authorities whose labours I highly value. I would prefer to use the term Turanian for Polytonic, as some of the dialects in question are hardly tonal, even though closely related to tonal languages. The term Tibeto-Burman, by which the so-called Lohitic languages of Max Müller are designated, is misleading and confusing. It appears preferable to speak of the Tibetan and Burman families, allotting to each its own territory and groups. The following classification, which does not claim to be exhaustive, will indicate, I hope, the lines along which the problem will be solved:—

## TURANIAN CLASS.

FAMILY.		REMARKS.	
TIBETAN	{ Tibetan, Mugar, Mirmi, Lepcha, etc.		
	{ GROUP. Chinese { Cantonese, Hakka, Lishaw, Maitsö, and some 40 different dialects.		
CHINESE	{ Shan { Ahom, Kamhti, Mongtsa, Shan or Tai, Siamese.	Northern and Southern Shan have many differences.	
	{ Karen { Sagaw, Pow, Bree, Karenni.		
	{ Mon Annam { Palawng, Talaing, Khamu.		
	{ Burman { Burmese, Kadu, Taungtha, Damu, Arakanese.		
BURMAN	{ Kachin { Jinghpaw. Märu, Atsi, Läshi, Nung.	The Säsan or Hkauri need not be regarded as different dialects; they are practi- cally Jinghpaw.	
	{ Naga { Hpön (?), Ao, Lotha, Garu, Mikir.		
	{ Chin { Siyin, Haka, Saushi, Yawdwin, Lakai, Chinbok.		

In Western Yunnan are  
supposed to be found over  
sixty dialects.

Moshö }  
Wa } Some of these dia-  
La } lects show a close  
Hkun } relationship to  
Anka } Burmese, others  
Hkwe } to Shan.

## XX.

## PANEGYRIC ON SULTAN JAQMAQ,

BY IBN 'ARABSHAH.

THE late Professor S. Arthur Strong, at the time of his lamented death, was engaged upon an edition (to be published in the Monograph Series) of the work of the celebrated historian Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Arabshāh entitled *At-ta'tīf al-ṭāhir fī shiyam al-Malik adh-Dhāhir al-Qā'im bi-nuṣrat al-Ḥaqq Abī Sa'īd Jaqmaq*, of which a unique MS. exists in the Library of the British Museum (Or. 3026). This treatise, a panegyric upon the Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt and Syria, al-Malik adh-Dhāhir Saif ad-dīn Jaqmaq (842-857 H.<sup>1</sup>), was composed by the author in the year 843, when Jaqmaq had been less than two years on the throne, as an antidote (he says) to his previous work, the biography of that scourge of humanity, the great devastator Timūr the Lame, in order that, having set forth the career of a ruthless destroyer of mankind, he might draw also the picture of a just and righteous monarch, the father of his people and the terror only of the enemies of Islam. The work is interesting as the composition of an acknowledged master of Arabic prose, and the MS. on which the edition was to be based is a good one; a very full account of it will be found at p. 351 of Professor Rieu's *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the British Museum*, 1894.

When Professor Strong died the printing had progressed only as far as the end of the second chapter, covering twelve folios of the MS. (which contains 110). It was hoped that

<sup>1</sup> 1438-1453 A.D.

*the edition might be continued by Shams ul-'Ulāmā Sayyid 'Alī Bilgrāmī, who had kindly offered to undertake it; but that gentleman unhappily fell seriously ill towards the end of last year, and was unable to carry on the work, or to do more with the matter already in print than to revise the proof (for which, as it stands at present, he is responsible). As it was impossible to keep the type any longer standing, it seemed best to print in our Journal (with the consent of Mrs. Strong) so much as could be published, as a memorial of the work of an admirable scholar. It will be the hope of every student of Arabic literature that Sayyid 'Alī may soon recover his health and be able to give to the world the whole text.*

It is a melancholy reflection that the author, Ibn Arabshāh, had little cause to congratulate himself on his treatment by the Prince whose praises he celebrates in this work. Jaqmaq imprisoned him on a calumnious charge in 854 H. when he was seriously ill; and though he was released after five days' confinement, he died of his malady twelve days later (A.D. 1450, 25th August).

C. J. L.



مع الله تعالى ومراعاة اوقاته وجكاياته لا تكاد تنحصر والاشتغال  
ببسط ذلك يخرج عن المقصود\* وكان ثناء الشيخ رضي الله عنه ودعاؤه  
لمولانا السلطان رحمه الله تعالى من اقوي الدواعي والبواعث علي  
المثول بين ايديه الشريفة واغتنام النظر الي وجهه الكريم والدعاء له  
فحصل بمحمد الله تعالى لنا من صدقاته البر التام والانعام العام\* ولما  
حل الركاب السلطاني الملكي الاشرفي بالقاهرة نرقى مولانا السلطان الي  
ان صار انا بك العساكر المنصورة الاسلامية الي ان اندرج الملك  
الاشرف الي رحمة الله تعالى في اواخر سنة احدي واربعين وثمان مائة  
وهو مع ذلك؟ فاسند وصيته اليه وعول في امر ولد الملك العزيز  
يوسف عليه لما كان تحفته منه من الدين وحسن المعاملة مع الخلق  
والمخلوقين والحنو والشفقة علي اليتيم والفقير والكبير والصغير وكأته  
في شانه الشريف قيل شعُر

وهب الورثي ايامهم لك وارنضوا\* بالموت في ايامك القراء  
علمًا بانك بعدهم لبنيتهم\* بخير من الاباء للابناء  
فقام بموجب ذلك كما ينبغي الي ان انتهج الدين والدنيا بولايته  
واضاء الزمان والمكان بسلطنته كل ذلك بفضل الله تعالى وكرمه  
وشمول رحمته ووفور نعمه\* وسيأتي بيان ذلك وتفصيله في موضعه ان  
شاء الله تعالى\*

وذكر هذا الكلام فقال الشيخ رضي الله عنه أما تمتنع عن قبول  
هذه الاشياء فهو انفع لك واعود عليك في الدنيا والآخرة وان كان  
في نفسك ميل الي شيء من ذلك او تختشي عواقب الامور فانت  
بالخير فان الامر ربما يؤول الي الامير جقمق ويلي امور المسلمين  
ويصير سلطانا او كما قال \* ثم قال المجتنب الشرفي المشار اليه ان  
الشيخ رحمه الله قال هذا الكلام لمخدومنا المقتّر الاشرف الكمال عظم  
الله تعالى شأنه ولغيره مرارا وذلك من شهور سنة اربع وعشرين  
وثمانمائة وذلك قبل ان يلي مولانا السلطان امور المسلمين بخو عشرين  
سنة \* ومن جملة احوال الشيخ رحمه الله ما حكى الشيخ عبد الله البلخشاني  
خادمه قال خدمت الشيخ رضي الله عنه نحو من ثلاثين سنة فكنت  
ادخل عليه ليلا ونهارا وفي خلواته فلم اره في هذه المدة الطويلة يوما  
جالسا متربعا ولا مادّا رجله ولا متكئا \* وقدم الشيخ رضي الله عنه سنة  
اثنين وثلاثين وثمانمائة فكنا نتردد اليه والي حين توفي الي رحمه الله  
تعالى يوم الخميس ضحوة نهار ثاني شهر رمضان سنة احد واربعين  
وثمانمائة ودفن من يومه بالمرة رحمه الله تعالى \* فكان يجلس جاثيا علي  
ركبته متوجّها الي القبلة من الضمّي وهو وقت دخولنا عليه والي صلوة  
العصر بقر العلوم فكانت الجماعة تسأم من الجلوس وتنمب وتنقلب  
وهو لا يتحرك ولا يتغير عن جلسته تلك رحمه الله واحواله ومعاملاته

ذات يوم يا شيخ خضرائه لم يدخل عليّ احد قط الا اظهرني الله تعالى علي ما في نفسه واطلعني علي ما في ضميره فعلت ما في خاطره \* قال ثم كان الشيخ افاق من هذا الكلام فقال يا شيخ خضرلا تلتفت الي هذا الكلام ولا تغترّ به فانّ هذا ادني مقامات ارباب الكشف والشيخ رضي الله عنه كان اعلي مقاماً من ان يُوصف بهذا \* وهذا بعينه ما قاله المجتهد رضي الله عنه وقد سئل عن العارف فقال العارف من نطق عن سرّك وانت ساكت \* وحكي المجتهد الكرم الفضاي الشرفي سيدي محيي بن العطار حفظ الله تعالى مجده وادام سعادته ومجده لما قدم الشام واخر سنة ثلث واربعين وثمانائة بحافاة الباسطية قال كان الشيخ رحمه الله في سنة اربع وعشرين وثمانائة بمصر وكنا اذذاك نتردد اليه ونقوأ عليه وكان نغمده الله برحمته يغار علي اصحابه من الدنيا والغرور بها ويرجو لهم كلّ خير \* وكان مولانا السلطان خلد الله دولعه اذ ذاك خزندار فارس اليّ مع المجتهد الفضاي الفرسى السخاوي ان اليّ نيابة الانظار المجارية تحت تكلّمه الشريف ونصرفه مع مباشرة وظيفة الدوادارية له فامتنعت متعللاً بأنّي قد تركت هذه الاشياء وثابت عن المباشرات فالح عليّ وحاباني فذكرت أنّي مغتّم صحبة الشيخ علاء الدين البخاري والقراءة عليه والملازمة لخدمته ولا اوثر علي ذلك شيئا فاتفق لنا اجتماع بحضرته الكريمة

الشيخ علاء الدين المشار اليه اخذ العلوم الادبية عن الشيخ سعد الدين النفاذاني \* وكان له دنيا عريضة يتعاني المتاجر واقام بالهند مدة وقد برع في العلوم ثم قدم الي مصر وفي زمان الملك المؤيد وجري له مع علمائها امور ثم حج منها ورجع مع الشامي الي دمشق في اوائل سنة اثنين وثلاثين وثمان مائة واشتغل بالافادة ولم يزل يتفأل من الدنيا حتي خرج منها فقرأ صورة التاريخ الاتي ذكره فيه \* واخبرني الشيخ الامام علاء الدين ابو المحسن علي الفايوني المحنفي شيخ علوم العربية بدمشق ابداها الله تعالى ونحن اخوان نتردد الي الشيخ في شهر سنة اربع وثلاثين وثمانمائة قال رأيت في المنام كأن هاتفا بنادي الآن الشيخ علاء الدين البخاري صار في هذه الليلة قطبا \* ومن صفاته الجمعية انه ما كان يجازف بالكلام وانما يتكلم بما هو واقع من المغيبات وكان ينظر بنور الله تعالى فيتكلم مكاشفة فاذا دخل عليه احد وفي خاطره شيء يربد يعرضه علي الشيخ ويستشير فيه او يسأله عنه فيجلس ساكنا منتظرا ما يقوله الشيخ فانه كلن مهيبا وقورا لا يبتدي احد عنده بكلام حتي يكون هو المبتدي فاذا تكلم الشيخ بشي افتتح بكلام يكون جوابا لذلك السائل ومفصحا عما في ضمير ذلك المستشير وارشادا له الي ما يفعل سابقا لكلامه وجوابا لسؤاله \* ولقد قال لي خادمه الشيخ خضر الكردي رحمه الله قال لي الشيخ رضي الله عنه

فيمن توجه لتقبل الارض بين يديه وكما اذذاك تردّد الى شيخنا  
 المرحوم الشيخ علاء الدين البخاري نغمده الله تعالى برضوانه واسكنه  
 محبوبته جانه وكان شيخنا المشار اليه كثيرا ما يُثني علي مولانا السلطان  
 وما كان بوجه وجه النناء والدعاء لاحد من اكابر الزمان الا اليه \*  
 نُسّدة من صفات شيخنا المرحوم المشار اليه وما قصدت بذكر الشيخ  
 رحمه الله تعالى في الكتاب الا الشكر لان عند ذكر الصالحين تنزل  
 الرحمة \* كان شيخنا الشيخ علاء الدين البخاري المشار اليه افاض الله  
 سجال الرضوان عليا من ايراد الاولياء وخواتم عمال العلماء وكان من  
 يجاربه من علماء العرب والعجم في شيء من العلوم ايّ علم كان يقول ليس  
 علي وجه الارض اعلم منه وكأني في كلّ علم مُصنّفه وفي تزيير كلّ  
 كتاب مؤثفه \* واما عمله واجتهاده فكان مراقبا لاحواله محافظا علي  
 رعاية اقواله وافعاله وكان كرجل حُفر قبره وتدلّت رجلاه فيه  
 وهو علي آخر رمق ينتظر خروج بقية ما في نفسه ليسقط فيه \* وكان  
 من رأي تقريره العلوم برّجعه علمه علي عمله ومن اطلع علي مجاهدته  
 نفسه يفضل عمله علي علمه \* وكان قد اشتغل علي خاله الشيخ عبد  
 الرحمن الفشلاحي البخاري ثم اخذ الفقه عن مشايخ الاعصون ومنهم الشيخ  
 نعمان الخوارزمي المعتزلي الذي كان يقال مائي الفقه النعمان الثاني وهو  
 ابو عبد الحبار المعتزلي الذي كان مع تمرلك يدور معه البلاد ثم ان

وينادوا الآن هرون اراد ان يُذِلَّ عبدا اعزه الله تعالى فلم يقدر \*  
ثم ان مولانا السلطان خلد الله تعالى سلطانه ووضح علي العالمين  
برهانه لم يزل يعلو مقداره ويرتفع به للدين مناره ويزدان  
بطلعه الشريفه من كل منصب يليه شعاره ودثاره حتي تقدم في الإمرة  
وواق اقرانه في الساهة والشهرة وصار حاجب الحجاب بمصر المحروسة  
ثم ولي الولايات المعنرة وكان كلما زاده الله نعمة جدد لها شكرا وكلما  
قلد منة ادخرها في رقاب عباده لداره الاخري واشتمر بصطع  
المعروف حيثما ولي وبقي الماثر الجميلة أينما حل ركابه الشريف  
في أيام الملك المؤيد شيخ والملك الظاهر نتر والملك الاشرف برساي  
تغمدهم الله رحمته \* وولي وظيفة الخزندارثة من زمان الملك المؤيد \*  
وهو مع ذلك مقول القول ميمون القية مارك الطلعة منجح العال  
سعيد الرأي تيامن بطلعته الشريفه الكبير والصغير ويتبع برويا  
وجهه الكريم القريب والغريب \* ولما توجه الملك الاشرف برساي  
الي آمد ووصلت العساكر المنصورة الي الشام كان مولانا السلطان  
اذذاك امير اخور فترولوا برزة فتوجه غالب اهل الخير والعلم  
والصلاح اليه ليقبلوا الارض بين يديه وذلك لما اشتهر ثناؤه العاطر  
واتشر عطوه الوافر وبره الجزيل ولقاؤه الجميل ومعاملته بالبشر  
والطلاقة والخير والسماحة لكل من يتمثل بين يديه فتوجهت

به وهو يقول له يا فاعل يا تارك والله لئن تعرضت للامير جفقت  
ماذي او سلطت عليه من يؤذيه او قصده بسوء لندقن عنقك ولنقتلنك  
شر قتلة ففرّ وهو مرعوب واستيقظ وهو مذعور واقلع عما كان قد عزم  
عليه \* فانظر الي هذه العناية الربانية واللطفة السابقة الصمدانية وهل  
هي الا معني قوله تعالى وَمَنْ يَتَّقِ اللَّهَ يَجْعَلْ لَهُ مَخْرَجًا وَيَرْزُقْهُ مِنْ حَيْثُ  
لَا يَحْتَسِبُ \* وَمَنْ يَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ فَهُوَ حَسْبُهُ \* واذا كان الله تعالى  
حسب انسان من هو الذي يقدر علي ابصال مكروه اليه \* ولولا ان  
اساس يقين مولانا السلطان عامله الله بالالطاف ووقاه شر ما يخاف  
بالله تعالى وحسن توكله عليه في غاية من الاحكام وجعل معاملاته  
واخلاصه في طاعته بلغ نهاية الابرام لما تلافاه بلطفه في حرقة هذه  
الاهوال ولا ادخر رحمة لعباده في هذا العصر الذي فحط فيه  
الرجال \* حكّي الامام ابو القاسم القشيري رحمه الله تعالى قال امر  
رجل هرون الرشيد بالمعروف فغضب عليه فامر ان يربط مع بغلة  
سيئة الخلق لتقتله فلم تضره ولم تؤذ فامر ان يلقي في بيت وبطين  
بابه عليه ففعلوا به ذلك فرأوه ماشيا يتجتر في بستان فاحضروه عند  
هرون والبيت مطين بحاله فقال له من اخرجك من البيت فقال  
الذي ادخلني البستان قال ومن ادخلك البستان قال الذي  
اخرجني من البيت فامر هرون ان يركبه دابة ويطوفوا به المدينة

ونهارا بالقرآن السبع محب للفقراء والعلماء مصاحب أفضلا والأذكياء  
كثير الميل الي معاشرة ارباب القلوب والاولياء بؤانسهم وبوادهم  
وبوثرهم علي نفسه بانواع المبار والاحسان قد جعلهم ذريعة بينه وبين  
الله تعالى عامل بما قيل من استقامة النية اختيار صحة الابرار بكرهم  
وبسجلب دعائم وخواطرهم بكل ما تصل اليه يده شفوق علي الضعيف  
والفقير والارملة واليتيم محسن الي الغريب والغريب يغتنم دعاء  
الصالحين كثير الصدقة والبر والمعروف ولم يزل تترقى به الاحوال  
السعيدة باطنا وظاهرا حتي صار له منزلة وانتظم في سلك اخوة المقر  
الموائف جركس المصارع \* ولقد بلغني ان الملك الناصر فرج بن  
الملك الظاهر برقوق رحمهما الله تعالى لما استولي بعد وفاة والده  
واستقل بعد ما نقّلت به الاحوال جري بينه وبين الامرا من عساكره  
ما جري من الفتك والقتل وسائر ما هو مشهور عنهم مما وقع بينهم فاتفق  
انه قبض علي طائفة من الامرا وحبسهم وكان مولانا السلطان اذذاك  
من جملتهم والمعدودين في اعيانهم \* ثم بعد ذلك شرع يقتلهم واحدا  
بعد واحد فلقد اخبرني من لا يشك في صدقه ان الملك الناصر كان  
قد اضمر انه يتعرض لمولانا السلطان بأذي علي جاري عادته فنام  
ليلة كان قد عزم علي ذلك في صباحها فرأي في منامه كأن شخصا مهاجا  
في يد شي اما سيف مصلت واما غيره وقد قصده به وهم ان يضربه

وحاز الاوصاف المذكورة في الحديث الشريف النبوي عليه افضل  
الصلاة والسلام او غالبيتها

وهو قوله عليه الصلاة والسلام سبعة يظلمهم الله يوم القيامة في  
ظلمة يوم لا ظل الا ظله امام عادل وشاب نشأ في عبادة الله ورجل  
ذكر الله في خلاء ففاضت عيناه ورجل قلبه معلق بالمساجد ورجلان  
تخابا في الله ورجل دعت امرأته ذات منصب وجمال الى نفسها فقال  
اإني اخاف الله ورجل تصدق بصدقة فاخفاها حتى لا تعلم شماله ما  
صنعت يمينه \* اخبرني من يوثق بكلامه هو قاضي القضاة برهان  
الدين بن ميثاق الشافعي رحمه الله من خواص مولانا السلطان خلد  
الله تعالى سلطانه ووضح علي العالمين برهانه ان مولانا السلطان كان  
في اوان شبابه من احسن الفتيان صورة وازكاهم سيرة وانه من حدود  
سنة خمس او سنة ست وتسعين وسبعمائة كان يسكن عند جامع الماس  
بالقاهرة \* وكان قد حُبب اليه الرمي بالسهم واللعب بالرمح والصراع  
والشقاف وجميع ما يتعلّق بالغزاة والمجاهد في سبيل الله تعالى من  
ركوب الخيل والفروسيّة واعداد ما استطاع للكفار من قوّة ومن  
رباط الخيل وتعاطي اسباب ما يرهّب به عدوّ الله وعدوّه \* وهو مع  
ذلك مواظب علي افعال الخير واقامة الصلوات في احسن اوقاتها  
بصفة الكمال مداوم علي الطهارة والوضوء وتلاوة القرآن العظيم ليلا

نهايتها واخذت مليها حدها وأخطأت رشدها الي ان انقلبت العبات  
وظهرأ لبطن\* وتخطت الممالك الاسلاميه من ابواب الروم والي  
آخر ممالك الصعيد وطاشت المحلوم وتبلدت الفهوم\* ومولانا  
السلطان نصرالله رابته وبلغه مما بروم غايته في ذلك ثابت المجنان  
معوّض امره الي الرحيم الرحمن وسيأتي تفصيل ذلك وبيانته في  
موضعه ان شا الله تعالى\* فكشف الله سبحانه تلك الكربة عن الاسلام  
والمسلمين بادنى لطيفة ربّانية في اقلّ مدّة حتي كأنها لم تكن وقبض  
علي جميع البغاة والاعداء بحيث انهم لم يفلت منهم احد يوبّه له او يلتفت  
اليه بخلاف من تقدّم من الملوك والسلاطين كالملك الظاهر برقوق  
وولده الملك الناصر فرج والملك المؤيد شيخ والملك الاشرف  
برسباني وغيرهم\* ففي الحال تمهدت البلاد واطمأنت العباد وابتهجت  
المخلائق كبيرا وصغيرا واستقرّت افئدة الرعيّة غنيّا وفقيرا\* ونظير  
هذه النعمة الشاملة والرحمة الكاملة ما لم يعهد لسلطان قبله وما  
ذاك الا لاطلاع الله تعالى علي حسن نيّته وطهارة طويّته ولما جبله الله  
تعالى عليه من طاهر الشيم الاتي ذكرها التي لا يحصل بعضها لخواد  
الاولياء\*

فَصَلِّ فِي ذِكْرِ مَبْدِئِ احوال مولانا السلطان خَلَدَ الله تعالى مُلْكَهُ  
وكيف نشأ في اَيّانٍ شبابه في عبادة الله الي ان صار اماما عادلا

وَيُحِبُّونَهُ أَذِلَّةٍ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَعِزَّةٍ عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ يُجَاهِدُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ  
 اللَّهِ وَلَا يَخَافُونَ لَوْمَةَ لَائِمٍ \* وسر معني قوله تعالى مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ  
 وَالَّذِينَ مَعَهُ إِشْدَاءٌ عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ رُحَمَاءٌ بَيْنَهُمْ وهذه بعينها هي مكارم  
 الاخلاق الشاملة لطرفي اللين والشدّة الرابطة لعقدي الترغيب  
 والترهيب والطريقة التي كان عليها الانبياء عليهم السلام ومن بعدهم الخلفاء  
 الراشدون ومن تبعهم وهذه اللطيفة الخفية التي لا يكاد يهتدي اليها  
 ولا يضع شيئا منها في محله الا من وفقه الله تعالى واطلعه علي خبايا  
 اسرارها \* وهي مرتبة الكمال والمنقبة الجامعة لشريف الخصال \* وها  
 انا اذكر في هذا الكتاب من الاخلاق الطاهرة والاصواف الملكية  
 الظاهرية الظاهرة ما يسحب علي ذكر جميع من قضي من الملوك العادلة  
 والسلاطين الفاضلة بحسن سيرتها وبهجة سريرتها ذيل النسيان  
 وينشرها لسان الثناء ويفتح افواه الدعاء بطول الدوام والبقاء ويعقد  
 عليها افئدة المحبة والولاء ما تعاقب الملوان \* واذكر ما منحها الله  
 تعالى وسهل لمولانا السلطان في المدة اليسيرة من مبادي امره من  
 الطافه الخفية وعناياته الخفية من قهر الاعداء وكسره واستئصال  
 الباغين المخالفين واسره وقطع دابرهم عن آخرهم مع كثرتهم وقوة  
 شوكتهم ووفور عددهم وعددهم واطفاء نائرتهم ونصر الاولياء وتيسير  
 الامور الصعبة التي كانت قد بلغت في الشدة غايتها وجاوزت

والمسلمين ومن بولاية مولانا السلطان علي اهل الدنيا والدين وارجو  
من الله تعالى ان تستوعب ايامه الشريفة هذه المدد كلها وتتضاعف  
اعوامه السعيدة كما تضاعفت المدة التي قبلها بحيث يُجْمَع في ايامه  
الشريفة ما جُمع في المدد التي قبلها \* اما الخير والعدل والكرم  
والبذل والعلم والفضل فلاسلام والمسلمين واما الفهر والكسر  
والخراب والاسر فللكفرة والفجرة اعداء الدين \* وها قد ظهرت  
علامات ما ذكرته ومنها ان المراسيم الشريفة برزت بتمهيد درب  
الحجاز الشريف وتخصيل الامن لَوْفَدَ الله تعالى المُحْجَّاجَ ومنها تولية  
المناصب اهلها وتنزيل الوظائف والمدارس والمباشرات محلها ونشر  
جناح الشفقة علي عامة الخلق ومدّ سِرادق الجود والكرم والحلم  
والرفق واقامة شرائع الدين واحياء سنة سيد المرسلين \* وهذا كله  
بشائر الخير والعدل والاحسان والفضل \* ونقدمت الآراء الشريفة  
الي تهئية الاغذية والمراكب والاختذ في اسباب الغزاة والجهاد في  
سبيل الله ونعاطي اعلا كلمة الله والعقل بطوق قوله تعالى وَأَعِذْ وَاهُمْ  
مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ وَالتَّوَجَّهْ الي قهر اعداء الله تعالى  
وكسرهم وحراب ديارهم واسرم وهذه الافعال السعيدة هي غمارة  
الاعداء وسب لعمارة الدار الآخرة \* وهذا دليل الشهامة والنصْلَب  
في الدين والصرامة واظهار سرّ قوله تعالى فَسَوْفَ يَأْتِي الله بِقَوْمٍ يُحِبُّهُمْ

مولانا حسن السغنافي رحمه الله يا مولانا الخان وأخرب ايضا ديار  
خراسان وسائر بلاد العجم وفارس مَحَطَّ رحال العلماء وَمَنَعَ الافاضل  
والاذكياء فقال الملك جلال الدين ان ممالك العجم واقليم فارس  
وخراسان كانت قد صارت تحت قبضته وفي يده كالمائدة يتناول  
منها ما يشاء كيف اختار \* ولكن مولانا السلطان خَلَّد الله تعالى ايامه  
ورفع علي قِمَمَ المخالف اعلامه قد عمّر الدنيا والآخرة في اقل من  
مدة ستين من مبتدأ امره كما بأي بيان ذلك وتفصيله ان شأ الله  
تعالى \* نكتة كانت مدة السلطان الملك العادل نور الدين الشهيد  
محمود بن زنك بن آق سُنُفَر نور الله تعالى مرقده ثم من بعده مدة  
السلطان الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف بن ايوب عَطَّر الله مشهده  
نحو من اربعين سنة ولقد كانت ايامها غرّة في جبهة الدهر وشامة في  
وجنة العصر فنشر في ايام دولتهما الخير والعدل والغزو والفتوحات  
والفضل وعُمِرَت المساجد والمدارس واتعش كل خير وعلم دارس  
وبزغت بدور العلم من افلاك ضدور العلماء ونصب غراس الدين  
والعبادة من رياض اخذة الصلحاء وهذا امر مشهور وسجل علي طين  
الزمان منشور ثم ان مدة تيمور المخرجي كانت نحو من هاتين المدينتين  
وقريبا من ايام كلا السلطانيين غير انها ملأت الدنيا قهرا وقسرا  
شرا وكسرا وخرابا واسرا \* والآن فقد مسح الله تعالى الاسلام

اخبرني شيخى الشيخ علاء الدين البخاري نفعه الله تعالى برحمته ثم نوفي  
نيمور في شعبان سنة سبع وثمانى مائة وقد جاوز السبعين \* ولقد  
اهلك الحرث والنسل في هذه المدة واستولي علي غالب الممالك  
الاسلامية فدمرها وكان اذا دخل كعبه المشؤوم بمكان يحل فيه ثلاثة  
اشياء الفحط والخراب والوبأ وكان هو يتبع بهذا ويذكره في مراسلته  
ويهدد به مخالفه وقد استوفيت ذكر هذه الامور في تاريخه \*

### حِكَايَةُ

حضرت عبد الملك جلال الدين خان بن الملك توقتاميش خان  
رحمهما الله تعالى في سراي من ممالك الدشت سنة اربع عشرة وثمانى  
مائة وذكرت له اني من بلاد الشام وان نيمور قتل اكابرنا واجلانا  
عن اوطاننا فقال سبحان الله ان نيمور لم يكن له غرض الا في اهلاك  
العالم وافناء جنس بني ادم وخراب البلاد وافساد العباد فانه استأصل  
اولا اقليمى اى اقليم الترك وبلاد التتار ونواحي الشمال ذوي الفطرة  
السليمة والاديان القويمة والقلوب المستقيمة \* ثم اهلك اقليم العراق  
مأوي الكياسة والظرافة والرئاسة واللطافة ثم دمر اقليم الهند معقل  
التجار ومعدن الجواهر والبحار ثم اباد اقليم الشام مهاجر الانبياء  
عليهم السلام ومقام الابدال والاولياء ثم اباد ممالك الروم ثغر الاسلام  
والمسلمين وجمع الغزاة والمجاهدين \* فقال له مدرس تلك البلاد

فيها سير مع انه لا يخلو من دقائق ادبية ولطائف عربية وبدائع  
انشائية وإنشاءات بديعية الي غير ذلك \* ثم اني لما رأيت هذه  
الدولة العادلة والايام الزاهرة الفاضلة وما من الله سبحانه به علي  
الاسلام والمسلمين وكيف التقي التوأمان بعد افتراقهما الملك والدين  
اخذت علي نفسي بالعتاب علي ما فرطت في تصيف ذلك الكتاب  
وما رأيت لمحو تلك السيئات وتلافي هاتيك الهوات الاكثاة كتاب  
يتضمن آثار هذه الدولة السعيدة واتات بعض اوصافها الحميدة  
السديدة وذكر نذرة ما منح الله سبحانه وتعالى مولانا السلطان خلد الله  
إعلامه ورفع علي فرق العرفدين أعلامه من حُسن البينة وخلوص  
الطوية والشفقة علي الرعية وما خصه الله تعالى من هذه الاوصاف  
المحمودة التي مر ذكرها وكيف امتاز بها دون غيره من الملوك والسلاطين  
فمن دونهم وكيف تأسي نفسه الشريفة التلبس بخلافها \* والقصد في  
ذلك ان يعلم الماظر فيه ان مولانا السلطان من اشرف جنس الانسان  
ظاهرا وباطنا وان يعرف للتأمل قدر هذه المعمة فيعدد الشكر  
لله تعالى دائما عليها ويدعو بدوامها وطول بقائها \* وَشَتَّانَ ما بين  
التأليفين وهبات ما بين التصنيفين فان تيمور الخارجي استقل بالحكم  
في الدنيا نحو من اربعين سنة فانه قتل السلطان حسينا متولي بلاد  
بلخ ومالك ما وراء النهر في شعبان سنة احدى وسبعين وسبعائة كذا

بالعبادة الارلية المحفوظ بالولاية السرمدية مولانا السلطان المالك  
الملك الظاهر اسي سعيد جفمق \*

شعر

من كان عند الله ايامه \* مخوءة للرمن الآخر  
جعل الله تعالى ملوك الدنيا خدامه وسلاطين الهفاق تمشي خلفه  
وقدّامه وبصر اوليائه وكسر اعداءه ملك لما شر به الامان جاحه  
وشهر الزمان نحاحه ورفع الحق رأسه بعد ما كان انتكس ونبسم كل من  
الملك والدين صاحبكا بعد ان وقع في المنازعات وعبس وقدّ عليه من  
الاطراف كل واعد وقصد للاكتحال بنور طالعته الشريفة كل صادر  
ووارد فاحل كل واحد محله ورفع العلم والفضائل واهله وتشرفت  
بتقيل الارض بين يديه الملوك ورات الدخول في شريعة طاعته  
وطريقة اوامره في الحقيقة من اعظم السلوك فعمت هاته وطمت  
صدفاته ووسع حلمه كل مجرم وحمل عفوه كل مبرم \* وكنت قل  
هذا التأليف السعيد صفت نار بها وسميته بعجائب المقدور في  
نوايب نيمور ذكرت فيه بعض احوال نيمور الاعرج الذي لم يوجد  
اعبره في العنوا ولا اخرج \* ولم اقصد بذلك الا الاعتبار وذكر  
ما جري علي العباد والبلاد من ذلك المتكبر الجبار ليعتبر به ولاء  
الدين وملوك الاسلام والمسلمين اذ سيره كلها عبر وكل عبرة منها

السُّبُل ونفَرَّق الدَّوَاعِي عَلَي مَصَالِح الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّين \* وَلَا مَرْتَبَةَ عَلَي  
مِنْهَا وَلَا اغْنَى لِمَصَالِح الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ عَنْهَا إِذْ بَاقَامَتْهَا بِتَمَكُّنِ نَهْضِ  
الْمَخَاشِعِ مِنْ عِبَادَتِهِ وَالفَلَّاحِ بِقِيَامِ كُفُورِ زِرَاعَتِهِ وَيَقْدَمِ التَّاجِرِ  
عَلَي تَنْفِيقِ بَضَاعَتِهِ وَيَقْطَعِ الْمَسَافِرِ الْمَفَاوِزَ لِبُلُوغِ حَاجَتِهِ وَمِنْ الْجَمَلَةِ  
لَا يَقْدِرُ أَحَدٌ بِدُونِهَا عَلَي إِصْلَاحِ شَيْءٍ مِنْ أُمُورِ دُنْيَاهُ وَآخِرَتِهِ \* هَذَا  
وَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِي هَذَا الْعَصْرِ وَجَبَرَ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةَ الضَّعِيفَةَ بَعْدَ  
الْكُسْرِ بِرَحْمَةٍ شَامِلَةٍ وَنِعْمَةٍ كَامِلَةٍ وَدَوْلَةٍ عَادِلَةٍ وَأَيَّامٍ سَحَّابٍ خَيْرِهَا  
بِالْأَمْنِ وَالْأَمَانِ هَاطِلَةٍ وَهِيَ الْأَيَّامُ السَّعِيدَةُ وَالِدَوْلَةُ الشَّرِيفَةُ الْحَمِيدَةُ  
أَيَّامُ مَوْلَانَا وَسَيِّدِنَا وَمَالِكِ رَقَابَتِنَا السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ الْمَالِكِ الْمَلِكِ الْأَكْرَمِ  
الْأَفْخَمِ سَيِّدِ سُلْطَانِيَّةِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَمِ وَالتُّرْكِ وَالدَّيْلَمِ خَادِمِ الْحَرَمَيْنِ  
وَمَخْدُومِ الثَّقَلَيْنِ حَامِيِ الْعِبَادِ مَاحِيِ الْعِنَادِ الْمُؤَيَّدِ بِالنَّصْرِ الْمُسَدَّدِ بِالْفَخْرِ  
الْمُلْهِمِ سَيِّرِ الْعَدْلِ الْمَثْبُتِ مِنْ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى بِالْفَضْلِ وَالْفَضْلِ حَافِظِ حُوزَةِ  
الدِّينِ ظَلِّ اللَّهِ فِي الْأَرْضَيْنِ خِلَاصَةِ الْمَاءِ وَالطِّينِ نَاشِرِ رَايَاتِ الْخَيْرِ  
عَلَي الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ مَا دَ سُرَادِقِ الْوَيْلِ عَلَي الْكُفْرَةِ وَالْمُحَدِّثِينَ رَافِعِ  
الرُّوِيَةِ الْحَقِّ نَاصِبِ ابْنِيَةِ الصِّدْقِ كَاسِرِ أَرْبَابِ النِّفَاقِ جَازِمِ أَصْحَابِ  
الشِّفَاقِ مَظْهَرِ كَلِمَةِ اللَّهِ الْعَلِيَّاءِ مُخْفِيِ آثَارِ الشِّرْكِ وَالرِّيَاءِ مُنْصَفِ  
الْمُظْلَمِينَ مِنَ الظَّالِمِينَ مُشِيدِ مَسْنَدِ سَيِّدِ الْمُرْسَلِينَ مِلَازِمِ الْمُلُوكِ  
مُلْجِئِ السُّلْطَانِينَ غَوْثِ الْمَلْهُوفِينَ وَالضَّعْفَاءِ مُرْتَبِيِ الْعِلْمِ وَالْعُلَمَاءِ الْمَحْضُوظِ

بعدم بالسلطين العادلين والملوك الفاضلين وكل حاكم احيا سُنَّتْهم  
وولي امر قَوي طريقتهم \* ووجود السلطان في الارض من حَكَمِ الله  
تعالى البالغة وَمِنَّه السابغة لان الله تعالى جبل الانسان على حب  
الاتصاف لنفسه وعدم الانصاف لغيره \* فمثل الانسان بلا سلطان  
كمثل السمك يتلغ الكير منها الصغير \*

قال

لا يصلح الناس قَوْضَى لاسراة لهم \* ولا سراة اذا جهأ لهم سادوا  
ولولا السلطان الفاهر الذي يدبر معاش الناس ومصالحهم لم ينهبأ  
لهم امر ولا استقام لهم معاش \* واذا لم يصلح لهم معاش فلا يصلح لهم  
معاد فانَّ صلاح المعاد مترتب على صلاح المعاش \* قال بعض  
القدماء لو رفع السلطان من الارض ما كان فيه في اهل الارض من  
حاجة والسلطان للعالم بمنزلة الروح للجسد والراس للبدن والشمس  
للدنيا ومثل الناس بلا سلطان كمثل بيت بلا سراج يدب فيه الحشرات  
المؤذبة ويسرح فيه كل شرير ويضيع فيه حال المحسن فاذا أُوقِدَ  
فيه السراج ارتدع كل مؤذٍ وانتفع كل مُصلِح \* وقيل للسلطنة سِرٌّ من  
اسرار الربوبية يحفظ بها عباد الله وبلاده شرفها جسم وقدرها عظيم  
ونفعها عيم وثمنها حراسة النفوس والاموال واحراز الارزاق واقامة  
المعاش ونشر العلم واظهار الدين وقمع الظالمين وردع الباغين وامن

سبيل الاخيار منهم والاشرار فانت بالخيار من سلوك اي طريق  
شئت واتباع اي فريق منهم اردت فما ثم طريق ثالث الا طريق داود  
وسليمان عليهما الصلاة والسلام فتحشر معهم وهذا القدر من الكلام  
يكفيك \* وخير الكلام المختصر المفيد \* عودًا الي ما كنا فيه فاذن اعلي  
جنس الانسان الانبياء والرسل صلوات الله وسلامه عليهم لاختصاصهم  
بالسُّمُو الي اعلي ذُري هذه الصفات والنفري في الخصال المحموده  
الي غاية الغايات \* قال رسول الله صلي الله عليه وسلم بعثت لاتمم مكارم  
الاخلاق وهذه الصفات الحميدة هي من شرائط النوة ولوازمها كما  
نقرر في علم الكلام ولذلك اختارهم الله تعالى لسياسة عباده  
واصطفاهم لدعوتهم الخلق الي توحيد وهدايتهم الي سَوَاء الطريق  
والوصول الي جنانه ونحصيل ثوابه ورضوانه \* ثم من بعدهم اعلي  
جنس الانسان واشرفه من نهدت به شرائعهم ونقوت بصولته ودولته  
ملتهم وسلك سننهم وأحيا سننهم من الملوك والساطين وولاة  
امور الدين \* قالَ اللهُ سُبحانه وتعالى أَطِيعُوا اللهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ  
وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فلم يكن اقرب الي نبي مُرسل من ملك شيد شريعته  
علي قواعد العلم واركان العدل والامام العادل ببركة عدله يظله الله  
نعالي يوم القيامه تحت ظله \* ولما كان رسول الله صلي الله عليه وسلم  
خاتم النبيين لم يتظم بعده امر الدين الا بخلافة الخلفاء الراشدين ثم من

بَهَا أُولَئِكَ كَالْأَنْعَامِ بَلْ هُمْ أَضَلُّ أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْغَافِلُونَ \* وقد يتنا بعل  
له لا عبرة بالصورة وأما القول عليه بالباطن والسريرة قال فكم  
بين شخص الخ \*

### حكاية

توجه السلطان الملك الاشرف ابو النصر برسباى رحمه الله تعالى  
الى طرف ديار بكر وذلك في شهر سنة ست وثلاثين وثمانمائة ثم لما  
قفل في اواخر السنة المذكورة حضر الى زيارة شيخنا المرحوم العامل  
الرباني والعالم الصمداني قطب الاقطاب وولي الملك الوهاب الكامل  
المكمل الشيخ علاء الملة والدين محمد بن محمد بن محمد البخاري سفي الله  
تعالى مرقده شايب الغفران وكساه بفضل خلع الرضوان \* وكان  
اذذاك ساكنا في الشبلية من صاحبة دمشق فلما دخل عليه وجثا بين  
يديه كان فيما نصحه به ان قال له يا برسباى اعلم انه ملك الدنيا قبلك  
من هو اعظم منك دولة واكبر صولة واكثر جولة منهم داود وسليمان  
عليهما الصلاة والسلام وذو القرنين والخلفاء الراشدون ومن سلك  
طريقهم ومنهم فرعون وغرود وشداد وبخت نصر ومن تبعهم في نهيم \*  
ثم ان الكل تركوها ومضوا لسبيلهم ولم يتبعهم منها مقدار ذرة وقدموا  
علي ما قدموا ولافوا ما عملوا \* والآن قد ملكت انت وصارت لك  
حصة ما كان لاولئك وقد لاح لك طريق كلا الفريقين وانضح لك

مِنْ سُلَالَةٍ مِنْ طِينٍ ثُمَّ جَعَلْنَاهُ نُطْفَةً فِي قَرَارٍ مَكِينٍ ثُمَّ خَلَقْنَا النُّطْفَةَ عَلَقَةً  
فَحَلَقْنَاهُ أَلَقَةً مُضْغَةً فَخَلَقْنَا أَلْمُضْغَةَ عِظَامًا فَكَسَوْنَا الْعِظَامَ لَحْمًا ثُمَّ  
أَنْشَأْنَاهُ خَلْقًا آخَرَ فَتَبَارَكَ اللَّهُ أَحْسَنُ الْخَالِقِينَ \* وكلُّ من القرآن  
العظيم وحديث النبي صَلَّى الله عليه وسلّم الكريم مشحون بذكر هذه  
القدرة البديعة والمحكمة الرفيعة \* فكلُّما ترقى الانسان في الصفاء  
المحمود والمقام الارفع كان الي حضرة الله سبحانه وتعالى اقرب ولجواب  
ربّ الارباب اوصل وبصفات افعال الله تعالى ونعوت ذاته اعرف \*  
وذلك مقام الاولياء والصديقين والانبياء والمرسلين والشهداء  
والصالحين وَحَسَنَ أَوْلَئِكَ رَفِيقًا \* وكلُّما تصوّب في الصفات الذميمة  
الي الدرك الاسفل كان الي الشيطان وَحِزْبَهُ اقرب وفي قعر الهاوية  
والسعير انزل وبصفات خالفه ورازقه وبمقدار نفسه اجهل \* قال  
الله تعالى حكاية عن كلا الفريقين كَلَّا إِنَّ كِتَابَ الْأَبْرَارِ لَفِي عِلِّيِّينَ  
كَلَّا إِنَّ كِتَابَ الْفَاجِرِينَ لَفِي سُجُوتٍ \* والتفاوت الذي بين كلٍّ من  
الفريقين لا يحيط بكنهه الا عالم الغيب والشهادة الذي خلقه فسواه  
فعدله في أي صورة ما شاء ركبته تعالي وتقدّس \* ربما تري شخصين  
متصاحبين احدهما سرّه جائل في عالم الملكوت في حظيرة القدس  
منعما في حقائق الانس والاخر في دركات اسفل سافلين معذور بقوله ام  
لَهُمْ قُلُوبٌ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ بِهَا وَأَعْيُنٌ لَا يُبْصِرُونَ بِهَا وَلَهُمْ أَذَانٌ لَا يَسْمَعُونَ

الذهب والفضة \* قَالَ الشيخ علاء الدين البخاري رحمه الله تعالى  
وقد خلق الناس اثنان متفاوتين كمعادن الذهب والفضة وسائر  
الجواهر فانظر الي معادنها وتباعدها بينها يَكُونُ ولون وخاصة  
وبقاء فكذلك القلوب معادن للجواهر المعارف فبعضها معدن النبوة  
والولاية والعلم ومعرفة الله تعالى علي تفاوت درجاتهم وبعضها معدن  
الشهوات البهيمية والاخلاق الشيطانية ذكره في المحبة والرد علي  
المجسمة \* فَمِنَ الناس من يترقي في درجات الكمال ويتصعد في  
شريف ما ذكرنا من جميل الخصال حتي يفضل علي خواص الملائكة  
كخواص الانبياء عليهم الصلاة والسلام \* فَاِنَّ مذهب اهل السُّنة  
والجماعة ان خواص البشر وهم الانبياء عليهم الصلاة والسلام افضل  
من خواص الملائكة وخواص الملائكة عليهم السلام افضل من عوام  
البشر \* ومنهم من ينتزل في مذموم هذه الاوصاف التي ذكرناها حتي  
يركد في اسفل سافل ويصير اذل من الحشرات واقل من الجمادات \*  
قال الله تعالى وَيَقُولُ الْكَافِرُ يَا لَيْتَنِي كُنْتُ تُرَابًا وَلَوْ كَانَ شَيْءٌ اَقْلَ مِنْ  
التراب واذل من الارض التي تطوها الاقدام لتعني الكافران يكون  
ذلك \* كما قيل  
شعر

فكم بين شخص بالملائك ملحق \* وبين شخص ملحق بالبهائم  
والي صورة الانسان وسيرته اشار قوله تعالى وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا الْاِنْسَانَ

## قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ

طويل

وما هذه الاخلاق الا طبائع \* فمنهن محمود ومنهن مذمور  
فَصُورَةُ الْاِنْسَانِ وَظَاهِرُهُ مِنْ عَالَمِ الْمَلِكِ الْمُسْتَمَيِّ بِعَالَمِ الشَّهَادَةِ وَعَالَمِ  
الْمَخْلُوقِ وَسِرِّيَّتُهُ مِنْ عَالَمِ الْمَلَكُوتِ الْمُسْتَمَيِّ بِعَالَمِ الْغَيْبِ وَعَالَمِ  
الْأَمْرِ فَإِذَنْ الْاِنْسَانُ يَجْمَعُ عَالِمِي الْمَلِكِ وَالْمَلَكُوتِ وَلَكِنَّهُ جَاهِلٌ بِنَفْسِهِ  
مُضَيِّعٌ لَهَا غَيْرَ بَاعِثُهَا عَلَى مَا فِيهِ نَجَاحُهَا وَخِلَاصُهَا إِلَّا مِنْ عَصَمِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى  
وَعَرَفَهُ نَفْسُهُ \* وَلِهَذَا قَالَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ

قال

تَوَنَّمْتُ وَرَاهِ ذُو جِهَاثِي جِهَ كَمْ قَدَرِ حُودِي دَانِي تَرَحُّمَتِهِ

فَقُلْتُ

أَنْتَ أَعْلَى مِنَ الْوُجُودِ وَأَعْلَى \* قِيَمَةً أَنْ تُسَامَ بِالْأَرْوَاحِ

يَعْنِي فِي سَكْرَةِ لَأَنْفُسِ نَفْسِ \* بِهَوَانِ الْهَوِيِّ أَفْقٍ يَا صَاحِبَ

وَمَعَ ذَلِكَ فَالْإِنْسَانُ مُخْتَلِفٌ فِي جِنْسِهِ مُتَفَاوِتٌ فِي عَقْلِهِ وَحِسِّهِ \* قَالَ  
اللَّهُ تَعَالَى مَا لَكُمْ لَا تَرْجُوزَ لِلَّهِ وَقَارًا وَقَدْ خَلَقَكُمْ أَطْوَارًا وَكُلَّ حَيَوَانَ  
سِوَاهُ فَهُوَ عَلَيَّ خَلْقٍ وَاحِدٍ وَطَرِيقَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ لَانْتِفَاوَتِ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا  
وَلَا يَفْضِلُ بَعْضُهُ عَلَيَّ بَعْضُ إِلَّا شَيْئًا يَسِيرًا بِمُخْلَافِ جِنْسِ الْإِنْسَانِ قَالَ  
اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَهُوَ الَّذِي جَعَلَكُمْ خَلَائِفَ الْأَرْضِ وَرَفَعَ بَعْضَكُمْ فَوْقَ بَعْضٍ  
دَرَجَاتٍ \* وَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ النَّاسُ مَعَادِنُ كَمَعَادِنِ

مثلا او علي العَيْن وذكر طبقاتها وشرح عضلاتها بفتقر الي كلام طويل  
بخرج عن المرام فضلا عن سائر اعضائه وتركيب اوصاله علي  
صورها وهيئاتها \* واما يعلم ذلك من التشرّيح في كتب الطبّ وزيادة  
بيان ذلك وكشف سرّه وحكمته في كتاب احياء علوم الدين  
والنفسير الكبير والكتب المطوّلة \* وهذا خارج عن قواه وحواسه  
الباطنة \* واما سيرته وسريته فعلي ضربين ضربٌ محمّد وهو العلم  
والحكمة والبذل والجود والحلم والاعضاء والعفو والعدل والشجاعة  
والثبات والصبر والاحتمال والصدق وحسن الخلق والرفق واللين  
والتواضع والشفقة علي الخلق وحسن سياستهم ومعرفة ما يراد منه من  
رضي خالفه واتباع اوامره والانتها عن زواجه والاخلاص في  
عبادته والتوكّل عليه وتفويض الامر الي ارادته ومشيتته الي غير ذلك  
من الصفات الملكيّة \* وضربٌ مذموم وهو الجهل والتكبر والعجب  
والحسد والبخل والبذاء والغضب وطلب الانتقام والظلم والخبث  
وسوء الخلق وقلة الصبر علي المكروه وطلب العلوّ وحب الرئاسة  
والمكر والخديعة والكذب والاغراء والافتتان والنهر والتجبر والاستطالة  
والحرص والطمع والشهوة وجميع الصفات الشيطانيّة والسبعيّة  
والبهيمة عن آخرها \*

وكثيفها فيه من كثيف الارض ولطيف الهواء ورفيف النار وصافي  
الماء ولذلك صار مُعتدلاً وسمي العالم الاصغر المحصور في العالم  
الاكبر بَيَانُهُ اَنَّ رأسه كهيئة الفلك في شكله واستدارته \*  
قال الشاعر

افضل الاشكال شكل المستدير \* احسن الالوان لون المستدير  
واجتماع الاجرام النيرة فيه كالسمع والبصر والشمّ والذوق  
والنطق فعيناه كالشمس والقمر واذناه كالمشرق والمغرب وانفه  
كهبّ الرياح وامامه كالنهار ووراءه كالليل وحركته كسير النجوم  
وسكونه كوقوفها ورجوعه القهري كهبوطها وموته كاحتراقها واعضاؤه  
الباطنة سبعة كالكواكب السيّارة واعظم رأسه سبعة كعدد ايام الاسبوع  
وفقار ظهره اربعة وعشرون كساعات اليوم والليلة ومفاصله ثمانية  
وعشرون كمنازل القمر وحروف الهجاء وامعاء كعدد ايام الالهة  
وعروقه الضواريب ثلثائة وستون عرقاً كعدد ايام السنة والسواكن  
كذلك كعدد ليااليها وطبائعه اربعة كالافصول الاربعة جسده كالتراب  
ودمه كالبحار وعروقه كالانهار وعظامه كالجبال وشعره كالنبات \*  
وهذه نكتة من بدائع صوره وعجيب تركيبه ولو ارخيت عنان القول  
في هذا المقام لفات المقصود \* فان الكلام علي كيفية اسنانه وايتابه  
والاضراس والطواحن فقط وحدها وبيان المحكمة في هيئتها واشكالها

محمدا عبده ورسوله ملك الرسل وسلطانها والدرة التي بها ازدان  
نيجانها والهادي الذي به انضج برهانها بدر الظلم ونبي السيف والقلم  
المبعوث بالرسالة الي سائر العرب والعجم والمخرج الامة من نار الحرب  
الي جنة السلم صَلَّى الله عليه صلاة نورخ في بطون الكتب وغلد علي  
مر الازمان والمحقب وعلي آله واصحابه وازواجه واحبابه الذين  
افتنوا اثاره واناروا باحياء سُنَّته للدين مناره وحفظوا بعه شعار الاسلام  
ودثاره وتابعيهم وتابعي التابعين ومن سلك سَنَن سُنَّتهم من الملوك  
والسلاطين وسلم تسليما كثيرا دائما ابدا \* اما بعد فان الله تعالى  
بجميل صنعه ورحيم رافته وجسيم فضله وعيم نعمته جعل الانسان  
اشرف الموجودات والطف المخلوقات واسطة عقد الكائنات ودرة  
صدف الفطرة ومركز دائرة الحكمة وثمره شجرة الوجود والمقصود لعبادة  
المعبود قال سبحانه وتعالى وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ  
وجاء في حديث قُدسي يابن ادم خلقت الاشياء كلها من اجلك  
وخلقتك من اجلي وللانسان صورة وسيرة وظاهر وسريرة اما صورته  
وظاهره فكما قال الله تعالى لَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا الْإِنْسَانَ فِي أَحْسَنِ تَقْوِيمٍ وقال  
تعالى وَصَوَّرَكُمُ فَأَحْسَنَ صُورَكُمْ \* فهو احسن الحيوانات شكلا وازهي  
قَدًا واعجب منظرا واعدل قامة واصبح وجها وافصح نطقا واطرب  
نفمة والين مِلَاسا وارشق حركة وهو مركب من لطائف الجواهر

## بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وَأُخْرِي تُحْمِلُونَهَا نَصْرًا مِنْ اللَّهِ وَفَتْحٌ قَرِيبٌ وَبَشِيرٌ لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَا أَيُّهَا  
الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا أَنْصَارَ اللَّهِ كَمَا قَالَ عِيسَى ابْنُ مَرْثَمَ لِّلْمَوَارِسِيِّينَ  
مَنْ أَنْصَارِي إِلَى اللَّهِ قَالَ الْمَوَارِسِيُّونَ نَحْنُ أَنْصَارُ اللَّهِ فَأَمْنَتْ طَائِفَةٌ  
مِّنْ بَنِي إِسْرَآئِيلَ وَكَفَرَتْ طَائِفَةٌ فَأَيَّدْنَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا عَلَىٰ عَدُوِّهِمْ  
فَأَصْبَحُوا ظَاهِرِينَ \* الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ مَلِكِ الْمُلُوكِ وَمَالِكِ الْمَالِكِ وَالْمَمْلُوكِ  
ذِي الْمُلْكِ السَّعِيدِ وَالْبَطْشِ الشَّدِيدِ وَالسُّلْطَانِ الَّذِي لَا يَفْنَى وَلَا يَبِيدُ  
وَالْمَعْبُودِ الَّذِي لَيْسَ بِظُلَامٍ لِّلْعَبِيدِ قَسَمُ الْخَلَائِقِ بَيْنَ حَاكِمٍ وَمُحْكُومٍ وَظَالِمٍ  
وَمُظْلُومٍ وَغَنِيٍّ وَفَقِيرٍ وَسُلْطَانٍ وَوَزِيرٍ وَمَأْمُورٍ وَآمِرٍ وَكَافِرٍ وَمُؤْمِنٍ  
وَاللَّهُ بِمَا يَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرٌ \* مَالِكُ الْمُلْكِ يُؤْنِي أَلَمُكَ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيَنْزِعُ  
أَلَمُكَ مِمَّنْ يَشَاءُ وَبُعِزُّ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيُدْخِلُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ يَدَّهُ الْخَبِيرُ إِنَّهُ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ  
شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ أَحْمَدُهُ حَمْدًا يَلِيْقُ بِسُلْطَانِهِ وَاشْكُرْهُ شُكْرًا يَسْبِلُ عَلَيْنَا ذِيْلَ  
نَعْمِهِ وَاحْسَنِهِ وَاشْهَدْ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ مَلِكٌ يَتَنَزَّهُ  
عَنْ نَصْرِفِ الْحَدَثَانِ وَأَمْرٍ نَفْذِ أَمْرِهِ فِي الزَّمَانِ وَالْمَكَانِ وَسُلْطَانٌ جَرَتْ  
أَوَامِرُهُ عَلَىٰ مُفْتَضِي الْحِكْمَةِ فَكُلَّ يَوْمٍ هُوَ فِي شَأْنٍ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ سَيِّدَنَا

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

### THERE IS NO MODIFICATION IN THE KARMA DOCTRINE.

I have read with great interest and attention "Modifications of the Karma Doctrine," by E. Washburn Hopkins, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July, 1906. First of all, I must apologize to Mr. Hopkins for pointing out that his statement is not correct. Yet he has indeed studied the question from various books.

On matters like Karma, the authorities must be taken only from Dharma Sastras, Gita, and Vedantic literature, but not from the Bharata, the Puranas, and books of such a class. In Bharata every person, when he or she speaks or replies, quotes some sentence of morality. Many of such moral sayings are real ones, but are not suited to the occasion. As that book contains so many moral sayings and nearly all the legends of the past, it is called the "Fifth Veda." I shall, however, try to deal with all the quotations in the order in which Mr. Hopkins has put them in his essay. But I shall leave out the small quotations here and there dwelt upon, consisting of a word or two.

I. "As a man himself sows, so he himself reaps; no man inherits the good or evil act of another man" (Mbh.). The first portion is clear enough, but Mr. Hopkins has taken a somewhat wrong meaning of the second part and based his argument on it throughout his essay. The real meaning of the latter part of it is that no man inherits the good or evil act of another man (done in his previous existence, but not in the present life).

If a man causes good or evil to another in this life, the giver reaps that action in the next or future existence. Suppose a person helps the poor; that person reaps the fruit of that action in his future life; but the receiver does not get that help by his own action in his previous life. In the same way, if a person causes hurt to a man, that person may be punished by the king, or reap the action in his future existence. The sufferer may get some compensation from the person who does harm to him either, in some cases, through the king or in his future existence.

II. "Whether with eye or thought or voice or deed, whatever kind of act one performs, one receives that kind of act in return" (Mbh.). I hope Mr. Hopkins will allow me to use the word 'mind' for 'thought.' Generally, mind, word, and deed are taken into consideration in the Dharma Sastras, but not the eye. If the eye is taken into consideration all the other organs should likewise be taken. Therefore the action of the eye should be omitted. Here the dialogue is between Yudhishtira and old Bhishma. The latter was on his deathbed and answers the former's questions on various subjects. As it was a dialogue, several questions were re-asked, generally in a different way, and so the old man answers them differently according to the circumstances of the conversation and his remembrance. This dialogue continued not for a short time, but for several days. This fact must be, first of all, kept in mind. However, the meaning of the above quotation is that if a man's mind or word or deed is pure or impure in this life, it will have similar character in his future life. The moral to be drawn from the above passage is: Every act is first produced in the mind, and would end either in word or in deed or in both. Therefore one must try to be pure in mind, word, and deed in this life; then in his future form no impurity would be in mind, and consequently no evil word or deed would be spoken or done.

III. "The deed does not die." This means by itself that the result of the deed must be reaped or be destroyed or mitigated by sacrifice, penance, and repentance; or it must

be entirely destroyed by the knowledge of God. From the Hindu point of view I do not deny the effect of the curse and the power of sorcery. But when these matters are dealt with in the Puranas, they are simply the subject-matter of the replies given to questions asked. The Puranas are laden with stories whose slightest reality was never in existence. They were created to teach morality, or to praise a person, or to answer questions asked, or to describe unknown events and arts, or to mitigate the then existing misbeliefs. Therefore when a man takes the great subjects like that of Karma, he should not go to the Puranas for supporting or for contradicting a statement on the subject.

Again, Mr. Hopkins mixes up God and Vidhi as if they were one, as many Hindus do even up to date. Divam means God and Vidhi means Fate. But Divam is wrongly used for Fate in the Puranas. There we must only take the word Divam for the word Fate. Fate means what one has done in previous existences and has fallen to reap in this life only. Many Hindu philosophers think that one's Fate could not be destroyed or mitigated by the knowledge of God. I don't agree with them, but believe that it will, as a few of them have decided, be destroyed by the knowledge of God. Knowledge of God is not a mere belief in the existence of God, but it is the knowledge by which alone the soul gets the everlasting abode Moksham.

Now I must turn to the Karma doctrine again. As contrary to the first rule, viz. "No man inherits the good or evil act of another man," the author quotes some words which show that the husband shares the fruit of the acts of his wife with her, and *vice versa*, and that the king shares the good and evil actions of his subjects.

Among Hindus there are many ceremonies and actions that have to be performed by the husband and wife jointly, but not separately. Even among Christians there are certain oaths to be taken between the husband and wife at the marriage ceremony. It is an admitted belief that if either of these two fails to fulfil them, the party would suffer for it. If they both act up to it, they would enjoy happiness. The

Hindu belief in this matter is also based on the above theory. As they believe in the transmigration of the soul, they have taken the effect into the future life.

If the king rules his people with ability and sees they do no hurt to one another, he would reap a share in the fruit of their actions. If, on the other hand, his subjects do mischief to one another by themselves, the king takes a share in that evil. But we must not account for every action the king or his people may perform.

IV. Is a voluntary transfer of good Karma recognized? Yes, it will go to another when transferred. For the sick man we pray for his recovery. For the dead we pray that his sins may be forgiven. The Hindus go a little bit further in this point. They believe that Danams (giving away money) to Brahmins would relieve the suffering of the giver. If a man gives another some money out of his savings, the receiver enjoys the fruit of that sum. There are several legends in the Puranas dealing with the transfer of good Karma. But here one should note that one could transfer one's good Karma of this life but not that of the previous lives. That Karma is stored for him; he alone can destroy or mitigate it by his good deeds.

V. Is Karma inherited into the family? Yes, it is inherited, but not every kind of Karma that one performs. It is more or less similar to the case of the husband and wife, and that of the king and his subjects. If a man acquires a fortune righteously, his children enjoy it in succession. If, on the other hand, the fortune is acquired fraudulently, his children suffer for it in many ways. If any good act is done for the benefit of the family, it would be reaped by the children. Mr. Hopkins here quotes: "Loose from us paternal sins, and loose what we in person have committed." Unless one tries to destroy his paternal sin by his good acts, that sin will never leave the family without reaping. Suppose a man has inherited a curable disease from his parents, he would get free from it by medicine and exercise. For the former, viz. treatment, he spends a part of his fortune, or for the latter he goes under some bodily

trouble. In the case of incurable diseases he mitigates them by the above means.

VI. "Neither the son by the Karma of his father, nor the father by the Karma of his son, go, bound by good and evil deeds, upon another course." This quotation needs not much explanation. It is the general rule contrary to the above special rule. Hindu teaching first gives general rules and then finishes with special rules, and in some cases with extraordinary rules. There one must think well over the circumstances of each case. Here the author gives the story of Yayati as contradictory to the above rule. This story is not a real one, but one given for teaching a moral.

Then Mr. Hopkins gives two more quotations to establish that the parents' Sila and Bhava are inherited by the son. Here Sila or Bhava has nothing to do with Karma.

In conclusion he gives a quotation to show that the fruit of an act will appear at the corresponding period of life in the next birth. This is again what old Bhishma said to Yudhishthira. This is an old saying, but not an authority to be taken. Even now very old women even in rural villages utter this very same often. I think I have touched on all the principal quotations and authorities given in Mr. Hopkins' contribution. Karma is divided into three classes, viz., (1) Agami or Vartamana, (2) Sanchita, (3) Prarabdha. All we do in this life and reap in this and future lives is called Agami or Vartamana Karma. All the Karma that could not be reaped in one existence and that is, therefore, left back without being reaped in the previous lives is called Sanchita Karma. All that Karma whose results we reap but could not avoid by our own exertions in this life is called Prarabdha Karma.

V. S. R.,

*Maharajah of Bohhili.*

#### ARCHÆOLOGY IN SOUTH INDIA.

A period of exactly twenty years has elapsed since, at Christmas, 1886, I made an expedition to the north of the

Kistna River, near Ellore, for the purpose of inspecting a large group of sculptures of which I had heard, and which from the description given I imagined must be Buddhist remains. They lie on the sides of a ravine, and cover a ridge of hills, in a remote tract. I was rewarded for my pains by finding that these remains were very certainly Buddhist, and were particularly interesting since they were totally unlike anything hitherto found in South India. I christened them the "Guntupalle Remains," from the name of a village near, and sent a report on them to this Society, which, with rough plan and drawings, was published at p. 508 of the Journal for 1887 (N.S., Vol. XIX).

Since that time I have waited in vain for any report on this group. The Archæological Department of South India has published nothing regarding it, though I have been given to understand that the site was visited by the Superintendent of the Survey. Presumably plans must have been made, photographs taken, inscriptions copied, and a report drawn up. Personal enquiry has led to nothing, and my last letter to the Superintendent has remained unanswered.

Since the establishment of the South-Indian Survey twenty-five years ago we have had one volume published by Dr. Burgess in 1887, and two by Mr. Rea (one small one in 1894 and his "Chalukyan Architecture" in 1896)—nothing else to my knowledge. Is it always to be thus? The summary of information now being given in the Director-General's new "Annual Reports"—of which the last one, dealing with the results of 1903-4, was published in 1906—is useful, but it is in each case a summary of the *past year's work only*. May I enquire when the final results of the work of the previous twenty years is to appear? The reports of the Survey made annually to Government prove that the work has really been progressing during all these years. Enormous numbers of photographs, drawings, plans, have been taken and made, but practically nothing has been published. Must we conclude that all the work of those twenty years is absolutely lost to the public? If so, of what use has it been?

I may mention that the Paris Congress of 1897 especially called the attention of Government to the Guntupalle Buddhist remains, but with no apparent result.

ROBERT SEWELL.

### BABOR ; BABBĀPURA.

The exhaustive study devoted by Dr. Stein to the ancient geography of Kaśmīr leaves very little to be done in the identification of place-names occurring in the Rājatarangīnī. There are, however, among the localities mentioned by Kalhaṇa outside the Kaśmīr valley, a few which still remain to be identified. In the course of his narrative the chronicler speaks twice of Babbāpura, without further stating where this place is to be sought. First (vii, 588) we read of Kīrti of Babbāpura,<sup>1</sup> foremost among the eight hill-chiefs who visited Kalaśa at Śrinagara in the Winter of A.D. 1087-8. Again (viii, 538), we meet with a Rājā of Babbāpura of the name of Vajradhara. He was one of the five hill-chiefs who, on the occasion of a joint pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra, fell in with Haṇṣa's grandson Bhikṣācara, and acknowledged his claims to the throne of Kaśmīr.

From the first reference we may conclude that the ruler of Babbāpura recognized the suzerainty of Kaśmīr. The second renders it probable that his territories bordered on those of the four other noble pilgrims, who were the Rājās of Campā (Cambā) and Vartula (Batal ?) and the Yuvarājās of Vallāpura (Balor) and Trigarta (Kāṅgrā). As Dr. Stein has pointed out, the compact which the five hill-chiefs made for their journey "may either have been intended to guarantee mutually the safety of their respective territories during their absence, or to ensure greater security for the chiefs on the journey."

Fortunately, Kalhaṇa's further account enables us to fix the position of Babbāpura more definitely. The pretender Bhikṣācara, after having stayed for a few years with his

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *Kīrtinyabbapurādhiśai*, which is to be emended *Kīrtir = Babbāpurādhiśai*. Cf. Stein's note in his Rājat. transl., vol. i; p. 315.

kinsman Jāsaṭa of Campā,<sup>1</sup> and with Deṅgapāla, a Ṭhakkura (Ṭhākura) residing somewhere in the valley of the Candrabhāgā (Cināb), was called to Rājapurī (Rajaurī) by the ruler of that place. It was then that Sussala, the younger of the two Lohara brothers who had usurped the Kaśmīr throne, resolved to take active steps against the further advance of his rival. In the Autumn of A.D. 1118 he occupied Rājapurī, and stayed there for seven months, "causing terror to his various enemies." The result was that one of them, Vajradhara, tendered his submission. "[Sussala's] troops were roaming about everywhere on the banks of the Candrabhāgā and other rivers, and the enemy was not even able to look on their faces." In the month Vaiśākha of the year 1119 the king returned to Kaśmīr, apparently without having obtained his object.<sup>2</sup>

We have every reason to regret that Kalhaṇa's account of this expedition is not more explicit. This briefness is possibly due to the circumstance, that its scene lay beyond his geographical horizon, and that its originator was unsuccessful. This much is clear, that it was directed not only against the Chief of Rājapurī, but also against the other Hill Rājās who had espoused Bhikṣācara's cause. Vajradhara of Babbāpura was one of the five chiefs who met the pretender at Kurukṣetra. Dr. Stein is undoubtedly correct in identifying him with the Rājā of that name whose submission is mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with Sussala's expedition. It may, therefore, safely be inferred that Babbāpura was the capital of a hill-state in the lower Candrabhāgā or Cināb valley.

From the analogy of numerous place-names ending in *-pura*, such as Brahmapura (Brahmor), Vallāpura (Balor), Maṅgalapura (Maṅglor), we are led to expect that, if the name of Babbāpura has at all been preserved, its modern form should be Babor or Babor. In reality, an ancient site

<sup>1</sup> Jāsaṭa was the son of Aṣaṭa, whose sister Bappikā was Harṣa's mother. The names of both Aṣaṭa and Jāsaṭa occur in contemporaneous inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> For the account of Sussala's expedition, cf. *Rājat.* viii, 621-635. I have quoted Dr. Stein's translation.

of the name of Babor exists.<sup>1</sup> It is situated seventeen miles due east of Jammū, not far from the left bank of the Tuvvī (32° 45' lat., 75° 14' long.). On Survey sheet No. 29 the spot is marked as "Pandoo ruin," on account of the local tradition, which ascribes the origin of the place to the sons of Pāṇḍu. The site contains no less than seven temples built of heavy stones. Two of them are a mere mass of débris. Five are still standing, two being used for worship up to the present day, but all exhibit a more or less advanced stage of decay. There is every evidence that the town which once stood on this spot shared the fate of so many Indian cities at the hands of foreign invaders.

A full account of the ancient remains of Babor will be reserved for future publication. Here I wish only to note the existence of a Śāradā inscription in one of the temples. Unfortunately the surface of the slab, which measures 25 by 32 inches, is so much disintegrated that only a few letters are now legible. But enough remains to show that the type of Śāradā is the same as that of the Baijnāth *prāśastis*.<sup>2</sup> Thus we are referred to exactly that period in which we know from Kalhaṇa's account Babbāpura to have flourished. The situation of the Babor site, its extent and ancient remains, and especially the name by which it is still known, all point to the conclusion that it represents the ancient Babbāpura.

The village of Babor is situated in the hill-tract known by the name of Dugar, which roughly corresponds to the Jammū State, as it existed before its extension by Mahārājā Gulāb Singh. Hence the Rājput̃s of this country are known by the name of Dōgrū. The Paṇḍits derive the name Dugar from an imaginary Sanskrit Dvigarta, supposed to mean 'the land watered by two rivers,' viz. the Cīnāb and the Rāvī. A somewhat different explanation, recorded by Drew,

<sup>1</sup> F. Drew: "A Geographical Account of the Jammu and Kashmir Territories" (London, 1875), p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> G. Bühler, "The two *prāśastis* of Baijnāth": Epigr. Ind., vol. i, pp. 97 ff. I am to add that the true date of these inscriptions is Śaka 1126 (A.D. 1204), and not Śaka 726 (A.D. 804) as has been hitherto supposed. Cf. F. Kielhorn, Ind. Ant., vol. xx (1891), p. 154.

has at least the advantage of restricting Dugar within more reasonable limits. In reality, however, this popular etymology is merely based on the analogy of Trigarta, the ancient name of the Kāṅgrū valley.

We know from two Campā copper-plate inscriptions that the ancient name of Dugar is not Dvigarta, but Durgara. The same documents bear out that Durgara existed as a distinct principality as early as the 10th century; for they mention "a lord of Durgara," whose troops were repulsed by Sāhilla, the founder of the town of Cambā.<sup>1</sup>

Considering this, it may seem surprising that in Kalhaṇa's chronicle no mention is made of Durgara, the principal State of the Cīnāb valley, whereas Campā and Vallāpura, the two principalities on the Rāvī, as well as Trigarta, in the still more remote valley of the Biās, are frequently referred to. I believe we are justified now in assuming that Kalhaṇa does mention the Durgara principality, not, it is true, under this name, but under that of its capital, Babbāpura. It should be remembered that Jammū, the present capital of Dugar, does not possess any signs of antiquity. Its earliest mention, according to Cunningham,<sup>2</sup> falls in the time of Timūr's invasion.

J. PH. VOGEL.

P.S.—Since writing the above a copper coin obtained on the Babor site has been identified by Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., to belong to Kaluśa of Kāśmīr. This is particularly interesting in connection with Kalhaṇa's first mention of Babbāpura (Rājat. vii, 588) referred to in the beginning of my note.

#### WHO WERE THE KĀṆKAS?

In the list of the ruling races of kings, Kuṅkas are mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as follows:—

*Kaṅkāḥ śoḍaśa bhūpālā bhariṣyanti atilohupāḥ*  
(xii. i, 27).

<sup>1</sup> Archaeological Survey Report, 1902-3, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> "Ancient Geography of India," p. 133.

Though these Rājas have not hitherto been found mentioned in clear terms in the literature of old, either epigraphic or general, I think that they commenced to rule in Northern India when the poet Subandhu flourished. In the introductory portion of his *Vāsavadattā* occurs the following stanza, wherein, I think, the Kaṅkas are described as new tyrants of the poet's time:—

*Sā rasavattā vihatā navakā vilasanti carati no kaṅkaḥ  
Sarasāra kīrtti-śeṣaṇ gataṇvati bhuvī Vikramāditya.*

I need not remind the reader that the poet indulged freely in what is called *śleṣālankāra* throughout the work; and that consequently there is a play upon almost every word of every sentence in the book. Let me annotate here the stanza quoted above, to show that Subandhu knew a Kaṅka Rāja.

“The famous Vikramāditya having (only recently) passed away [*kīrtti-śeṣaṇ gataṇvati*], true valour [*rasavattā = rīrya-vattā*] is now lost in this world; and new bad kings [*navakāḥ = kutsita-nava-rājānaḥ*] having become rulers, we are now being oppressed by others. When a tank is dried up, its *rasavattā* is lost as a matter of course, the Vakas do not [*na + rakāḥ*] resort to it, and it becomes devoid of the presence of the Sārasa birds [*Sā + rasavattā vihatā*]; and then the Kaṅka bird only (a sort of wader with iron bill) roams about.”

The above annotation does not exhaustively explain what the poet meant to convey. He also meant to record that good poets were not then patronised, and so the world became dry and jejune [*rasavattā vihatā*] and new fellows of inferior talents [*navakāḥ*] were faring well [*vilasanti*] during the reign of Rājā Kaṅkaḥ, who might be compared to the bird of that name, as having an iron hand like the iron bill of the bird. The Kaṅka kings are described in the *Bhāgarata Purāṇa* (as the extract shows) as *ati-lolupāḥ* ('extremely avaricious').

As the poet Subandhu mentions the name of the good king Vikramāditya, it is most unlikely that he has omitted to name the new tyrant of his time, in the stanza so artistically

composed. A composition abounding in the *alaṅkāra* of the *śleṣa* kind would be defective if in contrast to the name of Vikramāditya another name were not given. We know that there were really Kaṅka kings, as the *Bhāgavata* tells us, who had not the reputation of being good rulers; so a play upon the words *kaṁ* and *kaḥ*, if thought out, gives quite a fitting description.

We all know that on the downfall of the Gupta empire the Huns, as well as others belonging to different tribes, rose to eminence in various parts of India. Who is the Vikramāditya referred to by Subandhu, whose glorious deeds were then so fresh in the memory of the people? Is it Skanda Gupta, or Kumāra Gupta son of Bālāditya, or Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscriptions? This cannot perhaps be easily settled, without our knowing when the Kaṅkas reigned. As we get the complete number of the Kaṅka Rājas in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, this *Purāṇa* must be later than *Vāsavadattā* in date.

Subandhu's time has, with some degree of accuracy, been fixed as the last half of the sixth century. If this date is correct, the Kaṅkas must have ruled previous to the Vardhanas of Thaneswar, and also as kings contemporary with Harṣavardhana and his elder brother, since they had a line of sixteen kings. But it is curious that no inscription of Harṣavardhana makes any reference to the Kaṅkas.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

#### DENARIUS AND THE DATE OF THE *Harivaṁśa*.

Merely because the Roman coin Denarius (which was introduced into India some time between 100 and 200 A.D.) is known to the *Harivaṁśa*, many scholars have concluded that the *Harivaṁśa* was completed as early as 200 A.D. This is exactly what Mr. Hopkins has also stated in his excellent work the "Great Epic of India." The time when the Roman coin was for the first time introduced can only be set up as the earliest limit, beyond which the *Harivaṁśa* cannot be placed; but it cannot be fixed as the point when

that work was composed. It can be shown that even in the sixth century A.D. the Denarius was fully known as a coin of current use. For the purpose of this note it will suffice, if I accept the general opinion that the *Daśakumāra-carita* was composed by the end of the sixth century A.D., though I have reasons to think that the work was written still later. In the story of Apahāravarman, in this book, the hero narrates that he won sixteen thousand Denarii :—

*Mayā jitaś cāsau ṣoḍaśa sahasrāṇi dīnārāṇām*

(Uttarakhaṇḍa, 2nd Uchchvāsa).

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

# RĀJANA, RĀJANYA.

Mr. Vincent Smith, on p. 92 of the January number of the Journal, has drawn attention to this word as occurring on coins found in Hōshyārpur District in the Panjāb. Hōshyārpur is immediately south of Kāngrā, and in Kāngrā, and also in Kāsmīr—presumably, therefore, throughout the mountainous tract north of the Panjāb—there were high dignitaries called Rājānakas, a word which is evidently another form of *Rājanyaka*, *Rājañña*. An account of the word will be found in Dr. Stein's translation of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi* (vi, 117). In vi, 261, a man is mentioned as being promoted to the dignity of *Rājānaka*. As Dr. Stein points out, the title has survived as *Rādzān*, one of the family names of the Kāsmīrī Brāhmaṇas. One of my most cherished Kāsmīrī MSS. is that of the *Śiva-carita* by Kṛṣṇa Rājānaka. A suburb of Śrīnagar is *Rān'vōr* < *Rājānavāṭikā*. In his note to RT, viii, 756, Dr. Stein states that the ' in *Rān'* is a plural suffix. I am inclined to see in it a relic of the palatal ñ of *Rājañña*.

Dr. Stein's references (in his note to vi, 117) to *Ep. Ind.*, i, 101, and ii, 483, are valuable as showing the use of the word in Kāngrā. Dr. Vogel could give some information regarding the use of the word in this locality.

G. A. GRIERSON.

## ŚĀNKHĀYANA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA : BOOKS XVII AND XVIII.

In his *Indian Literature*<sup>1</sup> Weber wrote : "The seventeenth and eighteenth books (of the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra) are a later addition, and are also ranked independently and separately commented upon. They correspond to the first two books of the Kausītaki Āraṇyaka." In referring to this passage in his *Ritual-Litteratur*,<sup>2</sup> Professor Hillebrandt, while accepting the statement that the books are an addition, considers that they can hardly be regarded as more modern. Professor Macdonell<sup>3</sup> leaves the question of relative date open.

It may be worth while to consider whether no more precise result can be obtained. Now, in the first place, it should be noted that there is no reason to believe that these books were at any early date deemed part of the sūtra. On the contrary, Ānartīya shows clearly that to him these books formed part of the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, for (1) he does not comment upon them ; (2) in his commentary<sup>4</sup> on Book xiii, 14, 7, he expressly quotes Book xviii, 14, 30, as *āraṇyake vacanāt*, as Hillebrandt points out. That is to say, the relation of Books xvii and xviii to Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, i and ii, was precisely that of Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Book v, to Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Book i, as the sūtra and brāhmaṇa respectively of the *Mahāvratā* rite.

There is nothing, therefore, to show *a priori* which of the two, the sūtra or these sūtra books of the Āraṇyaka, is the older. Comparison of language and grammar yields no argument either way, if we leave out of account, as we of course must, the passage in the sūtra, xv, narrating the Śunaḥśepa legend, which, from its correspondence with the version in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, obviously is taken bodily over into the sūtra from an older source. The style and grammar of both works practically coincide, and are compatible with contemporaneous production. More important

<sup>1</sup> E.T., p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> P. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> Hillebrandt's ed., iii, p. 192.

is the evidence of citations. In both cases the writer's rule is to cite at length all passages not R̥gvedic, but there are three signal exceptions in Book xviii. In xviii, 1, 2, are cited by pratika only the verses *brahma jajñānam* and *iyam pitre*. They are cited in full at v, 9, 5, and 6 respectively. In xviii, 15, 4, is cited by pratika the *tr̥ca, eṣa brahma ya r̥tvijah*, which will be found at length at ix, 6, 6. The obvious conclusion is that the author of xviii (and therefore of xvii, which is inseparably connected with it) knew the sūtra. It may, indeed, be argued that originally the verses may have stood at full length in the text of xviii, and may have been curtailed by a commentator familiar with the sūtra, but against this must be put the fact that we do not even know of any commentator who treated the sūtra as one whole of eighteen books. As we have seen, Ānartīya commented on sixteen books only, while Govinda confined himself to Books xvii and xviii.

On the other hand, in xii, 26, 9, the pratikas only of the Sāmaveda verses, *pra va Indrāya Vṛtrahantamāya* and *viśvato dāvan*, are cited, while they are given in full at xviii, 15, 5. Ānartīya, in his commentary on xii, 26, 9, has *pra va Indrāya Vṛtrahantamāyetye Āraṇyakaṣaṭhitah stotriyah*, which appears to me, though Hillebrandt does not seem so to take it, clearly a reference to xviii as an Āraṇyaka, just as in xiii, 14, 7, above referred to.

The solution of the matter seems to be that the two works were written contemporaneously with reference to each other. This is borne out by the fact that in each case the natural place for the verses to be set out in full is that in which they actually do occur in full. For instance, xviii, 15, 5, contains six verses in all of which the two cited form part, whereas in xii, 26, 9, a large number of hymns and stanzas are being cited by pratika, and the setting forth of the verses in full would have interrupted very inconveniently the section. Whether the same author wrote both, it is impossible to say, but no doubt the two authors, if there were two, were of the same date and school. There is a precise parallel in the case of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, for

it is possible<sup>1</sup> that Āśvalāyana wrote the fifth book of the Āraṇyaka as well as his sūtra, and it is certain that, if he did not do so, the book was written by his teacher, Śaunaka, with reference to the sūtra, which is at least once actually alluded to. It is of special interest to note that in the Āraṇyaka, v, 2, 2, *esa brahma ya ṛtvijaḥ* is cited by pratika, but is given in full at vi, 2, 6, of the sūtra, presenting a precise parallel with the facts of the Śāṅkhāyana.

As part of this argument rests on the assumption of Ānartīya's accuracy, it may be well to confirm it by a somewhat significant piece of evidence. In x, 6, 10, occurs the rule, *mahānāmnyaḥ stotriyaḥ*, which he thus explains,<sup>2</sup> *ta aranye 'nūcyāḥ | ato na pratikagrahaṇam* | He does not write *Āraṇyake*, for as a matter of fact the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka<sup>3</sup> contains no book like the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, iv, dealing with the Mahānāmni verses.

It may be added that considerable doubt must be felt as to the view of Professor Hillebrandt that the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra is older than the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra. The two grounds put forward<sup>4</sup> in support of this view are, first, the ancient nature of the style, and, second, the character of the contents. But the style of the sūtra portions is no more ancient than that of the Āśvalāyana Sūtra, and, as pointed out above, the Śunaḥśepa legend stands in a quite independent position and certainly cannot be attributed to the writer of the sūtra, whose date, therefore, cannot be fixed by any calculation based on such data. The only evidence from contents given by Professor Hillebrandt is that the Śāṅkhāyana describes at some length the puruṣamedha, which he regards as a very old but disappearing rite. If, as I consider much more probable, it is really as Oldenberg<sup>5</sup> holds, a late rite, the argument for the priority of the Śāṅkhāyana turns into one for the

<sup>1</sup> See Oldenberg, *S.B.E.*, xxix, 153-157.

<sup>2</sup> Hillebrandt's ed., iii, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> See Winternitz and Keith, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, i, ix, x.

<sup>5</sup> *Religion des Veda*, p. 365.

priority of Āśvalāyana, which might be supported by the fact that on the whole the Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra is more systematic and better arranged than the Āśvalāyana Sūtra, perhaps also by the fact<sup>1</sup> that the Śāṅkhāyana school belonged to the western part of India, and by the occurrence of the form *draṣṭā*, i, 3, 6, as a third person passive. But in any case there is little reason to assume any wide separation of the two schools in point of time.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

#### VYĀGHRAMUŚA.

The name Vyāghramuśa, read by Mr. V. A. Smith on one of his White Hun coins (see p. 95 of the January number of the Journal), is no doubt "Śrī Vyāghramukha of the Śrī Chāpa dynasty," under whom wrote the astronomer Brahmagupta.

A. M. T. JACKSON.

#### ITSING AND VĀGBHATA.

I am afraid Professor Jolly's interesting presentment of the case of Itsing's relation to Vāgbhata (*ante*, p. 172) tends—quite unintentionally, of course—to confuse the issue. Let me try to put it clearly; not for the sake of controversy with my friend, whose views on anything touching Indian medicine are of the greatest value, but because of the importance of establishing, if possible, any point in Indian chronology.

Itsing tells us that "lately a man epitomized the eight sections of medical science, and made them into one bundle"; and he adds that "all physicians in the five parts of India practise according to this book." Here three points come out clearly: (1) The book was a recent production at the time of Itsing's sojourn in India; (2) it was an epitome of the eight sections; (3) it was a standard book for medical practitioners.

Which of the ancient medical textbooks answers to these three conditions? Professor Jolly names for consideration

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *S. B. E.*, ii, xxxi.

three—the textbooks of Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa the elder, and Vāgbhaṭa the younger. The textbook of Suśruta bears the names *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, or the Compendium of Suśruta, and *Āyurveda Śāstra*, or Textbook of Medical Science; the work of Vāgbhaṭa the elder is named *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha*, or Epitome of the Eight Sections; and that of Vāgbhaṭa the younger is called *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya Saṃhitā*, or the Compendium of the Heart (Essence) of the Eight Sections. The identity of the name of the textbook of Vāgbhaṭa the elder with the second of Itsing's conditions is very striking. In such matters there can be no absolute proof or demonstration; but can anyone doubt that, so far as this point is concerned, Itsing, speaking of the man who "epitomized the eight sections," alluded to the actual name of the book which was in his mind, and that he was speaking of Vāgbhaṭa the elder's Epitome of the Eight Sections? The name of Vāgbhaṭa the younger's textbook, Compendium of the Essence of the Eight Sections, is also suggestive; but it cannot prevail by the side of the more suggestive name of the rival work of Vāgbhaṭa the elder. Moreover, the date of Vāgbhaṭa the younger puts his work out of court; for he cannot well be placed earlier than the eighth century, while Itsing was in India in the latter part of the seventh century. As to Suśruta, there is nothing in the name of his work suggestive of the second of Itsing's conditions. He, too, like Vāgbhaṭa the younger, is ruled out by his date, and therefore does not fulfil the first of Itsing's conditions. Having lived many centuries before Itsing, Suśruta could not possibly be referred to by him as a man who lived "lately."

Professor Jolly attempts to meet the obvious difficulty of that word "lately" by the suggestion that it may possess no "chronological significance," because, as he explains, "Itsing had probably read the Introduction to Suśruta and looked upon his work as a recent compilation, because it purports to be an extract in eight parts from an earlier work in 100,000 verses." But what evidence is there for such an hypothesis? Moreover, why should Itsing, from the mere fact that one book "purports to be an extract" from another, jump to the

conclusion that the extract was a recent work? The extract, no doubt, must be younger than the original, but they might both be very old. As a matter of fact that is the uniform Indian tradition. Whatever the age of the hypothetical original may have been thought to be, Indian tradition refers what Professor Jolly calls the "extract," that is to say, Suśruta's well-known and still existing work, the *Āyurveda Śāstra*, to an extremely early age. For according to Indian tradition, reported in the Introduction to Suśruta's work, the "extract" was not made by Suśruta himself, but by Svayambhū, the Self-existent God. It was the latter, who "even before he created man, composed it (the *Āyurveda*) in 1,000 chapters and 100,000 verses." And it was he, again, (not Suśruta) who "afterwards, in consideration of the short life and small intelligence of man, recast it in eight sections." It is this recast, or "extract," in eight sections, made by Svayambhū himself, which Suśruta is represented as having received through Divodāsa, and which is represented as being contained in Suśruta's actually existing work, the *Saṁhitā*. Itsing could not think or say anything about the latter work but what Indian tradition told him. The suggestion that he may have considered it a "recent compilation," despite the Indian tradition, and without giving the slightest indication of his disbelief of that tradition, is surely extravagant.

One may well ask, what need is there for such an hypothesis? And this brings me to the *fons et origo* of the confusion. It is the idea that Itsing expressly enumerates the eight sections in that sequence in which, according to him, the epitome in question treated of medical science. Then, comparing the sequence of the sections in the works of Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa, and finding that the supposed sequence in Itsing's "Epitome" agrees more nearly with that in Suśruta's textbook (*Śāstra*) than with that in Vāgbhaṭa's Epitome (*Saṁgraha*), the conclusion is reached that it must be Suśruta's textbook of which Itsing is speaking rather than Vāgbhaṭa's Epitome. Finally, feeling that the word "lately" is a fatal objection to this conclusion, the desperate attempt is made to deprive it of its chronological significance.

But all this effort is unnecessary, for Itsing gives us no such information regarding his epitome. What he states is this: he explains that the Indian medical science comprises eight sections, and these sections he enumerates. But let it be noted that he enumerates them in his own way, which, as Professor Jolly himself points out, does not agree with the sequence of the sections as we find it in any of the existing standard medical works. Having explained the division into sections, Itsing goes on to mention that formerly the sections existed in separate books, but that "lately a man epitomized them and made them into one bundle" (or book). He says nothing whatever about the sequence in which the epitomizer whom he has got in his mind placed the eight sections.

The case is similar with respect to the names, or titles, of the eight sections. With one exception Itsing gives these names in his own way, neither transcribing nor always translating the Sanskrit names, but describing the subjects of the sections. Thus he says that "the first section treats of all kinds of sores." This does not give the title of the section as we find it identically in *Suśruta* and *Vāgbhata*. With them the title is *śalya*, that is, any "foreign substance" (which has got into the body, causing therein a sore, and which has to be removed by surgical operation). Itsing's title is neither a transcript nor a translation of the Sanskrit title, though it describes fairly enough the subject of the section. The second section, according to Itsing, treats of "acupuncture for any disease above the neck." This is neither the title of the section in *Suśruta* nor in *Vāgbhata*, but it is rather a combination of both. For *Suśruta* has *śālākya*, which may stand for acupuncture, and *Vāgbhata* has *ūrdhvāṅga*, which represents "diseases above the neck." Itsing's seventh section is entitled "The means of lengthening one's life," which is not a literal equivalent of either *Suśruta*'s *rasāyana* or of *Vāgbhata*'s *jarā*, though it sufficiently expresses the sense of either. Itsing's eighth section is entitled "The methods of invigorating the legs and body," which is a rather loose rendering of *Suśruta*'s and *Vāgbhata*'s

synonymous terms *rājikaraṇa* and *vr̥ṣa*. The latter terms signify the invigoration of the sexual power. The single exception is Itsing's title of the fifth section. Here Itsing transcribes the Sanskrit word *agada*, antidote, which is also found in Suśruta, while Vāgbhaṭa has *daṁṣṭrā*, or poison fang. But this single exception is no evidence of Itsing's dependence on Suśruta; for, as Professor Jolly himself remarks, he is simply "using the ordinary Indian term."

One word more. Professor Jolly admits that Charaka's *Samhitā*, or Compendium, is not likely to have been the work of which Itsing was thinking. But he adds that we "must not lose sight of those rather numerous medical writers whom we know from quotations." It is profitless to argue about writers of whom we know next to nothing. There is one writer, however, Bheḍa, whose *Samhitā*, or Compendium, we still possess. But with respect to Bheḍa and Charaka, and, indeed, respecting all the others, there is one thing, at least, that we may say, that none of them fulfils the three conditions of Itsing's statement. According to Indian tradition—and that is all that Itsing can have known about them—the qualification "lately" is not applicable to any of them. Nor does the work of any of them, so far as known to us, bear a name anything like "Epitome of the Eight Sections." All those we know—such as those of Charaka, Bheḍa, Ātreya, Hārīta, Kaśyapa, etc.—are called *Samhitā* or Compendium. Nor is any of them, except the *Samhitā* of Charaka, a standard book in Itsing's sense. In fact, if they had been so, they could not well have disappeared so entirely as they have done.

On Professor Jolly's own showing it is clear that, in the present state of our knowledge, the choice lies only between Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa the elder. I hope I may have succeeded in showing that Suśruta is impossible. *Ergo*: Vāgbhaṭa the elder must be the man.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

Oxford, February, 1907.

## FURTHER NOTE ON THE POEM ATTRIBUTED TO AL-SAMAU'AL.

Mr. A. R. Guest calls my attention to a passage in Ibn Duqmāq, pt. iv, p. 10, which runs as follows:—

(دار الغمر) هو الغمر بن الحصين الغساني وذكر انه من ولد السمؤال  
بن عادي اليهودي

“(Dār al-Ghamr) Al-Ghamr b. al-Ḥuṣayn of Ghassan, and it is mentioned that he was a descendant of Al-Samau'al b. 'Ādiyā, the Jew, and died A.H. 206 (821/2).”

If descendants of Al-Samau'al lived in Egypt it is not very remarkable that they were in possession of the text of their ancestor's poem. This would also explain the fact that the poem was penned in Hebrew characters. The fragment was found in Old Cairo.

In the October number of last year's *Journal* Professor Margoliouth quotes a few lines of the poem as printed in the journal *Al-Machriq*, July, 1906, p. 674 sq.

It would be interesting if a European scholar had an opportunity of collating the MS. from which the reproduction is taken, and could give a description of the same. Has the text been tampered with? The variant of line 6 which does away with an element of the Jewish Agādā, as well as the addition of the last line, are, to say the least, strange. Strangest of all is the coincidence that the text of the poem should suddenly and shortly after its discovery in Europe come to light in a far Eastern country. It is impossible to think that the poem in this form is genuine. A Christian author would have chosen any name but Al-Samau'al.

## SIVA AS LAKULISA.

Among the Śaivas there has been an important sect, that of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas, which has hardly received the attention that it merits. It is mentioned and its doctrine is explained by Sūyaṇa, in his Sarvadarśanasamgraha, written in the latter half of the fourteenth century. In our historical researches, however, we have hitherto had occasion to notice it only in connexion with the mention of it in an inscription which, after some preliminary treatments by other scholars, was critically edited by Professor Bühler some fifteen years ago (EI, 1. 271 ff.). The record in question is the so-called Cintra Praśasti, so named because the stone which bears it was removed to Cintra in Portugal; but it seems to have originally belonged to a Śaiva temple at Sōmnāth-Pāṭaṇ in Kāṭhiāwād. It was composed during the period A.D. 1274 to 1296. And in its introductory verses it speaks of the founder of the sect in question as an incarnation of Śiva. It says that that god "descended (*avātarat*) in the form of Bhaṭṭāraka-Śrī-Lakulīśa in order to favour the universe; and in order to favour the boys of Ulūka, who were for a long time without sons in consequence of a curse laid upon (*his*) father,<sup>1</sup> having come to the Lāṭa country (Gujarāt in Bombay), he settled (*adhyuvāsa*) at Kārōhaṇa: in this place there descended (*avatēruḥ*), for the performance of special Pāśupata vows, his four pupils, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha, and Maitrēya, whose class spread out into four branches."

<sup>1</sup> The words here are:—*anugrahītum cha chiram viputrakān=Ulūka-bhūtān=abhiśāpataḥ pituḥ*. There is no substantial reason for questioning the accuracy of the lithograph in respect of them.

Professor Bühler took *bhūtān* in the sense of *udbhūtān*, and translated "the offspring of Ulūka." For my rendering, "the boys of Ulūka," I use the Śabdakalpadruma, which cites the Mēdinī as assigning to *bhūta* the meaning "kuṁāra, 'a child, boy, youth, son.'"

It is questionable whether the author of the Praśasti did not intend this clause to be taken in connexion with the preceding one:—" . . . . . in order to favour the universe, and in order to favour the boys of Ulūka . . . . . father; having come to Lāṭa, he settled at Kārōhaṇa." However, following Professor Bühler, I construe and punctuate according to the arrangement of the verses.

And the place mentioned here, Kārōhaṇa, was identified by Professor Bühler with the modern Kārvān near Dabhōi in the Baroda State.

Six or seven years ago, there appeared to be good reasons (EI, 5. 226 ff.; IA, 1901. 1 f.) for believing that the date of the foundation of this sect was closely fixed by an inscription at Baḷagāmi in Mysore, which registers a grant made in A.D. 1035, for the purposes of a temple at that place, to a great Śaiva teacher named Lakulīśvarapaṇḍita, who is described in the record in very grandiloquent terms. It seemed that we had in this person the founder of the sect, the alleged incarnation of Śiva. The matter, however, has recently been placed in a very different light by a paper which may be noticed in some detail, because the results will carry us further, in the historical line, than is contemplated in it. I consider it only from that point of view; for more information about the sect itself, reference may be made to the original paper.

In the last received number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 22, p. 151 ff., Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has edited an inscription from the Ēklingjī temple near Udaipur in Mēwār,—called in the record itself “a temple of Lakulīśa,”—which is dated in A.D. 971–72 and already mentions the incarnation of Śiva as Lakulīśa. This record is unfortunately somewhat mutilated in the passage which interests us; but the following matter can be made out. Verse 9 mentions Bhṛigukachchha (Broach), and says that the sage Bhṛigu, who had been cursed by Viṣṇu, propitiated Śiva. Verse 10 mentions the Lāṭa country and the river Narbadā, and says that, in the presence of the sage himself, Śiva descended into a bodily form (*kāyāvatāraṁ pratyagrahāt*) in which he was characterized by having a club in his hand (*lakul-ōpalakṣhita-karah*).<sup>1</sup> Verse 11, mentioning a town named Kāyāvarōhaṇa,

<sup>1</sup> The word *lakula*, of which we have also the variants *lakula*, *lakuṭa*, *laguḍa*, and apparently *lagura*, means ‘a club.’ The name Lakulin means ‘he who has

perhaps says that it was so called because the incarnation took place there, or perhaps says that thereafter the god became attached to that place, so much so that he thought no more of his abode Kailāsa. And verse 13 mentions Kuśika "and others," who practised the Pāsupata *yōga*. Further, Mr. Bhandarkar has produced a still earlier mention of Lakulīśa from an inscription at Hēmavati in Mysore (EC, 12. Si, 28); this record, dated in A.D. 942 or 943, says that "Lakulīśa, fearing that his name and doctrine might be forgotten, descended upon earth again, being born as the great saint Chilluka,"—by which it means, however, not to assert really a second incarnation, but only to praise, in hyperbolical style, the local priest Chilluka, whose feet were laved at the time when the grant registered by the record was made.

These two records of course dispose of the view that the founder of the sect of the Lakulīśa-Pāsupatas flourished in the eleventh century; the Lakulīśvarapaṇḍita of the Baḷa-gāmi inscription was only a namesake of the original teacher. From other sources of information, Mr. Bhandarkar has taken the matter further still.

He has shewn that the Vāyu and Liṅga Purāṇas mention the same incarnation. They name it as the twenty-eighth and latest incarnation of Śiva, his incarnation in the current Kali age. And they introduce it, in the usual prophetic style of the Purāṇas, by representing Śiva as saying (in outline):—"I, whose essence is the *yōga*, will by the magic power of the *yōga* assume the form of a Brahmachārin, and, entering an unowned corpse thrown out into a cemetery,

or carries a club.' The name Lakulīśa, Lakulīśvara, means 'īśa, Īśvara (the lord, Śiva), as he who has or carries a club.' With a not infrequent interchange of *l* and *n*, the name sometimes appears as Nakulīśvara: (e.g., P'SOCL, No. 189, line 25); and Nakulin is the form given in the two published texts of the Vāyu-ī'urāṇa, and the Sarvadarśanasamgraha seems to give Nakulīśa. The doctrine is mentioned in inscriptions as the Lakulāgama and Lākulasiddhānta.

The *lakula* of Śiva seems to be identical with his *khaṭvāṅga*, which is explained in dictionaries as 'a club shaped like the foot of a bedstead.' If so, evidence of the early popularity of the cult of Lakulīśa in Southern India is afforded by the fact that the Pallava kings had the *khaṭvāṅga*-banner: see EI, 5. 204, line 41; and H.SII, 1. 146 : 2. 357, translation of verse 24.

will live under the name of Lakulin. At that time Kāyārōhaṇa (according to the Vāyu-Purāṇa), Kāyāvatāra (according to the Liṅga), will become famous as a sacred place.<sup>1</sup> And there there will be born my sons (disciples), the ascetics Kuśika, Garga, Mitra, and Kaurushya; these Pāśupatas, their bodies smeared with ashes, having attained the Māhēśvara *yōga*, will depart to the world of Rudra, whence it is difficult to return."

Now, there are held to be good reasons for regarding the Vāyu-Purāṇa—(not necessarily that Purāṇa exactly as we have it now, but a Purāṇa bearing that name)—as one of the earliest of the Purāṇas. But, irrespective of the comparative question, an allusion to it in the Harshacharita of Bāṇa, who flourished in the first half of the seventh century, shews that there was then already the practice of reciting it. The work must have existed for some considerable time, in order to have become so far recognized. And there is a reason for thinking that it must have been finished off in the first half of the fourth century. In its account of the great dynasties of India, it mentions last the Guptas, in respect of whom it says, in the usual prophetic style, that they would reign over Sākēta and the Magadha country and along the Ganges as far as Prayāga (Allahābād). And this, taken as applying to the Early or Imperial Gupta dynasty, can only refer to the territories held by Chandragupta I., A.D. 320 to about 335, before the great extension of the dominions of that dynasty under

<sup>1</sup> These two names are not exactly synonymous, and seem to indicate two distinct places which subsequently became confused: Kāyāvatāra, "the (*place of*) descending into the (*human*) body," i.e., the place where the incarnation of Śiva as Lakulīśa was manifested, the place at which the teacher Lakulin made his first appearance; Kāyārōhaṇa, "the (*place of*) ascending into the (*divine*) body," i.e., the place at which Lakulin eventually settled, established his school, and died. And the local Māhātmya, mentioning Kārvān as Kāyavirōhaṇa, appears only to claim (see EI, I. 274; Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, 7. 550) that it was there that the god disappeared when the incarnation came to an end.

A record of A.D. 706 (IA, 13. 77) mentions Kāyāvatāra as a camp of the Gurjara prince Jayabhata III., and necessarily locates the place in the same territory with Kārvān, with which in fact it was identified by Professor Bühler (IA, 18. 176). This record does not mention the incarnation. But the name itself seems to shew that the event was already localized in that neighbourhood.

his successor Samudragupta. It is hence inferred that the Vāyu-Purāṇa was completed in or shortly after the time of Chandragupta I.

Following that line of argument, Mr. Bhandarkar arrives at the conclusion that, in order to have become an article of general belief and to be mentioned in the Vāyu-Purāṇa in the early part of the fourth century, the incarnation of Śiva as Lakulīśa must be placed in the first century A.D. at the latest.

In connexion with this incarnation of Śiva, there is a point on which Mr. Bhandarkar lays some stress. At the Ēklingjī temple itself and in many other old temples in Rājputānā, he has seen sculptures which are evidently representations of Śiva as Lakulīśa. They all exhibit the god as two-armed, and as holding a club in one of his hands. These have not been specially illustrated yet. But a similar sculpture in the Dumar Lēṇa cave at Ellōrā has been shewn, on a small scale but very clearly, by Dr. Burgess (ASWI, plate 37, fig. 1, left): it exhibits a seated two-armed god, holding a club upwards in his left hand; and Dr. Burgess has described it (ibid., 42) as “Śiva as a Yogi or ascetic, with a club in his left hand, and seated on a lotus upheld by Nāga figures, with two females worshipping behind each, — an evident copy from the figures of Buddha.”<sup>1</sup> The point on which Mr. Bhandarkar lays stress is the feature that these images always represent Śiva as having only two arms, quite exceptionally in comparison with the usual treatment of that god in at any rate the same temples. He understands the

<sup>1</sup> Vishṇu, also, had a club, — or according to some translators a mace, — called in his case *gada*. And according to Varāhamihira the rule was that, if he was to be represented as four-armed or eight-armed, the club should be in one of his right hands; if he was to be represented as two-armed, the club seems to have been omitted: see the Brihat-Samhitā, 58/57. 31 to 55. For Śiva, whom he treats only as two-armed, Varāhamihira mentions (verse 43) only the trident and the bow Pināka.

A good illustration of the club of Vishṇu has been given by Dr. Burgess in his photograph of the Narasimha form as shewn in the Bādāmi Cave No. 3; see ASWI, I. plate 29. There, however, the god is represented with one of his left arms leaning on the club. And the sculptures at the top of an inscription at Baḷagāmi (PSOCL, No. 183) shew Vishṇu, as Kṛṣṇa, holding the club downwards in one of his left hands.

Purāṇas as clearly implying that Lakulin was originally a Brahmachārin, a celibate ascetic. And he holds that the invariable practice of representing him with only two arms "means that his human origin was prominent before the mind of his followers and that consequently he was an historical personality like Buddha or Mahāvīra."

I presume that I am right in understanding Mr. Bhandarkar as meaning that, at some time not later than the first century A.D., there appeared a great Śaiva teacher, who carried a club and so became known as Lakulin, and who preached a new manifestation of Śiva as Lakulīśa, "the lord who bears the club;" and that that teacher subsequently became identified with the god himself, and was regarded as an incarnation of the god. And such a result is so reasonable, and fits in so well with what can be learnt from other sources, that we could hardly refuse to accept it.

Some scholars hold that the Dionṡsos and Hēraklēs of the Greek writers about India mean, respectively, Śiva and Kṛishṇa. Others would rather connect Kṛishṇa with Dionṡsos and Śiva with Hēraklēs. Whatever may be the general case in that respect, we can hardly doubt that the club of Śiva as Lakulīśa is the club of Hēraklēs. The limit arrived at by Mr. Bhandarkar for the appearance of Lakulin is precisely the time at which, as we learn from the coins of Huvishka and Vāsudēva in one series and from those of Kadphisēs I. and II. in another series, Hēraklēs was disappearing from the Indian coinage and Śiva was replacing him. And we have a representation of Śiva with the club on coins of Huvishka, whose known dates, taken as dates of the era of B.C. 58, range from B.C. 25 to 7 or perhaps A.D. 3. I refer to coins which have been illustrated by Gardner in his *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, plate 28, No. 15, and by Smith in his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, plate 12, No. 14. It is true that Śiva is there shewn as four-armed, and with one of his left hands resting on the

club instead of holding it upwards. But we have there an unmistakable association of the club with Śiva.

The allusion to Ulūka in the Cintra Praśasti is obscure, and will require to be elucidated so that we may fully understand the historical bearing of this incarnation of Śiva as Lakulīśa, that is, the appearance of the teacher Lakulin as the originator of a new development of Śaivism.

Mr. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the point that one of the four disciples of Śiva in each of his preceding two incarnations bore the name Ulūka. And, citing certain instances of the use of the terms *putra* and *śishya* indifferently, to express the relationship between certain persons and their teachers, he has apparently contemplated rendering *viputrakān* by "without disciples." But there is nothing in the passages in the Vāyu and Liṅga Purāṇas to suggest either that a curse was laid on the disciple Ulūka or by him on his pupils, or that there was any interruption in the regular appearance of the four disciples—(apparently the same persons constantly reborn under different names)—with each successive incarnation of the god.

I am inclined to find the explanation in the history, given in the Mahābhārata, of Śakuni, son of Subala king of Gandhāra, and of his son Ulūka. Śakuni, "the Cheat," who had a hundred tricks at his command (7, § 14. 516), who was born to become through the provocation of the gods a destroyer of religion (1, § 63. 2440 f.), was "the root of the feud and the gambling" which led to all the trouble between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas (1, § 1. 206; compare 5, § 161. 5609 f.; 9, § 29. 1562). His misdeeds made him "the slayer of his own family" (*sraṇulaghna*; 5, § 161. 5611). And in the great battle there were slain, first, nine or ten of his brothers (6, § 91. 3997–4016; 7, § 157. 6944–6); then his son Ulūka (9, § 29. 1532 f.); and then Śakuni himself (*ibid.*, 1562). I do not at present find a distinct record of a formal curse having been laid upon Śakuni. But the above indications, tantamount to it, are plain enough. As far as the epic goes, there seem to

have remained alive, out of his family, only the following ; perhaps a brother of Śakuni named Vṛishabha, who escaped, badly wounded, when five of the brothers were slain (6, § 91. 4017), and a son of Śakuni (unnamed), who was king of Gandhāra when Arjunā followed into that territory the horse which was destined for the *aśvamēdha*-sacrifice (14, § 83. 2484 f., and § 84). But a combination of the Cintra Prasasti with the epic suggests that there was an understanding that there were also left some young sons of Ulūka, who, under the doom entailed by Śakuni's misdeeds, were unable to continue their race.

If we are to find thus the explanation of the obscure allusion, how can we do otherwise than associate the incarnation of Śiva as Lakulīṣa, the appearance of the teacher Lakulin, particularly with the Gandhāra country ? Though we may not actually place the manifestation of the incarnation in that territory, we must attribute to special encouragement received there the success that attended the founder of the new Śaiva school, and find in the history of the north-west corner of India the full significance of the event. Indications that we should do so are not wanting. But the further exposition of the matter must be left over for a subsequent note.

J. F. FLEET.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE DEVANAGARI ALPHABET.

The numbers of the *Indian Antiquary* last received, for September and October, 1906, contain the opening instalments, with plates, of a disquisition by Mr. R. Shamasastri which is entitled "a Theory of the Origin of the Devanāgarī Alphabet." Mr. Shamasastri joins issue with that school, represented last by Professor Bühler, which holds that the Indian alphabets of the Brāhmī class, in which the Dēvanāgarī—more correctly, the Nāgarī—was developed, were of foreign and in fact Semitic origin. He maintains that they had an independent indigenous origin.

And his object is to find that origin in the hieroglyphics of the Tāntrik worship. We shall look forward with interest to the further observations which Mr. Shamasastri has to lay before us, when he will probably sum up his case and make it more definite. Meanwhile, what he has already published may be cordially recommended to the attention of all who are interested in the history of writing in India.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE RELIGION OF ISLAM. By the Rev. F. A. KLEIN.  
(London: Kegan Paul, 1906.)

We can scarcely pardon the editors of this posthumous work for prefixing to it no biography of its author. The omission of an index is a serious drawback also; but Islam being so widespread, and the author evidently writing as one who has lived among its adherents, the reader should have some guidance as to the community which formed the basis of the description which he has furnished of the Islamic religion. He was, I believe, a missionary at Jerusalem, but I know not by whom or to whom sent.

The book which his friends have edited is an introduction to Mohammedan theology and law, its material being taken from works of recognized authority, which have been utilized in a scholarly way. The text is brief; the notes are discursive and enter into a variety of details. Since the subject covered is not only *kalām* or metaphysical theology, but also principles of jurisprudence, and to some extent jurisprudence itself, and some attention is given to European as well as Mohammedan treatment of these studies, the book might, if its author were alive to defend it, be criticized for containing either too much or too little. A posthumous work is, however, beyond criticism; and the reviewer need do no more than recognize the scholarly attainments of the author, whose book the editors have done well to save, though their mode of executing their task leaves much to be desired.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LAWĀ'IH : A TREATISE ON ŠŪFISM BY . . . JĀMĪ. Facsimile of an old MS., with a translation by E. H. WHINFIELD, M.A., and MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD KĀZVĪNĪ, and Preface on the Influence of Greek Philosophy upon Šūfism. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xvi : Royal Asiatic Society, 1906.)

Few Persian scholars have rendered greater service to our knowledge of Muhammadan Mysticism than Mr. Whinfield, whose text and annotated translation of the *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, or "Rose-bower of Mystery," of Shaykh Maḥmūd Shabistārī, followed by his edition and translation of the Quatrains of 'Umar Khayyám, and his abridged translation of the *Mathnawī* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rūmī, and now by this work, have rendered accessible, not only to Persian scholars, but to all students of religion and religious emotion, four of the most attractive or important Persian works on this deeply interesting subject. It is doubtful whether mysticism can be fruitfully expounded by any writer, no matter how scholarly, who has not some sympathy with the mystics, as well as a wide knowledge of mysticism and its various manifestations in all ages and lands. He who would understand, and still more expound, the Persian mystics should have read not only their chief and most characteristic works, but something at least of the Vedantists, the Buddhists, the Neo-Platonists, the fourteenth-century German mystics, such as Eckhart and Tauler, the mystics of the Church of Rome, such as St. Theresa and Little John of the Cross, the French Quietists and the Quakers, not altogether neglecting the modern Theosophists and even the Christian Scientists. For mysticism is not a product of one age or one people, but is a spiritual experience in which certain temperaments at all times and in all countries participate, and these experiences may, apparently, occur independently of any external impulse.

Mysticism has been divided by Vaughan into three varieties, which he calls the "theosophic," the "theurgic," and the "theopathic"; Mr. Whinfield, following the

Catholic authorities, distinguishes "experimental" and "doctrinal" mysticism; while a third classification into endemic, epidemic, and sporadic might also, from a different point of view, be suggested. In Persia, mysticism is endemic, and it would be hardly possible for mortal strength to read all, or even a quarter, of the Persian mystical books which exist even at the present day. Of the earlier mystical poets Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, the author of the great mystical *Mathnawí* and of the *Diván* which passes as that of Shams-i-Tubriz, is beyond question the greatest, though he modestly affects to regard Saná'í of Ghazna and Shaykh Farídu'd-Dín 'Attár as his masters. To Dr. Ethé belongs the credit of pointing out the importance of another early mystic, Shaykh Abú Sa'id ibn Abi'l-Khayr, on whose biography such fine work has been done by Professor Zhukovski of St. Petersburg. Fakhru'd-Dín 'Iráqí, who died only fourteen years after the author of the *Mathnawí*, is another notable mystic, deeply influenced by the teachings of that most prolific Arab mystagogue Shaykh Muḥiyu'd-Dín Ibnu'l-'Arabí. 'Iráqí, besides a *Diván* of singularly graceful poems, composed a very remarkable prose work, the *Lama'át*, which was commentated by Jámí, the author whom Mr. Whinfield now interprets for us. Of this work (both text and commentary) there is a Persian lithographed edition, published at Tíhrán in A.H. 1303 (A.D. 1886), besides a fair number of MSS., amongst them those marked *Add.* 7749 and *Add.* 16,822 in the British Museum. This book, itself modelled on the *Sawániḥ* of Shaykh Aḥmad Ghazzálí, very probably suggested to Jámí the idea of his *Lawa'ih*, and would make a very fitting continuation to the Library of Persian Mystics with which Mr. Whinfield has endowed us.

Of the details of the present work little need be said. The reproduction of the text by Messrs. Nopps is excellent, and so, needless to say, are Mr. Whinfield's translation and notes, the short ten-page Preface which precedes them, and the three Appendices which follow. We are glad to find ourselves in entire agreement with Mr. Whinfield as to the debt which the Súfis owe to Plotinus and the Neo-

Platonists, a view which Mr. R. A. Nicholson, Persian Lecturer at Cambridge, has so ably developed in the Introduction to his *Selected Poems from the Diwān of Shams-i-Tabriz*. In Mīrzā Muḥammad of Qazwīn, the most careful and conscientious scholar I have ever met with amongst the Persians, Mr. Whinfield has found the best possible coadjutor in his work.

E. G. B.

H. KERN. VAITULYA, VETULLA, VETULYAKA. Versl. en Med. der K. Ak. von Wetenschappen, Letterk. 4<sup>e</sup> R., D. viii, pp. 312–319. Amsterdam, 1907. Also in *tiré à part*.

This short but important article throws a new light on the history of the two Vehicles of Buddhism. I may therefore be allowed to give a detailed account of it, as the number of English readers of the *Verslagen en Mededeelingen* is perhaps comparatively small.

In studying some new manuscript fragments of the Saddharmapuṇḍarika, recently discovered in Kašgar, Professor Kern, who is now preparing for the Bibliotheca Buddhica the European *princeps editio* of this Sūtra, was struck by the fact that the ordinary reading *Vaipulyasūtra*, 'sūtra of great development,' was superseded by a new one, *Vaitulyasūtra*; and, as it were to support this new form, there occurs also *vaitupulya*, a barbarous copyist's error, due to the insertion of a marginal correction *pu* for the extraordinary *tu*.

Vaitulya is unknown in Sanskrit lexicons; but there is a king Vitula (Mbh. i, 5636, Calcutta edition), styled Vipula, 'the large one,' in the Bombay edition.

But, on the contrary, Vetulla is well known in the Singhalese Chronicles as the name of an heresy (*vetullavāda*) which was destroyed during the reign of Tissa, third century A.D. (*initio*). Nevertheless, its partisans were again, in the sixth century, defeated by the thera Jotipālaka.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mahāvamsa, pp. 227, 255; Dipav. xxii, 43; Lassen, ii, 1005–7; Kern, Manual of Buddhism, p. 124, note 3.

Again, we find in the very Saddharmapuṇḍarīka these two tenets on Buddhology which have been 'destroyed' by Moggaliputta. It is true that Śākyamuni, in the Lotus, is not said to hold his supernatural audience in the Tuṣita, but on the Vulture-peak; but, not to mention that the Vulture-

On the twelve aṅgas and the two Vehicles see Kern, *Man.*, p. 7, and sources quoted (one may add that there is a *Śarvavaiśaṅghika-sūtra*, *M. Vyut.*, § 63, 60); Schiefner, *Mél. As.*, viii, 571 (*vaiṇulya* = "eine ausführliche Darlegung des Sinnes, according to the *Mahāsāṅghikas*; others explain the phrase otherwise"); Max Müller, translation of *Sukhāvati*, *S.B.E.* xlix, pp. 102-3; and *ibid.*, Takakusu, p. 188, n. 1.

peak has ceased to be the real mountain in Magadha, Maitreya, an inhabitant of the Tuṣita by definition, is amongst the hearers of Bhagavat. As concerns the second tenet, that Ānanda was the preacher of the Law, the Kasgar MS. is marvellously to the point. Bhagavat entrusts Ānanda, in so many words, with the glorious task of preaching the Lotus.<sup>1</sup>

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

LOTUS LAND, BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN SIAM. By P. A. THOMPSON, B.A., A.M.I.C.E., Member of the Alpine Club, and late of the Royal Survey Department, Siam. (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1906.)

A good many books on Siam have appeared during the last few years, some of them the superficial work of casual travellers of the 'globe-trotter' type, others of a more solid and scientific character, written by men with adequate local experience and a good equipment of erudition. The present work, without being in any way a dry-as-dust record, conveys, at least to an outsider, the impression of having been written with knowledge. It seems to glow with local colour, and produces in the sympathetic reader the illusion that he is being brought into close contact with the land and the people that it describes.

No doubt this is in great part due to the point of view of the writer, who is obviously enamoured of his subject, and contrives by means of subtle touches to create a lifelike representation of a land of gentle nonchalance, such as his title not inaptly implies. There is something about the

<sup>1</sup> Compare Mahāparinibbāna, v, 38-40.

One may add that the Vetulyakas seem to be adherents of the 'Great Voidness' (Kathāv. A. xvii, 6); that they depreciate the Saṅgha, the gifts to the Saṅgha, etc. (xvii, 6 f.); that they seem to approve of some rite of *maithuna* or, *à tout le moins*, of the married life (xxiii, 1). And all these details have some Mahāyānist tinge, and could be traced in the list of heretical views given by Vasumitra.

Further, the Vetulyakas are not named amongst the eighteen schools: thus we are led to believe that Professor Kern is right; and we shall formulate the conjecture that Vetulyaka is perhaps a kind of *sobriquet*, 'the people with large (and empty) sūtras.'

temperament of the Indo-Chinese peoples that peculiarly endears them to almost all who have had the good fortune to come into contact with them. Far be it from me to under-rate the sterling qualities, of which strenuousness and honesty are not the least, of the ubiquitous Chinaman who is doing his best to supplant the Indo-Chinese races in their native lands. No fair-minded man who knows the Chinese at first hand can fail to respect them, even if he may dislike them : and where they are most disliked it is not so much on account of any defects as for those qualities of theirs which make them highly inconvenient competitors in the labour market. Nor would I speak evil of the industrious, nimble-witted Indians, mostly from the Madras Presidency, who seek their fortunes in Further India to-day, as their ancestors may have done any time these dozen or more centuries past. But the fact remains that to the European, as a rule, unless he be an employer of labour whose one and only idea is to get all the return he can for the wages he pays, the Indo-Chinese are by far the more lovable and knowable people. The tone that pervades his work is sufficient evidence that Mr. Thompson shares this very general feeling.

His book contains a description of many aspects of Siamese life, mostly related incidentally in connexion with the several occasions when they came under the author's notice. Thus his accounts of a topknot-cutting ceremony, a cremation, an elephant-drive, an execution, the various religious festivals which the Siamese calendar comprises, and the like, are marked by graphic touches that give them actuality, such as only the narrative of an eye-witness can possess. Similarly, his descriptions of the parts of the country he has himself visited are made the background for anecdotal reminiscences of expeditions undertaken either for relaxation or in the course of his official duties. In this way the author introduces his readers to many an interesting locality, and generally gives them some information about local history and antiquities as well. There are several chapters dealing with Siamese Buddhism, in which its theoretical principles (which sometimes contrast strangely with the practices and

superstitions of its votaries) are explained in an intelligible manner; and there is a good deal of interesting information on Siamese art. In brief, the book is a chatty, readable, popular account of what the author saw and heard during his three years' stay in the country, and from that point of view it appears to me (so far as one can judge without having followed in the writer's footsteps) to be worthy of high commendation.

When he is reproducing the theories and ideas of others, Mr. Thompson is less satisfactory. His introduction does little to clear up the tangle of Indo-Chinese ethnology and history. He gives us a sort of phantasmagoria, in which Proto-Malays, Caucasian races, Negritic tribes, and what not, flit confusedly across a dimly lighted scene, and leaves one with no very definite conception as to how the present grouping of races has come to be built up. This is not altogether Mr. Thompson's fault, for he does not give the account as his own. Nor are his authorities very much to blame, for in truth it would be hard to find anywhere in the world a more complicated piece of patchwork than Indo-China, past and present, displays to the historian and ethnographer. But nothing is gained by covering up unsolved problems with misleading generic names. No one at present knows whether the "Proto-Malays" (if by that term the author means the people who spoke the old mother-tongue from which the Malayo-Polynesian languages are descended) were Mongoloid in bodily type or not. Mr. Thompson not only boldly styles them "Mongolians," but makes them arrive in Indo-China after the ancestors of the Mon-Khmer-speaking peoples, which seems in the highest degree improbable. He classes the Sukai (who do not occur in Siam at all and need not have been referred to) as Negritic, which is incorrect, as the purest Sakai tribes are quite distinct from the Negritos, and appear to be related to the wild tribes of Indo-China whom he styles "Caucasic." This term, by the way, is one against the use of which in this connexion a protest must be entered: if it means anything more than the merely negative 'non-Mongoloid'

would imply, it is a question-begging epithet of a misleading kind. Mr. Thompson relies on the "Malay Annals" for the proposition that the Tai race, in its southward march, "had reached the Straits of Malacca before the Malays crossed from Sumatra and founded their first colony at Singapore in 1160 A.D." The Malay annals, however, contain not a single date (except the date of their composition, corresponding to A.D. 1612), and the chronology which some authors, following the Dutch historian Valentyn, have attempted to deduce from them has been entirely exploded. The date when Singapore was first founded is unknown, and whether the Tai race ever really reached the Straits of Malacca, properly so called, is a question that still awaits an answer. One would also like to know what evidence there is for the statement that the early language of the Tai-Shans was polysyllabic.

It would have been better to avoid such doubtful statements and speculative theories, gathered at third hand from authorities who usually compiled from other sources and then drew inferences unwarranted by the facts before them. When Mr. Thompson trusts to his own powers of observation and description he is on much safer ground, and what he writes is well worth reading. The book is charmingly illustrated from photographs and sketches, almost all of which were taken by the author himself. The representations of architectural objects are particularly interesting, and include a well-selected series of views of the magnificent Cambojan ruins of Angkor and its neighbourhood, which are among the finest specimens of architecture to be found in Asia. Mr. Thompson goes further, for he styles Angkor Wat "the noblest monument raised by the hands of man," and when one looks at his illustrations of it one is not inclined to quarrel with his enthusiasm. Details from the bas-reliefs that adorn this grand building form effective tailpieces to most of the chapters of his book. But the most curious and fascinating of all the illustrations is, I think, that which represents a weird, haunting, Sphinx-like face, one of the four colossal faces on a tower of the

Baion temple, now, alas ! doomed to irretrievable decay and ruin. The frontispiece deserves special mention, as being a good reproduction in colour of a picture by a Siamese artist. Altogether the illustrations do a great deal to enhance the attractiveness of the volume.

The index is very full, too full in fact : what can be the use, for example, of an entry like "Yoshiwara, 116," when the only thing referred to is the statement on p. 116 that Bangkok has nothing corresponding to this institution ? Such a method of indexing is merely irritating.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

CHINESE ARTS. By STEPHEN W. BUSHELL, C.M.G. Two vols. (London, 1905.)

Dr. Bushell begins his exhaustive work on Chinese Art with a brief survey of Chinese history. He, as might naturally be expected, dismisses the legendary period in a few paragraphs and thus reserves space for records which are more authoritative. In the course of his remarks on these periods he glances for a moment at the theory of Professor Terrien de Lacouperie that the Chinese at a very early time "traversed Asia from Elam to China and started a new civilisation in the valley of the Yellow River." But he finds, as others have done, that all that can be said of the theory is that it is not proven.

He stands, it must be confessed, on firmer ground when he talks of events subsequent to the year B.C. 822, from which time onwards "there is a general agreement as to dates in the native sources." The complete isolation in which the Chinese lived in early times prevents the possibility of verifying their ancient records, for it was not until the reign of Wuti (B.C. 139-126) that they held any communication with the West. During that period General Chang Ch'ien was sent on a mission to the Indo-Scyths. After many vicissitudes and thirteen years of time, he returned to report the existence of a little-suspected trade route from

South-Western China to India and the leading tenets of the religion of Buddha, though it was not till two centuries later that the faith was formally introduced into China. From this time onwards intercourse of a certain kind was kept up. Nestorian Christianity was introduced in the sixth century A.D., and as time went on traders, Buddhist priests, and ascetics kept up communication by passing backwards and forwards between east and west on their several missions. At an early period the artistic skill of the Chinese was recognised, and in 1257 Hulagu Khan introduced a number of Chinese artizans into Persia. Two centuries later a collection of Celadon porcelain was taken to Mecca. The history of the succeeding centuries is too well known to be even glanced at.

Like most Oriental countries, China is not rich in ancient buildings. The materials that are used in the construction of temples and dwellings are of such flimsy substances that they easily perish; and so far as we know, the oldest antiquities she possesses are the stone drums of the Chow Dynasty "now installed in the two side halls of the principal gateway of the Confucian temple at Peking." These drums are inscribed with a series of ten odes of irregular verse. The date when these were inscribed is a disputed point, but it was probably about the tenth century B.C.

Other sculptures dating from the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206-A.D. 23) have been comparatively recently discovered in Shantung, representing scenes in history, and possessing the additional interest in that the figures bear an unmistakable resemblance to Assyrian personages. With the introduction of Buddhism the art of sculpture received an additional inspiration, and Buddha, in his various manifestations, was frequently carved to adorn temples and sacred spots. Dr. Bushell selects the marble stupa of Pai-t'a-Ssü, which stands in the northern suburb of Peking, as a good example of modern sculpture. "The stupa," he says, "is modelled on Tibetan lines, adhering generally to the ancient Indian type, but differing in that the dome is inverted. The spire, composed of thirteen step-like segments, symbolical of the

thirteen Bodhisat heavens, is surmounted by a large cupola of gilded bronze. It is mounted on a series of angular plinths, posed upon a solid base of octagonal form." This magnificent monument was erected in memory of the Grand Lama of Tashilhünpo, who died at Peking of smallpox in 1780, and bears striking evidence of the artistic skill of that period.

Chinese architecture affords Dr. Bushell material for an interesting chapter, the illustrations of which are in some cases of exceptional beauty; the Garden Pavilion at the Summer Palace, near Peking, is a case in point. Space fails us in which to deal with the chapters on the art in bronze, wood, ivory, horn, lacquer, jade, pottery, glass, enamels, jewelry, and textile fabrics, and we propose, therefore, to reserve our remarks for the section on the pictorial art of the Chinese.

Chinese pictorial art differs essentially from Western art both with regard to source and result. As to its origin, it is a glorified writing. The student who takes the writing brush in hand has, in copying the ideographic characters of the language, to draw the objects represented, and thus learns to draw as well as to write in his earliest years. In this way he acquires a natural skill in drawing for which, as for everything else in China, there are strict mechanical rules. The human face, for example, is divided into several parts, which are copied separately and repeatedly until practice makes perfect, and then the several parts are united to form the face. No shadows are allowed, and when the Jesuits in the sixteenth century painted portraits at Peking and introduced shadows the Chinese officials asked whether the people depicted really had dark smudges on one side of their faces. Shadows, not being substantial realities, should not, according to their ideas, be introduced into pictures. Distance is another difficulty to the artist, and he solves it by placing the point of view of the composition very high, and by arranging in groups one above the other the objects and persons represented. But though Chinese artists possess these disqualifications they have two eminent excellencies. They have a fine feeling for colour, and they have an

all-inspiring love for nature. These qualities are observable in the works of all the best artists, and give the harmony of tone and realistic effect which are so admirable.

The art is said to have been invented by Shih Hwang, a titular minister of the fabulous Hwang-ti, the "Yellow Emperor" of Chinese mythology. But, however that may be, we find records of very early artists during the first centuries of the Christian era. Ts'ao Fu-hsing was one of the most noted painters of the third century, and was gifted with such marvellous skill that on one occasion, being "commissioned to paint a screen, he accidentally made a blot, and turned it into a fly so cleverly that the Emperor, when he saw it, tried to flip it off with his sleeve." A somewhat similar story is told of a pupil of Ts'ao's, Wei Hsieh by name: it is said that so instinct with life were the figures he painted that "he dare not give the final touch of dotting in the pupils of the eyes lest they should rise from the canvas."

But unquestionably the greatest artist of the classical period (A.D. 265-960) was Ku K'ai-chih, one of whose triumphs has lately been added to the collections at the British Museum. "The range of his art was wide and comprehensive, including portraits of emperors, statesmen, and ladies of the court; historical scenes, tigers, leopards, and lions; dragons and other mythical beasts; wild geese, ducks, and swans; stretches of reed-clad plain and mountain landscapes."

But the subjects which the artist chose for the scroll above referred to, upwards of eleven feet long, were the Admonitions of the historian Pan Chao, "the learned sister of Panku, who lived in the first century of our era." This notable work is painted in colours on a silk ground, and is divided into eight scenes to illustrate the Admonitions. That it is a veritable work of the artist (A.D. fourth and fifth centuries) there can be no doubt. It is signed by the master, and at the beginning and end it bears the stamps of its imperial and other owners. "We have here," as Mr. Binyon remarks, "the actual work of the hands of the great painter,

who flourished 900 years before Giotto," and the British Museum is to be congratulated on having become possessed of it. It is a picture of rare beauty, and is a veritable antique. Dr. Bushell continues the history of the art down to the present day, and thus succeeds in giving a complete and exhaustive resumé of artistic life in China.

R. K. D.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1618-1621. A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, British Museum, and Public Record Office. By WILLIAM FOSTER. Published under the patronage of H.M. Secretary of State for India in Council. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.)

In 1896 to 1902 were published, under the auspices of the India Office, six volumes of *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, the letters in question covering the years 1602 to 1617, and ranging from the Malayan Archipelago on one side to Persia on the other. These letters were printed in full, the spelling being modernized, except in the case of proper names; and the majority of the volumes were edited by Mr. William Foster of the India Office, whose notes and introductions were of the greatest value. But it was felt that as the correspondence was becoming increasingly voluminous, and as Persia on the one hand and Java, etc., on the other were strictly outside the scope of the India Office, some change must be made. Hence in this volume the documents calendared relate almost entirely to India proper, the omission of the letters from the Persian and Malaysian factories being to some extent supplied by the summaries of events given by Mr. Foster in his admirable introduction. The method adopted in this volume also differs from that followed in the *Letters received*, only the most important passages of the documents being printed in full, and in such cases the original spelling being faithfully retained. Most of the documents here calendared (some 460) appear in print for the first time, and to students of the history of India they will prove of the utmost

value. (Not too soon have their contents been partially saved from destruction, for after a large proportion we read: "Damaged," "Much damaged," "Part illegible," "Rest indecipherable," "Part torn away.") The majority of the letters relate to the five English factories in the dominions of the Great Mogul—Agra, Ahmadābād, Burhānpur, Broach, and Surat; and the worries and annoyances to which the factors were subjected in their endeavours to maintain and extend their trading operations are vividly described in their own language—not always of a parliamentary character. For instance, we read of "this divelish Castle Captain" (of Surat); "this machivill divell, Isake Beage"; "Isack Beag, that Jew"; "that serpent or dogg, Isack Beage"; "these pernicious hel-hounds"; "the dogg of Decan"; and "these viprous, dessemblinge, and crockadillike currs." Of the Dutch, the English agent at Petapoli, Matthew Duke, writes to the Company:—"Theis buterboxes are groanne soe insolent that yf they be suffred but a whit longer, they will make claime to the whole Indies, so that no man shall trade but themselves or by thear leave; but I hoope to see ther pride take a falle." But it was not only obstructive natives or European rivals on whom such flowers of speech were bestowed: their fellow-countrymen came in for a fair share. Thus William Methwold, the agent at Masulipatam, writing to the Company in December, 1619, describes in unquotable language the behaviour of the seamen of Dale's fleet; and in a footnote Mr. Foster says:—"Pring was equally emphatic in his condemnation of the conduct of 'this irregular and almost incorrigible scumme of rascals whom the land hath ejected for theyr wicked lives and ungodly behaviour. Our misery is that wee often see the proverbe fulfilled, which is: Yf they bee good for nothing, send them to the East Indies.'" (For "East Indies" read "South Africa," and the "proverb" becomes quite up-to-date.) Of these same men Augustine Spalding writes: "I thinke worser theives lives not in Newgate than most of the men in this fleete." It is no wonder that Sir Thomas Roe, writing to the Company in

February, 1618, regarding the suspicions entertained by the native authorities of the English in Surat, says: "But it is true wee would bee lords there, and have committed soe many insolencies that I have woondred at their patience." We also read of a chaplain, Mr. Golding, levanting in "Moores apparell" from Surat to Ahmadabad in pursuit of three Englishwomen who had come out in the fleet with him; and Robert Jeffries in March, 1621, informs the Company that his "bannishment from your Persian ymployment" was owing to "a trynall trecherye begotten against me by our criticall Agent, Edward Monnox, our carnall minister, Mr. Cardro, and Stracan, our infernall phesition: the world, the flesh, and the divell." (Regarding George Strachan, the physician, Mr. Foster, in a footnote, refers the reader to an article by Sir Henry Yule in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1888. That article does not solve a question I would here raise: Was this man any relative to the "Mr. Strachan, a physician," who wrote "An Account of the Taking and Taming of Elephants in Zeylon," which was printed in vol. xxiii of the Philosophical Transactions, 1704, and who is described as having "lived 17 years there," i.e. in Ceylon? That he was the same man seems very improbable.) Touches of human nature abound in this book, one of the most characteristic failings of Englishmen being shown in the frequent appeals for "a bottle of beer," and the pleasure expressed when the wish was gratified. Naturally, the greater part of the letters deal with matters of trade; and a somewhat unpleasant light is shed on the manner in which the Company's servants carried on their operations. Thus, bribery of the native custom-house officials at Surat was officially authorized (p. 232), silver was ordered to be packed as quicksilver (pp. 188, 190), and so on; and in a footnote on p. 207 Mr. Foster tells us that in 1620 "the Court voted gratuities to Jesson and another for smuggling coral on board some ships at Zante, and thus saving £100 in customs duties." (Like masters, like men!) Another idiosyncrasy of Englishmen is well illustrated in the injunction of Edward Heynes

at Surat to John Bangham at Ahmadābād: "Lett the service of God bee your daylie delight, and without doubt Hee will make you prosper in both worlds." Among the most interesting documents relating to trade printed in this volume are those relating to the establishment of the short-lived factory at Patna: pretty full details have, fortunately, survived (which, unhappily, is not the case with the letters describing the attempt to found a factory at Samāna in the north-west or at Lahore). We find several references to the development of Dutch commerce in the dominions of the Mogul—"a subject," as Mr. Foster points out, "on which little has yet been published." The disputes between the English and Dutch in the East crop up now and again; and the subject is adequately dealt with by Mr. Foster in his introduction. We have three graphic accounts of the sea-fight off Jask in December, 1620, between the English and the Portuguese; and in connection with these and other related documents Mr. Foster devotes several pages of his introduction to the Persian "venture," though Persia is, strictly speaking, beyond the scope of this book.

In the letters here summarized we have a dozen or so references to the first Danish expedition to the East, a brief account of which I gave in the *Journal* for 1898 (pp. 625-9).<sup>1</sup> The first of these passages occurs in Henry Crosby's journal of his voyage in the *Charles* to Surat, March-October, 1619, where we are told that while Bickley's fleet was in "Souldany Bay" (Saldanha Bay, now Table Bay) "the Daynes came in with six sayle." To this Mr. Foster appends a footnote in which he says that the Danish fleet "consisted of five vessels (not six, as stated above; cf. p. 136)," the reference being to a passage in a letter of 3rd and 5th November, 1619, from the factors of Surat to the Company, in which mention is made of "five Danish shippes" having arrived at the Cape on 12th July. In a later letter to Agra (16th

<sup>1</sup> I would take this opportunity of correcting a couple of errors in that account:—(1) The treaty made by King Christian with Boshouwer was concluded on 30th October, and not on 30th March, 1618, as Schlegel wrongly states; (2) Crape was appointed by Giedde chief merchant of Dannisborg, the commander of the fort being Hendrik Hess.

and 18th November, 1619) the Surat factors also speak of "the five Denmarke shippes." But in writing to Masulipatam on 8th October, 1619, these same factors stated that "the arrived fleete [met] att the Cape with six shippes belonginge to [the] Kinge of Denmark." The explanation of this apparent discrepancy is simple. When Giedde sailed from Denmark in November, 1618, his fleet consisted of four ships—the *Elephant*, *David*, *Kjøbenhavn*, and *Christian* (the last two, and perhaps the second, being Company's ships, and the first a royal vessel). These were accompanied by a Dutch provision ship as far as Cape Verde, whence the Hollander returned to Denmark. At Cape Verde Giedde captured two French pirate ships, one of which was renamed *Patientia*, and the other "the yacht." It was these six ships that arrived at the Cape while Bickley's fleet was there; but the yacht was wrecked in Table Bay, so that only five vessels left for Ceylon and India. These did not reach Ceylon until May, 1620; so that the statement of Matthew Duke at Masulipatam to the Company, on 17th December, 1619, that "Ther came four Danishe shipes to the iland of Seland," is decidedly anticipatory; though he is right in saying that "one of ther shipes wear takne by P'ortingall frigets," the "shipe" in question being the *Øresund*, commanded by Crape, which had sailed in advance of Giedde (see *Journal* for 1898, p. 627). The most curious statement in connection with this expedition is contained in a letter of 27th August, 1621, from the factors at Masulipatam to the president and council at Surat, viz., "This coast [is] not yet freed of all the Danes, from whome an English woman, [which] came out in their fleet, a maid about 24, upon a ginga[tha] came to Pollecat, and was after little stay there honn[estly] married to the preacher of the fort." That there were English *men* in Giedde's fleet, we know from his journal; but the presence of an English *woman* therein is surprising. The fact that the English had just settled a factory at Pulicat no doubt led this "maid about 24" to leave Tranquebar for that place, trusting herself to the mercy of such a crank craft as

a "gingatha" (see *Hobson - Jobson* s.v. 'Jangar'). The "preacher of the fort," to whom she is said to have been married, was, apparently, an Englishman, since the Dutch at that time seem to have had no predikant there (cf. Valentyn, *Choromandel*, p. 117). Unfortunately, of the letters that seem to have given some details of the Danish settlement at Tranquebar, only abstracts have survived. In his introduction Mr. Foster gives a summary account of the expedition, for the most part accurate, but not entirely so. For instance, I know of no authority for his statement that Boshouwer went in Giedde's fleet as "chief merchant." Again, Mr. Foster says: "One of the merchant-ships was dispatched direct to Europe from the new settlement." This refers apparently to the *David*, which sailed from Ceylon (not Tranquebar) about October-November, 1620, during Giedde's absence and without his knowledge or permission, and reached home in May, 1622, in a deplorable condition. If the *Kjøbenhavn* is meant, that vessel did not leave Tranquebar until after Giedde's departure, called at Ceylon, and reached Denmark in July, 1622. What Mr. Foster relates regarding the *Elephant* is correct; but he continues: "The other two vessels were not so fortunate; one, the vice-admiral of the squadron, fell into the hands of the Portuguese; the other is stated to have been wrecked near Trincomalee." That the *Christian* was wrecked in Koṭṭiyār Bay is unquestionable; but that any ship of Giedde's squadron "fell into the hands of the Portuguese," I take leave to doubt. Mr. Foster appears to have been misled here by the letter referred to in a footnote on p. 254, from Andries Soury, the Dutch chief at Masulipatam, whose confused statements were founded on hearsay. (According to this writer, the "French ship," i.e. the *Patientia*, was broken up by the Danes at Tranquebar for lack of men; which is probably true.)

There is much more interesting matter in this volume with which I should like to deal at length; but I can only just touch on a point here and there. "Collimatt" and "Coungehatt" (p. 24, n. 1) are, I think, certainly Conimere

(see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. 'Canhameira'). "Blachioes" and "balacha" (ibid. and n. 3) are perhaps from Tamil *vilāṭam* = marks on goods. The agreement made by the Dutch with the king of Golconda was entered into, not in 1614 as stated in a footnote on p. 41 on the authority of Valentyn, but in September, 1612 (see L. C. D. van Dijk's *Zes Jaren uit het Leven van Wemmer van Berchem*, p. 23). On p. 67 is a summarized letter, dated 17th February, 1619, from Captain Robert Bonner, who says that he searched at Madagascar for "saunderwood," but found none. To this Mr. Foster appends the following footnote: "Linschoten (following Marco Polo) declares that Madagascar has 'great store of woodes of redde sandale, which are there little esteemed for the great abundance.' It was probably this passage that prompted Bonner's search." The quotation here is from the old English translation of Linschoten (see Hakluyt Soc. ed., i, 21); but the author of the statement is not Linschoten, but Dr. Paludanius. Garcia da Orta was better informed; for in his forty-ninth Colloquy he says: "In the island of Sam Lourenço . . . it [sandalwood] exists, according to what the blacks of the country say; but I have since learnt that it is an odorous wood, as there are many amongst us, but has no other characteristics of sandalwood." The "kind of stufe called tessa[ ]" mentioned on pp. 99-100 is surely the "kind of Bengala stuff of silke [or] grasse called tessar" spoken of on p. 112. Should not the blank in line 6 on p. 146 be supplied with the words in lines 6 and 7 on p. 151? Notes 1 and 3 on p. 166 seem to be out of place (cf. the letter on p. 196). On p. 247 Robert Hughes, describing the great fire at Patna, is made to say that it ultimately "was constreyned to stinke and goe out." Surely he wrote "stinte"? On p. 266, n. 2, for *channatam* read *channatam*. On p. 303, l. 19, "p. 260" should be "p. 261."

This volume contains much new matter for *Hobson-Jobson*, including early instances of "to chabucke" (p. 48), "pucka" and "cutcha" (p. 74), and "to interlope" (p. 30). The references to the "pratling birds called mynnas" (pp. 199

and 214) are very interesting, and Mr. Foster's footnote thereon is valuable.

There is a good index to the book, and a useful map of India, in which are entered most of the places mentioned in the letters. The names of English factories might well, however, have been distinguished in some special manner.

DONALD FERGUSON.

PRIMITIVE AND MEDIAEVAL JAPANESE TEXTS. Translated into English, with introductions, notes, and glossaries, by FREDERICK VICTOR DICKINS, C.B. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.)

Japanese literature has two distinct sources, native and Chinese. The two are very easily distinguished, as the marked characteristics of the native literature at once signalise its origin. But though this is so, there is an indescribable something which forms a bond of union between the writings of the two peoples of the Far East. The preference for pentasyllabic metre is marked both in the Chinese *Shi King* and the Japanese Manyōshū, and the same absence of long poems is a characteristic of both.

In the present volumes Mr. Dickins gives us a compendium of the earliest literature of Japan. "The first is a collection of all the long lays (*naga uta*) of the famous anthology (Manyōshū) of the eighth century of our era, together with most of the *tanka* as envoys. The second is the story of the old Bamboo Wicker-worker, a romance of the tenth century; the third is Tsurayuki's celebrated preface to his *Kokinshū*, an anthology mainly of *tanka* in single stanzas of the same century."

The collection represents without doubt the earliest literature of Japan, and readers will be able to judge from them the native lines of thought and the idiosyncrasies of the people. Like all primitive races, the Japanese loved to live among their own people, and expression is given to this

sentiment in many of the *naga uta*. For example, on page 9 comes the ode composed by Princess Nukata on leaving her home and going down to Afumi :—

“ O hill of Miwa !  
 High pleasant house that riseth,  
 Sweet hill of Miwa !  
 Over the Pass of Nara  
 (Well-founded Nara !).  
 Afar the track now bears me  
 Among the hills,  
 But still is hidden Miwa  
 At every bend,  
 And there are many.  
 I turn to gaze on Miwa  
 While I may see it,  
 Again, again to see it ;  
 But mists too heartless  
 Arise and hide  
 Receding Miwa from me—  
 Sweet hill of Miwa,  
 High pleasant house that riseth ! ”

The same strain of lament occurs constantly in the Chinese Book of Odes compiled by Confucius, as, for example, in I, III, xiv :—

“ How the water bubbles up from that spring,  
 And flows away to the K'e !  
 My heart is in Wei ;  
 There is not a day I do not think of it.  
 Admirable are those, my 'cousins ;  
 I will take counsel with them.  
 . . . . .  
 I think of the Fei-ts'euen ;  
 I am even sighing about it.  
 I think of Seu and Ts'aou,  
 Long, long, my heart dwells with them.  
 Let me drive forth and travel there  
 To dissipate my sorrow.”

In the Manyōshū also we have pieces in which a wife urges her husband to deeds of energy, as in the following ode :—

“ My lord and sovran (*sic*),  
 In peace and power who ruleth,  
 When daylight showeth  
 In his trusty bow delighteth,  
 When dusk is falling  
 With heed aside he setteth,  
 And ever yon bow-end,  
 Bow-end of bow of white wood  
 My sovran loveth,  
 Full loudly it resoundeth  
 For hunt at daybreak,  
 Ay maketh he him ready,  
 For hunt at even  
 Still maketh he him ready,  
 And ever yon bow-end  
 Of the white wood bow he loveth—  
 It echoeth full loudly.”

This conveys somewhat the same idea as that we find in Pt. I, Book VII, Ode viii of the Chinese odes, which runs thus :—

“ Says the wife, ‘ It is cock-crow.’  
 Says the husband, ‘ It is grey dawn.’  
 ‘ Rise, sir, and look at the night ;  
 If the morning star be not shining,  
 Bestir yourself, and move about,  
 To shoot the wild duck and geese, etc.’ ”

It is interesting to gather from the books which Mr. Dickins has placed within our reach the social condition of the people during the early centuries of our era. We find in the odes many laments by officials who are ordered to take up office away from the capital, and when we see the straits to which such men were put one cannot but feel compassion for them. In the first place, travelling was extremely difficult, and was made by sailless boats when by water, and on foot when by road, if mere tracks can be so called. Of

inns there were none, and the nights had to be spent for shelter under trees or in the midst of bushes. There was no such thing as a town, except the capital, where were collected all the joys that the people knew of.

One point which will strike every reader who is aware of the Japanese love of flowers is the comparative infrequency of the mention of flowers in the Manyōshū. "The pink, the bush-clover (*Lespedeza*), the cherry blooms and the plum blossoms, the lily, and one or two more are all that are noticed." This is a list which might be taken literally from the Chinese odes.

Students of old-world literature will find much to interest them in Mr. Dickins' lucid and scholarly volumes, which place before us, as nothing else can, the primitive status of the people of Japan in the early ages of their national existence.

R. K. D.

DUKAPATTHĀNA, being part of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.  
Vol. i. Edited by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A. (Pāli Text Society, 1906.)

Mrs. Rhys Davids is to be highly congratulated for this new publication. It could not give her full occasion of displaying the precious gifts of insight or the mastery *in lucido ordine* which one admires in the "Buddhist Psychology" or in the invaluable Index of the Saṃyutta; but it required a patience of a peculiar kind: the Duka-patthāna is much more purely technical than the Vibhaṅga itself! And, to say nothing of the difficulties inherent to an edition of any Pāli book, it presented a special difficulty of its own. There is in the MSS., on one hand, an abusive use of *peyyāla*'s,<sup>1</sup> which can not be easily fulfilled, and, on the other, indulgence in useless repetitions. The editor

<sup>1</sup> *Peṇṇālam*, a difficult word (see Oldenberg, K.Z. xxv, 315), "is substituted either for words which have occurred just before or for words so well known that it is not thought necessary to give them in full" (Childers). Also in Buddhist Sanskrit, for instance, Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, p. 159. 9: *evam peṇṇālena kartavyam* = and so forth.

seems to me to have found the right path, the middle path, and I believe that she has made the book as readable as it can pretend to be.

The Dukaṭṭhāna is a part, the second one, of the seventh Abhidhamma, the Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa, or, more ambitiously, the Mahāpakaraṇa or "Great Treatise." Without denying the collaboration of the Fathers of the Buddhist Church, fully acknowledging the editorship of Dhammasenāpati and of Śāriputta, yet the Vibhajjavādins of Ceylon, like the Northern Ābhidharmikas, maintain that the Abhidhamma treatises have been 'experienced' by Śākyamuni himself when he was endeavouring to become a Buddha, and first revealed by himself under an abridged form. There is much truth in this surmise: no doubt the Abhidhamma principles were first taught in the Sutta-basket, and that the greatest originality of the Abhidhammas resides in the manner of putting together, in bare enumerations, the numerous topics of the Buddhist ontology.

On the other hand, *suttas* have been made out of previous *mātikās*: there are books, or at least chapters, in the Sutta-piṭaka which bear a strong analogy to Abhidhammas.<sup>1</sup> The most remarkable of this kind is the Dvayatānupassanāsutta, now a part of the Suttanipāta, where Bhagavat explains a number of couples (*duka*), the second term being always 'suffering' (*dukkha*) and the first each of the causes of suffering in turn. It is very probable that the *paticca-samuppāda* system, elaborately defined in so many Suttas, is only a recast of this primitive fragment of Abhidhamma.

The present book, so far as I can judge of it, contains the treatment—I dare not say the elucidation—of a great number of 'couples' under twenty different points of view. The couples are, for instance, cause (*hetu*) and non-cause; caused (*sahetuka*) and non-caused; connected with a cause, and the contrary; cause and caused, and the contrary; cause

<sup>1</sup> See Puggalapāṇṇati, Intr., p. ix.—From Majjhima, ii, 238 f., it follows that the Abhidhamma, 'bye-law' or 'subtleties in dharma' (as says Professor Rhys Davids), is no part of the Dhamma-Vinaya. The whole of the Law is the *satipaṭṭhānādi*, the thirty-seven limbs of bodhi.

and connected with a cause, and the contrary; neither cause nor connected with a cause, and the contrary, etc. There follow categories the character of which is less dialectical: visible and invisible, mundane and supramundane, bond and non-bond, etc. The present volume contains forty-three such 'couples,' and the whole *Duka* no less than a hundred.

Of what nature are the relations of each member of a couple to the other one? They are rather intricate:—

I. A thing which is cause (*hetu*) is connected with the origination (1) of a cause, (2) of a non-cause, (3) of a cause and of a non-cause.

Further, a thing which is non-cause is connected with the origination (4) of a non-cause, (5) of a cause, (6) of a cause and of a non-cause.

Further, a cause and a non-cause, coupled together, are connected with the origination (7) of a cause, (8) of a non-cause, (9) of a cause and of a non-cause.

All the couples are to be divided in the same way.

II. By the phrase 'connected with the origination,' we have to try to do justice to the numerous modes of relationship (*paccayatta*) between the originating and the originated. 'Ancillary to the origination of another term or state' would also be correct. "Paccaya," says Mrs. Rhys Davids, "is any state, or term, let us say, which in a specified variety of ways is ancillary (*upakāraka*) to another term." The Northern Abidharma understands by 'cause' (*hetu*) every principle (*dharma*) which is not an obstacle (*avighnakāraka*). The Buddhist categories are indeed very different from the Aristotelian ones; they are far more interesting!—There are twenty-four kinds of, such modes of causative relationship (*paccaya*). According to the Atthasālini, their full illustration is the essential characteristic of our treatise. But, although they occur elsewhere, in the Vibhaṅga, in the Visuddhimagga, in the Kathāvatthu's commentary, etc.,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some of them only are admitted in the Northern treatises, see *Madhyamavṛtti*, p. 76, n. 7, and p. 77, l. 5 (four only).—Also Bhavya *apud* Rockhill, p. 196: the Sarvāstivādins admit only of seven *pratayas*—*hetu*, *ālambana*, *anantara*, *adhipati*, *karman*, *āhāra*, and *niśaya* (? ११).

it is rather difficult to realize exactly what they can be. A thing (*dhamma*) is connected with the origination of another, as cause (*hetupaccaya*), as support (*ārammaṇa*), as leading principle (*adhipati*), as immediately preceding (*anantara*), as yet more immediately preceding (? *samanantara*), as born at the same time (*sahajāta*), as mutually originating (*aññamañña*), . . . . as born before (*purejāta*), as born after (*pacchājātapaccaya*), etc. And, of course, each of these categories possesses also a negative aspect. There is a kind of relation characterised as 'non-born before,' 'not being a support,' 'not being a ripener,' 'not being a food,' etc., etc.

By a judicious employment of these contrivances—not every *dhamma* is capable of being cause (*paccaya*) according to the twenty-four modes of causality—one obtains very curious figures; and it would be unfair to neglect these lucubrations because we do not understand their *raison d'être*.

The obvious difficulty resides in the scarcity of instances. The text in every instance has desperating . . . *pe* . . . , which saved much time to the monks who copied the MSS., but which proves a serious nuisance to the European reader. This "Great Treatise" is not intended for the Mlecchas, nor would Mlecchas accept the evidence of Atthasālinī that the Omniscience (*Sabbāññutañña*) resides in it. "As the great fishes, Timirāṭimīngalas and monsters of the same kind, find room in the Great Ocean, not elsewhere; in the same manner it is in the sole 'Great Treatise' that the Omniscience can find place." <sup>1</sup>

Exaggerated as is this appreciation of the importance of the *Paṭṭhāna*, it cannot be denied that this artificial treatment of the couples and of the triads has been of moment in the development of the Buddhist speculation. Mrs. Rhys Davids rightly points out that "the aim of the work seems to have been more a series of exercises in a logic of terms and relations than any attempt to enunciate 'metaphysical propositions,'" and she describes the practical usefulness

<sup>1</sup> Atthasālinī, p. 13, § 40.

‘in mastering these interminable permutations of possible modes of subjective experiences.’ Both observations are exact; but I venture to believe that there is not, in the Buddhist speculation, a precise delimitation between metaphysic and logic. The *péché originel* of the Buddhism, of this ‘great phase of human thought,’ is, so far as I can see, an irremediable impotence in distinguishing things, ideas, and words.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

WESTERN TIBET AND THE BRITISH BORDERLAND. By  
CHARLES A. SHERRING. (London, 1906.)

In this book Mr. C. A. Sherring, Deputy Commissioner of Almora, describes the tribes with which he came in contact on a journey through Western Tibet, in regard to their customs, government, and religion, and also gives interesting information on the social and commercial possibilities of the country.

In a preface which, by its modesty, wins the reader’s good will, he deplores that life on the border is not the school for literature which the metropolis affords. Perhaps not; but it is a far better one. Mr. Sherring’s diffidence has led him in his chapters on religion and legends to quote much from others; but his fortunate remoteness from libraries has saved him, and the book is, in its measure, a real literary work, from the simplicity and dignity with which he relates his actual experience.

He is not a trained expert observer, and we do not find the minute knowledge of a specialist in his pages, but he is a man of wide sympathies and keen interests; conscious of the romance of legends and myths and of the quaint customs “which appeal to the poetry in all men’s veins”; conscious also of their bearing on the national character which makes for progress or decay, and always awake to what may develop the resources of the country, whether in agriculture, in commerce, or in intercourse with the world.

His account of the Bhotias (not the inhabitants of Bhotan, but the traders who by their courageous braving of difficulties have long had the monopoly of trade with West Tibet) and the Rājīs, or royal wild men of Askot, have much to interest the lover of folklore. As a trifling detail, the svastika is almost unknown in Western Tibet, though it is seen everywhere in Central Tibet. The head lama at Taklakot had never even heard of it.

This region possesses the sacred places Mount Kailāsa and the Mansarowar Lake, the great goals of Hindu pilgrims, and Mr. Sherring advocates the development of the route for them over the Lipu Lekh Pass, trusting that where pilgrims go trade will speedily follow. There are, he says, gold, wool, borax, and salt to be exchanged for our tea, grain, manufactured goods, silver, and solid cash. Large tracts of very fertile land occur; in many parts a little energy in removing stones would make good fords and excellent roads; the climate is often not more severe than in Canada: but superstition (as e.g. in opposition to building, lest the earth spirits should be disturbed), the oppression of governors who farm their offices, and the lack of enterprise probably resulting from the strain of resisting the severities of wind and weather have allowed the Western Tibetans to make little use of their natural advantages.

Mr. Sherring's relations with officials of all kinds appear to have been most friendly, and he also won the confidence of peasants who came across his path. He says little of himself and gives full credit to the work of his companions: the discomforts of camping out are disposed of in a few lines, and the impression unconsciously given of firmness, kindness, and ready endurance of hardship makes one glad that the writer should be among the first representatives of our country in this hitherto unknown land.

A chapter by Dr. Longstaffe narrates his attempt to climb Gurla Mandhata, and the book is largely illustrated by photographs taken by himself and by the author, some of the mountain ones being specially good. A strong protest must, however, be made against the needless weight of the

volume, which, though of less than 400 pages, is inconveniently heavy to hold.

C. M. R.

A LITERARY HISTORY OF PERSIA FROM FIRDAWSI TO SA'DÍ.  
By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A. (Fisher  
Unwin, 1906.)

The period covered by this volume extends from the beginning of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century, but comparatively short as it is, there can be no question either of its supreme interest and importance or of the infinite literary treasures which it contains. Regarded as an historical drama, it opens with the accession of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, depicts the rise and fall of the Seljúq power from Ṭughril to Sanjar, and culminates in the ghastly sack of Baghdád by the Mongols and the murder of the Caliph Musta'sim Billáh in 1258 A.D. Among the great poets and men of letters who wrote in Persian during this time I need only mention Firdawsí, Anwari, Nāsir-i Khusraw, 'Umar Khayyám, Kháqání, Nidhámí of Ganja, Dhahír of Fáryáb, JuwaynÍ, 'Awfí, Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsi, Faridu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár, Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmi, and Sa'dí—a list which might easily be enlarged; while those writers of Persian or semi-Persian race who generally expressed themselves in Arabic include such well-known names as Ibn Síná (Avicenna), Hamadhání, Ghazálí, Tha'álibí, and Qazwíní. Others whom we meet in these pages, e.g., Harírí, Abu'l-'Alá al-Ma'arri, Ibnu'l-Fárid, and Ibnu'l-'Arabí, are, strictly speaking, trespassers on ground which does not belong to them, but they are none the less welcome on that account. Fortunately, Prof. Browne has not been hampered by want of space, and he has therefore been able to do himself and his subject ample justice. Much of the book will be absolutely new even to specialists, and it is marked throughout by freshness and originality. The author is always in touch with the primary sources of information, many of which he has himself rendered accessible to students

of Persian literature. Thus he has drawn freely upon the *Chahār Maqāla* of Nidhāmī-i ‘Arúqī, the *Lubāb* of ‘Awfī, the history of the Seljūqs entitled *Rāhatu’š-Sudūr* (of which he published a description in the Journal for 1902), the *Jahān-gushā* of Juwaynī, and the *Jāmi’u’t-Tawārikh* of Rashīdu’d-Dīn; while in discussing the poets of the period he writes with a first-hand knowledge of their *diwāns* and *mathnawīs* that is not equalled by any European scholar. His book is, above all, a record of research. Serious students will find it simply invaluable, and if from the general reader’s point of view its richness of detail and exhaustive treatment of technical matters be somewhat embarrassing, these defects are of the kind immortalised in Nábigha’s verse—

وَلَا عَيْبَ فِيهِمْ غَيْرَ أَنَّ سِوْفَهُمْ  
بِئْسَ فُلُوكٌ مِنْ قِرَاعِ الْكَتَائِبِ

*One fault they have : their swords are blunt of edge  
Through constant beating on their foemen’s mail.*

The poets occupy a great part of this volume, and the author has very properly given in the introductory chapter a complete and lucid explanation of verse-forms, rhetorical figures, and all the intricate artifices—*Persici apparatus*—which Horace would have detested, but which compose the stock-in-trade of many a Persian laureate. In order that his readers may understand the nature and admire the ingenuity of such productions, he has printed, line by line, with prose translation and running commentary, the celebrated *qasida-i mušanna‘* of Qiwāmī, where most of these figures are elaborately illustrated, and has added, as far as possible, English parallels derived from Puttenham’s *Arte of English Poesie*, the *Ingoldsby Legends*, and similar books. His observations on the style and character of Persian and Muḥammadan poetry are excellent, nor is it likely that his verdict on the individual writers will be seriously challenged except in the case of Firdawsī, whose *Shāhnāma* is criticised for its monotony and its poverty of ideas. This is a question

of taste which everyone must decide for himself, but Professor Browne is evidently more in love with lyric, romantic, and mystical than with epic poetry. Special attention may be called to his masterly notices of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and *Dhahír-i Fáryábí*. I doubt, however, whether he is justified in saying (p. 222) that the former “*met* the great Arabic philosophical poet Abu’l-‘Alá al-Ma’arrí” at Ma’arratu’n-Nu’mán, which he visited in January, 1047 A.D. The passage from the *Safar-náma* translated on p. 289 seq. seems to indicate the contrary. It is not easy to suggest improvements in Professor Browne’s work, which is marvellously accurate in small things as in great, but I will venture to set down here one or two remarks that have occurred to me.

P. 33, note 2. ‘Ma’mún’ has been written inadvertently instead of ‘Maymún.’

P. 63. Verse 50 of Qiwámí’s *qasída*, viz.,

ای بده قدوۀ وضیع و شریف \* وی شده قبلۀ صغار و كبار

is given as an example of the figure *mutalaawin*, and accordingly should admit of being scanned in two different metres. As regards the one, namely, *Khafif-i makhbún-i maqsûr*, there is no difficulty, but I do not see how the verse can be scanned in the other metre assigned to it, namely, *Sarî-i matûi*, which runs—

— ۛ ۛ ۛ — | — ۛ ۛ ۛ — | — ۛ —

As the text stands, the second foot in each *misrâ‘* must either be ۛ — ۛ — or (with *fakk-i idâ‘at*) — ۛ — or ۛ ۛ ۛ —.

P. 203. Speaking of Alamût, the famous fortress of the Assassins, Professor Browne says that the name is correctly explained by Ibnu’l-Athîr (x, 110) as *ta’lîmu’l-‘uqáb*, ‘the Eagle’s Teaching,’ i.e. in Persian, *Āluh-ámût*; and he adds in a note—“*ámût* is provincial for *ámukht*, ‘taught,’ but I know of no word the least resembling this which means ‘nest.’” According to the *Burhân-i Qatî‘*, however, *ámût* is “the nest of birds of prey, such as the falcon and the *sháhin* and the *chargh*.” One may well hesitate to accept either

derivation, but the above statement, if correct, is in favour of 'Eagle's Nest,' which on the face of it would seem to be a more natural and probable name for a castle than 'Eagle's Teaching.'

P. 261. In connection with the great Šúfí, Abú Sa'id b. Abi'l-Khayr, whose importance in the history of Persian mysticism is rightly emphasised by Professor Browne, it might have been mentioned that there is some doubt whether he is the author of the quatrains ascribed to him. Cf. the *Hálát u Sukhanán*, p. 54, l. 3 seq., where, like the Prophet Muḥammad, he declares himself to be no poet, and says that the verses which he quotes are "the speech of honoured men" (*gufta-i 'azizán*). The biographer adds that most of them were composed by Abu'l-Qásim-i Bishr Yásín, one of his *Pírs*.

P. 288. The *Kashfu'l-Mahjúb* has been lithographed at Lahore, apparently without a date.

P. 322, note 1. The Kurd Abu'l-Wafá, whom Saná'í couples with Uways-i Qaraní, appears to be the same person to whom allusion is made by Julálu'ddín Rúmi in Book i of the *Mathnawí* (Buláq edition, vol. i, p. 136, l. 1 seq.) :

سَرِّ اَمْسَيْنَا لُغَرْدِيَّا بَدَان \* رَا زِ اَصْبَحْنَا عَرَابِيَّا بِخَوَان  
 بُو الْوَفَا كَر بُو د كُرْدِي دَر رَوَاح \* لِيَك بَا نَطَق عَرَب كُرْدَه صَبَاح

According to the commentators, Abu'l-Wafá of Baghdád was an illiterate Kurd, on whom the power of speaking and writing Arabic was bestowed by divine inspiration in the course of a single night, so that he said : اَمْسِيْتُ كُرْدِيَّا . واصْبَحْتُ عَرَبِيَّا . Jámí (*Nafahát*, p. 362) attributes these words to a certain Abú 'Abdallah, generally known as Bábúní.

It only remains to congratulate Professor Browne on having brought his History down to the last stage—from the Mongol Invasion to the present day—which he intends to discuss "in another volume or in other volumes." We confidently expect that his treatment of this singularly

difficult and obscure period will be as illuminating and full of interest as the pages that have gone before.

A word must be added in praise of the frontispiece, which is an excellent reproduction of a miniature from a Persian manuscript in the India Office Library. The manuscript formerly belonged to Sháh Ismá'íl the Şafawid, and the scene depicted shows a Persian poet offering an ode to a Mongol prince or governor. The six Mongols with their broad stolid faces and broad-brimmed hats make a striking contrast to the refined and expressive countenance of the Persian, who is further distinguished by his turban and long beard.

R. A. N.

VIER PHILOSOPHISCHE TEXTE DES MAHĀBHĀRATAM. Translated by Dr. P. DEUSSEN. (Leipzig, 1906.)

This translation of the Sanatsujātaparvan, the Bhagavadgītā, the Mokṣadharmā, and the Anugītā is intended by Professor Deussen to serve as a basis for the third part of his great History of Philosophy, just as his translation of the Upaniṣads formed the groundwork of the second part of his History. The thanks of all students of Indian philosophy are due to Professor Deussen and to his pupils, Dr. Otto Strauss and Dr. P. E. Dumont, for their laborious work, which has rendered easily accessible these four great texts. The translation, so far as we have compared it with the original, is executed with great care and accuracy, and the number of passages in which a different rendering might be preferable is, considering the vague and ambiguous character of much of the Sanskrit text, very small.

None of the works translated, with the exception of some passages of the Bhagavadgītā, have any claim to literary merit or other than philosophic interest. Dr. Deussen proposes for consideration the view that the Mahābhārata contains a philosophic view which is not, as usually held, eclectic (a 'Mischphilosophie'), but a transitional stage of thought, the philosophy of the Epic age, midway between the Vedic and the classic epochs, in which there takes place

the transition from the Idealism of the Vedānta to the realistic views of the classic Sāṃkhya. This transition, for which the way is prepared in the later Upaniṣads, the Kāṭhaka, Śvetāśvatara, Maitrāyaṇīya, etc., finds its natural development in the philosophic texts of the Mahābhārata and in Manu, and finally takes the definite form in which it appears in the Sāṃkhyakārikā. The apparent completeness of the system should not conceal the fact that it is the result of a long process of development, and from a philosophic standpoint a gradually increasing deterioration of the original Idealism of the older Upaniṣads. Those views, therefore, are to be rejected which consider that the philosophy of the Mahābhārata is an amalgamation of the Vedāntism of the Upaniṣads with an independently developed Sāṃkhya system, or an induction of ideas from the Vedānta upon a system founded on the Sāṃkhya.

This is, of course, the view already put forward by Dr. Deussen in his History of Philosophy,<sup>1</sup> but, attractive as is the proposal to regard the Epic as showing a definite stage in the development of Indian thought, it cannot be denied that there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting the proposed interpretation of the facts. It is no longer possible to regard the Epic as revealing to us the thoughts of an era intermediate in point of time between the Veda and the classic Sanskrit, nor can the Epic represent a transitional period. In its narrative the Epic is, on the whole, contemporaneous in origin with the later Brāhmaṇic period; in its ethico-didactic and philosophic parts as they stand it must, probably, have been contemporaneous with the growth about the Christian era of the Kāvya literature. These parts, like the corresponding portions of Manu, can hardly be regarded as more than popular versions of current ethical and philosophic views. In contrast with the Upaniṣads, with their abundance of individual conceptions and contradictory views, the Epic shows on the whole a surprising sameness of ideas; the different parts vary but mainly in regard to

<sup>1</sup> *Die Philosophie der Upanishads*, ch. x.

insignificant details of terminology, not in substantial matters.

These characteristics of the Epic undoubtedly suit quite well an eclectic philosophy, adapted by Brahmins for popular use. Nor is there any substantial ground on which to argue that such an eclecticism was impossible. There does no doubt exist in the older Upaniṣads that Idealism which later developed into the Vedānta system of Śaṅkara, although we may doubt whether it can be described as the original doctrine of those who busied themselves with the *ātman*.<sup>1</sup> But there can be little doubt that the Sāṃkhya system in its essence, that is, in its doctrine of duality and its enumeration of tattvas, is older than Buddhism, as both Garbe and Jacobi have maintained. It may well be that in its origin the Sāṃkhya is later than the Vedānta, and represents a revolt from its monism, which explains nothing in favour of what is in comparison a more realistic conception of the universe, but it is most improbable that the Sāṃkhya system ever passed through a stage of development such as meets us in the Mokṣadharmā.

The doctrine of the Mokṣadharmā is full of reminiscences of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga and of Buddhism. Stress is laid throughout on *ahiṃsā* (see e.g. pp. 117, 121, 436, 472, 765, 791), and the expression *nirvāṇa* is not uncommon, and can only be regarded as used with a consciousness of its part in Buddhism (see pp. 130, 166, 174, 187, etc.). Sāṃkhya and Yoga are repeatedly referred to by name, and details given of the teachers, Kapila, Āsuri, and Pañcaśikha. The characteristic principles of the Sāṃkhya, its three guṇas and twenty-five tattvas, are time after time repeated (pp. 143, 182, 200, 225, 287, 352, 386, 534, 592, 624, 642, 773, etc.), and it is formally compared with the Yoga. It cannot be doubted from these passages that the Yoga and Sāṃkhya already existed in much their classical form. So in the Anugītā, p. 983,<sup>2</sup> the doctrine of the unity of *kṣetrajña* (i.e. *puruṣa*) and *sattva* is emphatically and deliberately denied, and duality

<sup>1</sup> See J.R.A.S., 1906, pp. 490 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Mokṣadharmā*, p. 184.

is asserted. But beside these views, there is another element. In the Sāṃkhya system the result of knowledge is merely the freedom of the *puruṣa*, since there is nothing else open to it, but in the Mokṣadharmā, as in the Vedānta, the soul becomes merged in Brahman, pp. 116, 191, 216, etc. Or again, p. 155, *prāṇa* is identified with *puruṣa*, *manas*, *buddhi*, and *ahaṃkāra*, and with objects. At p. 226 it is said that all goes back to Brahman, and *prakṛti* is not recognised as a final element of reality. There follows, p. 266, on an assertion of the eternal duality of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, a declaration that there is something greater than both. It is also said, p. 606, that the *kṣetrajña* attains to the highest *ātman*, and at p. 610 the creation of the whole world is ascribed to Brahman; while at p. 634 the *puruṣa* is contrasted with the *prakṛti* and recognised as identical, when emancipated, with the twenty-sixth principle, the Brahman. So at p. 786 the *ātman* is the source of the *avyakta*, which again developes into the *mahān ātmā*. In other passages, again, the highest element is definitely identified with Viṣṇu, e.g. pp. 230, 269, 491. At p. 773 it is asserted that the *avyakta* is resolved into Vāsudeva, and the *jīva*, *manas*, and *aḥaṃkāra* are identified with Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha respectively.

Of this matter some may be explained by a mingling of Sāṃkhya and Idealistic Vedānta, but some points undoubtedly to that other view of the Vedānta which is manifested in Rāmānuja's version of the Brahma Sūtra and in parts of the Bhagavadgītā, according to which a real deity rules over a real world and real souls, though both the world and souls are dependent on him. It is significant in this connection to note that in the Mokṣadharmā, pp. 755, 762, 780, 848, 855, reference is made to the Pāñcarātra doctrine, at pp. 783, 823 to the Bhāgavatas, and elsewhere to the Ekāntins and Sātvatas, in passages which prove clearly the existence of sects practising bhakti. A similar sect of Pāśupatas is referred to at p. 855. On the other hand, the peculiarly Vedāntic conception of *māyā* hardly appears in the Mokṣadharmā, though the word itself is known, e.g. pp. 140, 744.

It would seem, therefore, that the doctrine of these texts

of the Mahābhārata is a Sāṃkhya-Yoga system mingled with the Vedāntic views seen in the great systems of bhakti. Nor is this combination remarkable. The Sāṃkhya system has much in it, especially when connected as throughout in the Mahābhārata with the Yoga, that is attractive to Indian thought; while for a popular exposition of philosophy, as in its essence is the philosophic doctrine of the Epic, it was essential to accept what appears to have been the really popular doctrine of bhakti, which would appeal to castes other than the Brahmins with special force. No Sāṃkhya, no pure Vedānta, teaching would really satisfy any class outside the priests, and some substitute for *jñāna* had to be accepted if popular religion and philosophy were to find expression in the Epic. The slight influence of the Idealistic Vedānta, as we find it in the teaching of Yājñavalkya in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad and as developed by Śaṅkara, need not surprise us, for, despite its philosophic merits or perhaps in consequence of them, it is essentially a system unlikely to be popular outside a narrow circle. The pure Sāṃkhya doctrine, though in its essence equally abstruse and remote from ordinary consciousness, readily lent itself to adaption by being fitted into a system which recognised the existence of a deity standing beside but above the individual souls and matter, as is seen from the history of the Yoga. For, in deference to popular opinion, the Sāṃkhya doctrine was altered, quite illogically, by the addition to *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* of *īśvara*, a conception probably borrowed from the Bhāgavatas.<sup>1</sup>

Such a conception of God as we find in the doctrine of bhakti is, after all, the most natural development of the religious thought of the Rgveda, with its growing tendency to pantheism. The theory that the only Vedānta doctrine is one which denies the reality of either the individual soul or the world is due to Śaṅkara, and leads to such ingenious efforts as those of Garbe, in his translation of the Bhagavadgītā,<sup>2</sup> to show that on Kṛṣṇa worship was engrafted

<sup>1</sup> Garbe: *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hopkins' review, J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 384.

Vedāntism and pantheism. Such speculations are needless if it is realised that the *īśvara* of one theory of the Vedānta, while pantheistic, yet stood over against real *jīvas*, thus permitting the conception of bhakti, and that only a few chosen spirits accepted the theory of the impersonal Brahman and *māyā*.

Among the other points worthy of notice it must suffice to refer to the not inconsiderable number of passages in which Dr. Deussen's references show that reference is made to the Upaniṣads, especially the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Śvetāśvatara, Maitrāyaṇīya, Kāṭhaka, and Muṇḍaka, while the Atharvaśiras is actually referred to by name (p. 769), as in Gautama Dharmasūtra, xix, 12.<sup>1</sup> The similarity of part of Adhyāya 178 of the Mokṣadharmā to Sāṃkhyasūtra, iv, 11-14, is another piece of evidence that the sūtra, although in its present form late, derives its material from ancient sources, as Jacobi has argued.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

NOTIZIA E SAGGI DI OPERE E DOCUMENTI INEDITI RIGUARDANTI  
LA STORIA DI ETIOPIA DURANTE I SECOLI XVI, XVII,  
E XVIII, con otto facsimilii e due carte geografiche.  
CAMILLO BECCARI, S.I. (Rome, 1903.)

Few articles in learned journals have been so successful in starting a line of research as the studies on the history of Ethiopia, published many years ago in the *Journal Asiatique* by R. Basset, now an honorary member of our Society. The contribution to the same subject by Father Beccari, which is to cover a number of quarto volumes, promises to eclipse the others in magnitude, if not in importance. The first volume contains (1) a list of the documents which the editor proposes to include in the series (of which the general character is sufficiently elucidated by the title given above); (2) a brief analysis of the principal MSS.; (3) some specimens of the documents. These last consist of instructions to missionaries (in Portuguese),

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *S.B.E.*, ii, lvi.

letters of King Sysennius (in Ethiopic) to Pope Paul V, the General of the Jesuit Order; and Philip III of Spain, selections from the descriptions of Ethiopia by Pacz and others, and correspondence dealing with Ethiopian affairs in French, Latin, Portuguese, and Italian. For the Ethiopic texts the editor has had the assistance of the eminent scholar I. Guidi. The greater number of the specimens refer to the vicissitudes of the Catholic missions in Abyssinia, and a series of unsuccessful attempts at restoring them after the expulsion of the Jesuits. The letter of King Sysennius to Philip III is a request for soldiers to help him to dragoon his subjects into the true faith. For students of ecclesiastical history during the three centuries enumerated the materials collected by Father Beccari will be of great interest, and his work appears to give evidence of exemplary patience and industry.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE PISĀCA LANGUAGES OF NORTH - WESTERN INDIA. By G. A. GRIERSON. Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. VIII. (London, 1906.)

Grierson's exceedingly interesting monograph comprises the languages of Kafiristan, Citral, Dardistan, and the adjoining countries, viz.: the dialects Buṣṣalī, Wai-Aṭā, Veron, Paṣai, Gawar-Batī, Kalāṣū of the Kafir group, the Khō-wār or Citrālī, and the dialects Šīnā, Kāśmīrī, Gārwi, Maiyā, of the Dard group. All these dialects are called by him 'Pisāca Languages,' for he believes that they are descendants of the Pisāca Prakriṭ. After some introductory remarks the author first describes the phonetic system of those dialects, p. 14 et seq., then he treats the chief chapters of the grammar as declension and conjugation, p. 31 et seq., and compiles a vocabulary of the most important words, p. 63 et seq. In a second part of his book, p. 81 et seq., he goes into the 'phonological details,' treating separately each sound and its development in the various dialects. Subject and word indexes conclude the monograph.

It is hardly necessary to speak about the scientific value of Dr. Grierson's book. Nobody, I think, would have had richer and more reliable materials at his disposal than he to treat the subject, which is equally interesting and difficult, in a satisfactory manner. Of course, it will not be possible to solve all the problems at once. The author comes to the general result that "these languages . . . form a third independent branch of the great Aryan family, and that they are neither Eranian nor Indian, but something between both." It is very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to refute this opinion, but it is not less difficult to prove it convincingly. As for me, my impression is still the same about the character of these languages as it formerly was. I believe even now that they all must be considered as belonging to the Indian group of languages. They have, of course, their peculiar and sometimes strange character, but they seem to have the most important and typical phonological laws in common with the Indian dialects. It is, however, necessary to distinguish carefully between the borrowed and the genuine words. The mixed vocabulary of those languages is a great difficulty for fixing their linguistic character. I shall give a few examples. A typical phonological difference between Indian and Iranian languages is Ind. *s* = Ir. *h*. Now we have, for instance, for the numeral 'seven' Skt. *sapta*, Aw. *hapta*, in all the dialects of the Kafir, Citral, and Dard group words beginning with *s*: Baṣg. *sut*, Khōwār *sot*, Šinā, *sat*. The word for 'nose' is Skt. *nāsā*, Aw. *nāōnhā*. The corresponding words in the Pisūca dialects are all derived from a form with *s* and not with *h* (see p. 76). Compare also Skt. *divasa*, 'day' = Veron *res*, Wai-Alā *wās*, Paṣai *dawās* (p. 68), and Skt. *māsa*, Aw. *māōnha*, 'moon, month' = Baṣg. *mōs*, Khōwār *mās* (p. 75). The Dard group has here another word (see also p. 77 'sister,' p. 78 'sun').

Another difference is Ind. *h* = Ir. *z*. Even here the Pisūca languages stand on the side of the Indian group. To the word Skt. *hastā*, 'hand' = Aw. *hastā*, correspond Kalāṣā *hāst*, Khōwār *host*, Kāśm. *hath* (p. 73). *Dušt* in Baṣg., *lust* in Veron, and *došt* in Wai-Alā are borrowed

words taken from Pers. *dast*, Afgh. *lās* (see Etym. und Lautl. d. Afgh., No. 331). The Bašg. *zare*, Wai-Alā *zo* = Aw. *zeredhaya*, 'heart,' seems to be inconsistent with the words given above. But in the other dialects we have again words beginning with *h*, as in Skt. *hṛdaya* (see Gawar-Bati *heṛa* and Pašai *harā* of the Kafir group and *herdi* in Citrālī, p. 73). We must therefore assume that *zare*, *sō*, are borrowed from an Eastern Ir. dialect. Compare Sariqōlī *zārd*, Afgh. *zirdē*, etc.

I conclude now my few remarks, submitting my doubts to the judgment of the author. I hope he will kindly take them into consideration, and I finally thank Dr. Grierson once more for his valuable work. The doubts which I expressed regarding one point do by no means alter the high appreciation of his interesting book.

WILH. GEIGER.

*Erlangen, March, 1907.*

AN ENGLISH-HINDUSTANI DICTIONARY. By GEORGE S. A. RANKING, M.D. (Cantab.), M.R.A.S., Lieut.-Col. I.M.S. 8vo. (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, & Co. London: W. Thacker & Co., 1905.)

This dictionary has been compiled to meet a want which Colonel Ranking has carefully defined in the Preface to his work. Fortunately there is no need to refer to the exceptional opportunities which the author has enjoyed for the study of Hindustānī, or to his competence to express an opinion on the matters referred to in the Preface. He is entitled to speak as an authority on Hindustānī in general, but he has also, during his tenure of the office of Secretary to the Board of Examiners at Calcutta, and as official Translator for the Government of India, been in a position to observe the want of an adequate yet succinct vocabulary, which would enable, not merely an Englishman, but more especially a native editor, to give the people in their own language an idiomatic rendering of the speeches and expressed opinions of their rulers and of political leaders delivered

originally in English. Keeping this point steadily in view, he has compiled a most useful and accurate dictionary, easily handled and well printed, a work of reference not merely for the library but for the editor's desk. Anyone who turns up such words as 'line,' 'right,' 'rule,' 'throw,' 'stand,' 'stock,' etc., widely used in literary and spoken English, will see that the greatest care has been taken to give Hindustānī equivalents for the various shades of meaning which may be intended in English, and to bring together idiomatic expressions of parallel force in the two languages.

A work of this class must be useful, and Colonel Ranking has shown one special value which it should possess. He points out, what others have also observed, that native editors who know English are apt to import English words into vernacular newspapers to the exclusion of existing vernacular words adequate to explain the meaning of the English. It may be that this tendency arises from a disinclination to think at the moment for the required vernacular word, or it may be owing to the want of a convenient book of reference with which to refresh the memory. The latter alternative can no longer be pleaded as an excuse for a practice which tends undoubtedly, as Colonel Ranking points out, to the deterioration of the living, flexible Hindustānī, adequate in itself as a literary language, by the extrusion of numberless useful and forceful native words.

We have already had dictionaries of a sectional or departmental type, such as dictionaries of legal terms and commercial terms, placed before the public; and we have had others of a more extended or general English-Hindustānī vocabulary, prepared in Roman characters, such as those of Forbes and Fallon. These are all serviceable, and it would be unjust to condemn them. In fact, for one who knows Hindustānī from the popular vernacular side, and can readily detect unfortunate omissions of conventional diacritical points, Fallon's English-Hindustānī Dictionary is eminently useful. But all these dictionaries fail by not giving the vernacular word in the native character. Colonel Ranking has, however, in his dictionary spelt every word

correctly in the Persian character as adopted or adapted in Hindustānī, and this feature, added to the literary exactness aimed at throughout his work, makes it useful in the highest degree, not alone as a work of reference, but as an educational means.

W. HOEY.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

By VINCENT A. SMITH. Vol. i. (Oxford, 1906.)

Ten years ago, in a notice in the *Journal of the Catalogue of Coins of the Indian Museum*, then lately published, compiled by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, reference was made to the difficulties and restrictions under which Mr. Rodgers had worked, resulting in an unsatisfactory catalogue of a large and important collection. Being without historical notes, comments, or bibliographical references, and but poorly illustrated, it was little more than a descriptive list of the coins.

It is well, therefore, that the Trustees of the Museum have now resolved that a full scientific catalogue shall be prepared, and in it shall be included the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a collection which has hitherto not been catalogued. They have been fortunate in getting as the author of the first volume such a competent one as is Mr. V. A. Smith to treat of the series of Indian Numismatics comprised in it, that is, of coins other than the Musalman Series.

It is a handsome volume, well printed, well arranged, and fully illustrated by thirty plates of photographic reproductions of coins.

The work is divided into three parts: (1) the Early Foreign Dynasties and the Guptas; (2) Ancient Coins of Indian types; (3) Persian, Mediæval, Southern Indian, and Miscellaneous Coins. The parts are divided into sections, each of which begins with an Introduction containing an historical and bibliographical summary of the dynasty or series treated of in it, followed by a description of the coins

in the cabinets, references being given in many cases to other publications in which the coin is described or figured. We have thus for the first time in one book an account of all the Indian ancient and mediæval non-Musalman coinage, which may serve as a handbook and save much time and trouble to the student by enabling him to easily find the class to which any specimen he has belongs, and where he may find a fuller account of that class instead of having to begin by looking through perhaps several books or articles for what he requires, and also to see in due order the morphology from the Greek and from the Indian types.

In the section on Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins an Alphabetical List of the Kings similar to that in the author's *Early History of India* is given in the Introduction. The collection contains some fine and rare specimens, but, as the author says, "the deficiencies in the cabinets are deplorably great," and, judging by the illustrations, some of the specimens are not in a fine condition. For the historical relations of the kings and satraps of Indo-Parthian Dynasties a tabular statement is given summarizing the author's views as set forth in his article on those dynasties in the *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* for 1906. The collection is fairly representative, but some specimens are but poor. An attempt is made with some success to distinguish the coins of Azes I from those of Azes II, and some interesting coins are described, and some variations of former readings and attributions made.

In the Introduction to Section iii, on Kushan coins, Mr. Smith says: "So far, I believe, all scholars at present are agreed that my approximate chronology may be accepted, and that I am not far wrong in placing the accession of Kadphises I about 45 A.D., and that of his successor, Kadphises II, about 85 A.D."; and, after referring to Dr. Fleet's contention that Kanishka established the Vikrama Era dating from 58 B.C., holds that "the balance of evidence favours the hypothesis that Kanishka came to the throne about 120 or 125 A.D.," and that the following chronology is *approximately* correct:—

Kadphises I	..	acc. about 45 or 50 A.D.	
Kadphises II	..	.. „ 85	„
Kanishka ..	..	.. „ 120	„
Huvishka ..	..	.. „ 150	„
Vāsudeva ..	..	.. „ 180	„

These dates correspond within a little with those given by E. Thomas and by Cunningham, but a perusal of what Dr. Fleet has written in the *Journal* in 1906 does show that there is a good deal to be said for reviving the original view that Kanishka rose to power in B.C. 58, and founded what is called the Vikrama Era, and though he does not claim to have adduced actual proofs, it is very possible that some chance discovery may make necessary a considerable variation in the dates, if not in the order of the list, of these kings. The collections are wanting in many varieties of Kushan coins.

On Gupta coins, treated of in Section iv, Mr. Smith is a well-known authority. He gives an excellent summary of history and coinage, and has a fine collection to describe. The series of Western satraps is but a small collection.

In Section v there is a good introduction to the Punch Marked coins, and in the following section on Local Coins of Northern India an equally good summary of the work of Sir A. Cunningham in the series of Ajodhya, Avanti or Ujjain, Kōsam, and Taxila.

The following sections (vii to x), treating of the difficult and curious Tribal Coins, the Northern Pañchāla and Kosala Kings, the Rajas of Mathura and Vīrasena, and Miscellaneous Coins of Northern India, are all interesting and full of useful information. Section xi, on the Andhra Dynasty, describes a small collection and closes Part II.

In Part III are good and useful sections on Indo-Sassanian, Mediæval Dynasties of Central and Northern India, Hindu Kashmir, Kangra, Nepal, and Assam Coinages, and on page 313 is described for the first time a coin of the Western Chalūkyā of Kalyani king Jugadekamalla.

At the end of each part is an Index of the Kings, Rulers,

and Countries mentioned in the part, and in addition there is a full General Index for the whole volume. It would have been of great help to students if the author had added a plate or two giving the forms of the letters of the alphabets, especially the compound letters, as they appear upon the coins. One may know the ordinary form of the Devanagari character pretty well and yet find much difficulty in making out the lettering on, say, a Gupta or Ksatrap coin.

The book is so well edited that it is surprising to find, on page 297, "Chhota Udaipur is, I believe, part of Tipperah." It is hardly necessary to remind Mr. Vincent Smith that it is a small state in Gujarat lying between Baroda and Indore.

In conclusion, one may express a hope, as was done in 1897 in noticing Mr. Rodgers' catalogue, that now the deficiencies in the cabinets are so well shown, opportunities be taken, as they present themselves, to acquire by gift, exchange, or purchase, such coins as are required to make the Indian Museum Collection what it ought to be—the best and a fully representative one of the coinage of India. There are such opportunities in India, and there is now a Government numismatist to whom a fairly free hand might be given in this respect. It may be assumed that the Trustees of the Museum, in ordering the preparation of this fine catalogue, show the value they attach to this part of their trust.

O. C.



## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1907.)

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### I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

*January 15th, 1907.*—Sir Raymond West, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. C. Raymond Beazley,  
 Mr. Chisholm Dunbar Brunton,  
 Captain M. L. Ferrar,  
 Mr. Charles I. Fraser,  
 The Hon. Mr. Justice Asutosh Mukhopadhyay,  
 Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University,  
 Mr. T. B. Pohath-Kohelpannala,  
 Sri Surendra P. Sannyal,  
 Mr. Vishwanath Sahay Sinha,  
 Mr. H. E. Stapleton,  
 Pandit Krishna Pada Vidyaratna.

Dr. Grierson read a paper on "Modern Hinduism and its Debt to the Nestorians." A discussion followed, in which Mr. Kennedy, the Rev. Joshua Khamis, Dr. Pope, and Mr. Keith took part.

**MR. KENNEDY:** It is always a pleasure to hear Dr. Grierson discourse of his favourites, the Hindi poets and mystics of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. We admire the extent of his learning and the goodness of his heart, his large sympathy with religious feeling wherever he meets it, and his exhilarating enthusiasm. If the picture

he presents to us is not always complete, it is the best side at least, and the side most frequently overlooked. But when he takes to historical disquisition he moves on a somewhat foreign *terrain*, and one where I cannot always follow him. And it is the historical side of his paper which I propose to discuss.

Dr. Grierson's paper deals with two distinct periods. The first ends according to Weber with the capture of Alexandria by the Mahomedans in 640 A.D., and the discussion here turns on two points—the origin of the nativity festival of Krishna, and of the idea of 'faith' or *bhakti* as a condition of salvation. This part is in the main a summary of Weber's views. The second period begins with Rāmānuja in the twelfth century, and extends to the seventeenth; it deals with *bhakti* alone, and contains Dr. Grierson's original contribution to the subject. In both periods we find Hinduism in long and continuous touch with Christian communities, but with a difference. During the first period the Christian communities are chiefly to be found on the North-West frontier, and among tribes near of kin to those which were then invading India; while in the second they are confined to the Syrian Christians of Malabar. The two periods must be considered independently.

I. It is generally supposed that Christian influences must have reached India by way of Alexandria, and on this assumption Weber bases all his arguments. The assumption appears to me wrong. The Roman Empire was in direct communication with India for two centuries only; and that was ended by Caracalla in 211 A.D. The massacre which he made of the inhabitants of Alexandria either involved or drove away the Indian colony there. At any rate, the direct trade with India shifted down the Red Sea to Adule, and fell into the hands of the Abyssinians, whose power it established. During the third century Egypt was a prey to over-taxation, to civil strife, foreign invasions, and the incursions of the nomadic Blemyes. After the middle of the fourth century the Indian trade with Alexandria somewhat revived, and improved considerably during the fifth

and sixth centuries, but it was usually by way of Adule, and seldom direct. All the cults of Rome and the Levant were to be found in Alexandria; and down to 200 A.D.—the period during which the direct communications between Alexandria and India were open—the Christian Church of Alexandria was neither the largest nor the most imposing of the religious sections of the Alexandrian community. Moreover, the Christian mysteries were at that time carefully concealed from the heathen. Individuals, whether Indian merchants or Christian priests, must frequently have met: from some such communications I have derived the Indian notions of Basilides, while the great Christian philosopher Pantænus travelled as far as the west coast of India. But the historical conditions requisite for any real action of Christianity upon Hinduism are wanting.

But these conditions are fulfilled by the Parthian or rather the Sassanian Empire. From the days of Nebuchadnezzar there had been a sea trade with India by way of the Persian Gulf, and we find Christian communities on the west shore of India from the second century onwards, at first of Christian Jews, later of Persian traders; and when Cosmas Indicopleustes visited India, about 525 A.D., these communities had a Persian bishop of their own. But the communities were few in number; and their clergy and most of their members were foreigners. This was the case even as late as the eighth century,—witness the signatures to a well-known copper-plate grant which the Malabar Christians regard as their charter.

On the North-West frontier we find an entirely different state of things. Bactria was the home of all persecuted sects. To it fled the Manichæans, the Mazdakites, the Christians, whenever the whim of the monarch or the pressure of the Magi or the relations with Rome prompted the Sassanian kings to persecute their subjects. Christianity was planted at a very early period in Bactria, and flourished there greatly. Bardaisan, the great Syrian Gnostic, who died in 223 A.D., expressly mentions the Christian communities of Bactria and Persia. “John the Persian, Bishop

of the church of Persia and great India," attended the Nicene Council in 325 A.D. The Bishop of Herat was present at a Council held by the Katholikos in 424 A.D. Christianity spread among the White Huns in the fifth century, and they had a Bishop of their own by the middle of the sixth. Some 60 years later Chosroes II transported a vast number of Christian captives taken in the Roman wars to Seistan. In the seventh century Merv became the seat of a Metropolitan Archbishop, and not only Nestorians but Jacobites had their own bishops throughout all those regions. India was surrounded on the North-West frontier by a ring of Christian communities, many of them allied in blood to the barbarous tribes from Central Asia which were then invading India, and ready to adopt the first tolerable religion presented to them.

Nor is this all, for it is certain that the Sassanian Empire during the two and a half centuries which preceded its downfall exercised a very powerful influence over India in this quarter; and during these very centuries it was most powerfully influenced by Rome. We find Kashmir looms supplying fabrics to the Persian Court, while the debased Corinthian architecture of the Sassunians extended to the Panjab and Kashmir. In a sixth century cave at Ajanta we have representations of a Persian prince and his courtiers; and there was an exchange of embassies between Pulikēsin and Chosroes II. And as this was the period when Persian influence was at its height, so it was a period of active religious syncretism. The spread of Oriental Christianity was due neither to sailors or female slaves in the harem of princes, nor was it due even to merchants, but mainly to the active propaganda of the Persian hermits and monks. The Christian hermits of Persia go back to a very early time; they were the successors of pagan fakirs, and the conversion of rude tribes was chiefly due to them. Jerome mentions Christian monks from India as well as from Persia, and we read of a Christian monastery of Persian monks in Ceylon by the middle of the fourth century. The monks of Bactria were especially active, and they took the leading

part in the religious syncretism of the time. The famous legend of Barlaam and Josaphat is the work of a Bactrian monk in the sixth century. Two centuries later we find a Christian and a Buddhist monk of Bactria jointly composing Christian-Buddhist sutras. The same thing went on in India. In a sixth century cave at Ajanta we find a representation of Asita holding the infant Buddha, imitated from pictures of St. Simeon and our Lord. And if Ajanta was within the range of Persian and Christian influence, so was Dwāraka the peculiar seat of the Krishna cultus.

We now turn to the two questions in dispute—the nativity festival of Krishna and the legend of the White Island or Continent. The possibility, nay the probability, of Christian influences cannot be denied in either case. The probability in the case of the nativity festival is especially great, because we find that stories of the nativity and the childhood of Jesus were the Christian elements most readily appropriated by Buddhism, as they still are by the common people of India at the present day. Among the Mahomedan Berbers of North Africa the chief remnant of Christianity is the observance of Christmas. Everything therefore depends on the direct evidence of identity between the legends of the Krishna festival and the nativity stories of the Gospel. Unfortunately this is the very point which appears to me the weakest. For it is quite possible to explain almost every detail in a different and perfectly natural manner. The number of coincidences is certainly surprising, but scarcely conclusive, were it not for a fact I shall presently notice.

So also with the legend of the White Island. The Mahā Bhārata anxiously assures us that “the narrative” (“the essence of all narratives,” as another passage calls it) “is a very ancient one, perfectly consistent with the Vedas”; but since Nārāyana himself says in it that many of his best appearances in the world were past, and refers both to his favourite city Dwāraka and to the Purānas, we may certainly date this section as belonging to the fifth or sixth century. The travellers to the White Island journeyed north to Mount Meru : more than 32,000 yojanas to the north-west

of Mount Meru lay the White Island on the northern shore of the ocean of milk. The directions are precise; they can only point to some place beyond the great mountain ranges, to Bactria, or probably to some place still further north—perhaps to Lake Issykul, where there is abundance of frozen sea and round the *southern* shores of which Nestorian communities were numerous. On the other hand, the inhabitants, *more Indico*, are represented as gods, for they are “winkless.” The whole passage is inserted with the clear intention of establishing the doctrine that devotion is the most saving of virtues; and the position of the place is too clearly defined, I think, for it to be altogether imaginary. Brahmans were very numerous in Bactria from an early period; indeed, Bardaisan expressly refers to the number of Brahmans in Bactria in the very passage we have quoted; and the Bactrian Brahmans must have been perfectly acquainted with the Christian monasteries of the fifth and sixth centuries in Bactria. I take it, therefore, that Bactrian monks, or at least missionary monks from Bactria planted still further to the north, are meant by these divine beings; and Dr. Grierson has pointed out the identity of the worship of these followers of *bhakti* with the eucharistic service—the incense, the silent prayer, the approach to the altar, the unseen presence, and the hymns of praise. According to this supposition the visit of the three Rishis would be before outsiders were admitted to behold the Christian mysteries, while Nārada’s visit would come after.

Granting, however, a real historical connection, what did Hinduism borrow? Apparently nothing but an example, and the idea that devotion was the chief, if not the sole, condition of salvation. But this idea itself was innate in the circumstances of the time. The old Aryan deities, Indra and Brahma and the rest, were about to be submerged in the aboriginal worship, the sectarian cults of Siva and Krishna. Union with God had been the object of Brahmanic theology; and for Aryans this was to be obtained by sacrifice and ceremonial, or by austerities and penances, or by knowledge and meditation. None of these methods were

open to the non-Aryans; if they were to be included within the fold of orthodoxy, some other and more simple method must be found. Devotion to a particular deity is a universal feature of religious life, and had been known in India from Vedic times. When Krishna and Siva were elevated to the rank of quasi-monotheist gods, it only required the recognition of devotion as a means of salvation to make the aboriginal cults orthodox. For the stricter schools the doctrine of *bhakti* had no attractions; and while it was winning general favour, Śankara Achārya was perfecting his scholastic theory of impersonal divinity.

I have sketched the historical framework into which every speculation regarding the genesis of Christian ideas in Hinduism must fit. But before I proceed further it is necessary to show not only that Weber's derivation of Christian influence from Alexandria is wrong, but that the further arguments he bases on it are wrong also. As regards the White Island nothing need be said. It is true that we find Bruhmans even in Rome in the latter part of the fourth century, but neither Rome nor Alexandria lie north of Hindustan. But Weber's chief arguments are drawn from the history of the legends regarding the Virgin and the representations of the *Madonna lactans*. On this basis he assigns the period 350-431 A.D. as the period to which the rise of the Krishna festival must be assigned. To Weber I would reply: *First*, the legends of the Madonna were not known in Egypt until towards the close of the fifth century, and were probably derived from Italy. I tried to establish this proposition in a review of Forbes Robinson's Coptic Apocrypha published in the J.R.A.S.; and the latest German inquirers have independently come to the same conclusion. The mere fact that Schnoudi, the greatest of Egyptian monks, a dreamer of dreams *par excellence*, who met more divine personages than Swedenborg, and whose life covers the first half of the fifth century, only once mentions the Virgin, is decisive. *Second*, the earliest undoubted Christian example of a Madonna suckling her child is of the twelfth century, and from the well-known

church of S. Maria Trastevere in Rome. Weber seeks to connect this with the old Egyptian representations of Isis suckling Horus, and so to bring it within the range of Alexandria. But the last traces of the *native* Egyptian worship of Isis and Horus (from which Weber's illustrations are drawn, and which must be carefully distinguished from the Hellenic cult), end with the close of the second century, although the cult lasted longer in Nubia; and between it and the picture in S. Maria Trastevere there lie nearly a thousand years, and the development of a wholly different art in Egypt, as well as the breadth of the Mediterranean Sea. *Third*, the picture in the catacomb of St. Priscilla at Rome to which Weber refers is in a ruinous condition; but it is certain that the Madonna (if she be a Madonna) is not giving the child suck. Her dress reaches to her neck, while the child looks out of the picture with alarm at the spectator, and clings with the right hand to his mother's bosom. *Fourth*, if there is no Christian representation of the suckling mother before the twelfth century, there is a much earlier Hindu one. At Elura we have a bas-relief of the seven divine mothers, each with her child on her knee or beside her; and Varāhi, the third of the seven, is giving suck to her infant.

II. In the second part of our subject Dr. Grierson is a master, and I am ignorant. My remarks therefore must be considered as interrogations, difficulties to be met, points to be explained, and not as the expression of a final opinion. I would put the issues thus: In the *bhakti* of the Mahā Bhārata there is nothing "distinctively Christian"; I fully admit that in Kabir and later Hindi poets and mystics Christian elements, elements which are Christian not only in sentiment but in origin, are found; at what time and through what channel did this new and distinctively Christian element intervene? Dr. Grierson says it was in the twelfth century and through Rāmānuja and Rāmānuja's acquaintance with the Syrian monks at Mylapore. My knowledge of Rāmānuja is too slight to permit me to say whether there are any distinctively Christian elements in his

teaching; but his monotheism appears to be far more pantheistic and shadowy than that of the sixteenth and seventeenth century poets. From Dr. Thibaut's remarks I should conclude that he did for one school what Śankara did for another; that is to say, he systematised and gave a philosophical basis to the older theories of the Bhāgavatas, who attempted a fusion of the highest divine personality with impersonal divinity, an attempt already made in the Bhagavadgītā. Every theory of a personal divinity of course connotes some doctrine of personal devotion, which can find no room in a purely pantheistic system; and the different stress laid by Śankara and by Rāmānuja on *bhakti* is a necessary consequence of their fundamentally different hypotheses. It is, of course, possible that Rāmānuja should have got some Christian ideas (if he had any) from the monks of Mylapore, but I consider it extremely improbable: I should as soon expect to learn the tenets of Mussulman theology at the shrine of Syad Salār. It is very different when we come to the vernacular poets and mystics of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries. Their monotheism is more definite and ethical; their religious experience more profound; and they aim at a universal religion, or at least at a religion which rises above caste. Moreover, they are not philosophers, but poets capable of assimilating contradictory notions. Kabir and Nanak avowedly attempted a fusion of Mahomedan and Hindu elements; and the influence of Sufism is clearly visible. The very expression quoted by Dr. Grierson, "nearness to God," is a favourite Sufi phrase. I consider it probable that the outburst of religious thought in question was largely due to Mahomedanism; and that so far as it contained Christian elements, it received them indirectly through a Sufi medium. The influence of the Malabar Christians may be much greater than has hitherto been supposed; but the question will not be solved until Dr. Grierson has laid before us the contents of the *Bhaktmāla*. I would add, however, at the outset that any attempts to connect Hindu ideas of *bhakti* with the Pauline doctrine of faith through a Nestorian channel are inadmissible,

and, as a matter of fact, the Hindu doctrine of *bhakti* in its highest form approaches much more closely to the Johannine. The Hindu notion of *bhakti* runs through every note of the scale, from pure magic to a sense of loving devotion, of passionate self-surrender, and a passive quietism which is content to abide in God. And whether or no the Hindu mind could have attained unaided to the higher stage, it certainly was exposed to and must have been assisted by foreign influences in its evolution.

But, to tell the truth, I think these discussions regarding nativity stories and faith are both inconclusive and secondary. Coincidences in two stories do not necessarily imply a common origin, and faith is capable of many meanings from the most slavish devotion to the highest self-sacrifice and sense of loving union; it is to some extent a matter of spiritual experience and psychology, of the *mens naturaliter Christiana* not confined to any race or creed, although its highest exercise depends of course on its knowledge of the object to which it is directed. For me the crux of the whole question lies elsewhere. I would put it thus. Down to a certain date, which, on archaeological grounds I am inclined to fix at 500 A.D., Krishna is a warrior hero, originally, perhaps, a nature god personifying the dark sun, whose countenance blinds his enemies, and whose business it is to slay giants and dragons; he is the god of a tribe, and ultimately becomes identified with Vishnu. And then there comes an entire and sudden change. The new Krishna is a pastoral and idyllic deity, an infant who grows up to be a boy and a youth, and is throughout a god of love. And this love is not necessarily gross or obscene, nor has it anything to do with nature worship. Moreover, the *scena* is changed from Dwāraka to Bhraj. Various feats of Vishnu and Vasudeva are attributed to the new god; but it is not by these he makes his way, but because he is "the little darling," the bambino. This child throws the elder Krishna and the other deities into the shade; he conquers everywhere. If he lends himself as the god of love to erotic frenzy, he also raises his spiritual worshippers

to spiritual heights. At last a modern sect, the Rādhā-swāmis, proclaim that "God is love," or more strictly "the ocean of love," for Hinduism ever halts between the personal and the impersonal. The Rādhāswāmis consciously imitate the Christian doctrine of the Trinity; they quote Kabir, and the Sufis, and St. John: they are veritable Gnostics. Now it is contrary to all analogy that the worship of the pastoral child should be evolved from the cultus of the fierce and darkling hero. There is clearly a meeting of two streams, ill-disguised by a transference of legends and of names. Whence came this second stream? Was it from Buddhism? Was it from some other source, or from Christianity? And if from Christianity, how came it? These are questions hard to answer. But if it were originally an offshoot from Christianity, we cannot wonder that it has often produced Christian fruit as it ripened. "Lord," said St. Catherine of Sienna after a period of spiritual dryness, "where hast Thou been these many days that I have sought Thee sorrowing?" "My daughter, all the time I was hidden in Thy heart."

I end with an emphatic endorsement of Dr. Gricson's closing words. And no one in our time has better illustrated their truth than the late Salmon Growse, who turned Kabir's verses into Latin elegiacs, and translated Tulsi Das' Rāmāyana. His tastes were wide; when he built a Roman Catholic chapel, he made it in the form of a Latin cross; inside the architecture was Moorish; externally it had a Hindu steeple. The people of Mathura regarded him as a white guru; at his bidding, both in Mathura and Bulandshahr, men expended thousands of rupees upon public objects, when to others they would have grudged ten; and his influence far surpassed that of any other living European, whatever his position. And although many other things contributed to this influence, the basis of it lay in the fact that, devout himself, he sympathised with the devotion and art of both Hindu and Mahomedan.

DR. G. U. POPE expressed the feelings of pleasure and interest with which he listened to discussions about the religious views of the Tamil people, amongst whom he had spent more than forty of his best and happiest years. Such topics had employed him, more or less, all his working life. The paper was most excellent, and there was nothing in it which he could not heartily endorse. He dwelt a little upon the thought that too much stress must never be laid upon the supposition, though it be true in the main, that various religious systems owe their best and highest thoughts to the Christian revelation.

In his edition of the *Kural* he had shown that the greatest poet and sage of the Tamil people, Tiruvalluvar, certainly had access to Christian documents. The poet was born in St. Thomē, where in the early centuries of the Christian era Pantænus, the head of the catechetical school of Alexandria, laboured as a Christian missionary. But, giving all due weight to this and other kindred facts, it seemed to him that, in every age and clime, the greatest and purest souls have had their own special intuitions of religious truth. There is "a light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world." He remembered talking to his old friend and master, Jowett, and telling him of remarkable thoughts he had found in the *Kural*, and saying that they seemed to be derived from the Gospels. Jowett replied with a sudden emphasis that was quite peculiar to him: "As if the Father in Heaven could not and would not teach His children in any time and place the truths concerning Himself. Trace all this rather directly to Him." It may be that missionaries in general are in danger of speaking indiscriminately of non-Christian peoples as "benighted and perishing heathen." It is better far to seek out carefully what is good in every antagonistic system, and to try to supplement it by what we believe to be higher truth. Very many of the Tamil people are "nigh unto the kingdom of God," and it is above all things necessary to make the truths they hold stepping-stones to higher things. In regard to *Bhakti* (which is, after

all, only the Latin word 'piety'), we can trace the time of its coming into use among the South Indian poets, but there are abundant traces of the thing itself in many native authors of the very early Christian centuries. This Dr. Pope has shown in his edition of the Tiruvacagam. Tiruvalluvar uses a word which is pure Tamil, as an equivalent to Faith, but is liable to be mistaken for a similar Sanskrit word: (*kāḍchi*). In his couplets 352 and 353 he sings thus :—

“ Darkness departs, and rapture springs to men who see  
The mystic vision pure, from all delusion free.

“ When doubts disperse, and mists of error roll  
Away, nearer is heav'n than earth to sage's soul.”

Here the poet's *kāḍchi* is surely that Christian 'faith,' which is the sure “evidence of things unseen.” Dr. Pope thought that all interested in the subject should make a thorough study of the great and beautiful Kurral, which is, in fact, the sacred scriptures of the Tamil race.

The universally prevalent belief in the transmigration of souls often assumes an aspect very closely allied to the Christian belief in the immortality of the soul. Sitting one day, just before his final departure from India, in converse with an old native friend, the conversation was interrupted by the song of a bird from some trees just outside the veranda. (It was remarkable, for though the birds of the East are often beautiful they have not the gift, generally speaking, of melodious song like our Philomel, which with “her mournful hymns doth hush the night.”) They stopped talking and listened; at length his native friend said, “I know not what friend of mine, long since passed into the unseen, is singing to us in yonder bird; but I am older than you, and must expect soon to die. If then in your distant home you hear a bird sing like that, think that it may be myself, for I will come and sing to you if I can.” That song as yet he, Dr. Pope, had not heard! He concluded with an expression of strong love for the Tamil people, and quoted

the poet's words, "some weep for the ingratitude of men," but "their gratitude has oftener left me weeping."

MR. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH: The theory set out by Dr. Grierson raises large issues, and I must content myself by offering a few remarks on what I gather to be his main thesis, that in essence the doctrine of *bhakti* as found in Śaṇḍilya's sūtras is derived from Christianity.

In the first place, I would observe that the doctrine of *bhakti* in the Bhagavadgītā, which, as Dr. Grierson has pointed out, is regarded in India as the source of the doctrine of the later literature, does not appear to differ essentially from the later theory, although it may be found in a different setting. Now the date of the Bhagavadgītā is a matter of controversy on which opinions are greatly divided, but in view of the arguments recently urged by Garbe and endorsed to some extent by Hopkins, it is hardly possible to assign the poem to a period sufficiently after the Christian era to allow Christian doctrines to have penetrated into India and to have exercised such influence there as to graft an exotic doctrine upon Vedantism in the peculiar manner seen in the Bhagavadgītā. It is much more simple to assume that that poem represents a fusion of popular religion and philosophy.

In the second place, stress has been put both by Dr. Pope and by Mr. Kennedy on the fact that the elements of *bhakti* undoubtedly exist in the popular worship of the tribes. Clear traces of something essentially similar to *bhakti* exist both in Greek and Roman religion, and there is *a priori* no reason why *bhakti* should not have developed itself independently of foreign influences in India. As Dr. Grierson has reminded us, the literature of early India is not the literature of the people; it is that of Brahmins, of Jains, of Buddhists, who were all agreed in rejecting as ultimate truth the religion of the people. It is surely far from improbable that, as Bühler and Bhandarkar have held, the great sectarian religions already existed, and that the Bhāgavatas, for example, relied on *bhakti* at a time when the Brahmin

schools were busied with emptying the conception of *brahman* of all content. It may be remembered that Professor Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India*<sup>1</sup> has brought evidence to show that there was in early days a widespread worship of Śrī, comparable, it may be suggested, to the worship of Here or Athene or Aphrodite in many Greek cities, which, with the rise of Christianity, became transmuted into the adoration of the Madonna. Moreover, it can hardly be doubted that *bhakti* was from the first a characteristic of the cult of Rāma, or that the cult is, if not, as is most probable, anterior to the Christian era, at any rate prior to the date when Christianity can reasonably be held to have become a possible influence on Indian thought.

Thirdly, it may be thought that the philosophic basis of the *bhakti* doctrine was not, as Dr. Grierson seemed to urge, derived from Rāmānuja. The Brahma Sūtras admittedly offer the greatest difficulties of interpretation, and it has been argued, both before this Society in 1902 and elsewhere, by Dr. Thibaut that the rendering of Śaṅkarācārya cannot be taken as certainly the best representation of the thought of the original. It may well be that in Rāmānuja's version, which is admittedly not an original and independent production, but takes account of previous renderings, following in all probability sources older than Śaṅkarācārya, we find the expression of the philosophic side of the popular theology. As read in the light of Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya*, the sūtras support the doctrine of a real personal god, of a real world, and of real souls. Though the latter entities are in some way dependent on the first, yet they are realities and not, as Śaṅkarācārya insists, illusion, and there is thus laid a definite ground from the point of view of philosophy for the relation of man and god in popular religion. This interpretation will be the less surprising if we bear in mind the 'realistic' elements<sup>2</sup> in the Upaniṣads, and remember that Śaṅkarācārya

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 490 sq.

was no mere exponent of doctrines already current, but a thinker of considerable originality, who created much of the Vedantism he professed to expound. Now the date of Bādarāyaṇa is admittedly doubtful, but it is becoming more and more probable that he cannot be dated after the Christian era. Bühler has shown that Āpastamba seems to have known some exposition of a Vedānta doctrine in sūtras which may even have been the Brahma Sūtras, and Āpastamba can hardly, despite Professor Rhys Davids's objections, be dated later than the third century B.C.

These considerations must, I think, receive weight in any decision of the question whether *bhakti* is derived from Christianity, and my own view is that *bhakti* was developed independently on Indian soil. How far, as time went on and Christians actually settled in the country and no doubt sought to spread their faith, Christian influences may have modified and deepened the conception of *bhakti* is a question of great intricacy, with which Mr. Kennedy has dealt at length and so cogently that I would only call attention to one or two points which, so far as they go, seem to me unfavourable to the theory of an extensive influence of Christianity. In the first place, while many of the coincidences, whose number is regarded as of importance by Dr. Grierson, are undoubtedly striking, they seem to me to be essentially of a kind from which no conclusions can well be drawn. For they concern points of ritual observance which are by no means specially characteristic of Christianity, which are older than Christianity, and which are found among primitive races which Christianity has never touched. They belong, indeed, to that class of facts which induced early students of religion to seek a key to all the mythologies in the theory of the degradation of a primitive Christianity. In the second place, we do not, so far as I can see, find any trace of the influence on Indian thought of the great central doctrines which are peculiarly Christian, and more especially of the Atonement. Now if *bhakti* had really been un-Indian, it would be hard to see why that doctrine should have been so fully and readily accepted, while the Atonement should

have been ignored, whereas, admitting that *bhakti* is Indian, it would be easy for those who followed the *bhaktimārga* to borrow details which might please them in the Christianity of their compatriots. In the third place, it is unnecessary to resort to Christianity for an explanation of the coincidence of certain of the central doctrines of both the followers of *bhakti* and of the Christian Church. Dr. Grierson referred, amongst others, to two doctrines which are certainly of great importance in Christianity and of some prominence in *bhakti*, the sacramental feast and the logos doctrine. But the sacramental feast is, as Frazer has so abundantly shown, one of the most widely spread of all religious practices, and traces of its use may, perhaps, be detected even in the Vedic ritual. It is far older than Christianity, and was doubtless existent in India when the Aryans invaded the land. The logos doctrine likewise is not specifically Christian. It had a forerunner in the doctrine of *Vāc* and the identification of speech, thought, and reality which so often turns the Brāhmaṇas into such arid masses of fancy; and even assuming that it must have been borrowed, it should be remembered that it was developed by Philo and was popular in Alexandria, in the Neo-Platonic schools, for centuries after Christ.

DR. GRIERSON writes: The lateness of the hour did not permit me to do more at the meeting than speak a few words on one or two points raised in this discussion, but, through the courtesy of my critics, I have been allowed to see the reports of their speeches, and to make the following remarks in reply. It was a great pleasure to me to learn that Dr. Pope feels himself able to endorse what I said, and I take the liberty of expressing, on my part, the fullest sympathy with everything that fell from his lips. While I welcome the criticism of the other speakers, I confess to a feeling of consolation in the knowledge that so great an authority on the religions and literature of Southern India is on my side, and that, if my conclusions are heterodox, I am not alone in defending them. Turning next to Mr. Keith's remarks,

I did not gather that, as he suggests, either Dr. Pope or Mr. Kennedy laid stress on the fact that the elements of *bhakti* undoubtedly exist in the popular worship of Indian tribes. All my own studies have led me to conceive the popular tribal religions as cults of bloodshed based on terror, very different from the gospel of love preached by Rāmānuja and his followers.

About the *Bhagavadgītā*, no one who has read it and who has also read the *bhakti* literature of Rāmananda and his disciples can say that the teaching of the former is the same as that of the latter. If my theories are correct, the *Bhagavadgītā* is the first literary work in which borrowing from Christianity appears, and this borrowing was greatly extended in later times. But it would be impossible to discuss this here, and my only resource is to take refuge in authority, a practice from which, as a rule, I wish to refrain. As, however, Mr. Keith has referred me to Hopkins, I may fairly refer him to Lorinser for a strong argument on the other side. My own position is that stated in my paper. I admit that the date of the *Bhagavadgītā* is a matter of dispute, and, therefore, I do not use it for my arguments. I see in it the rudiments of the *bhakti* doctrine. If it is pre-Christian, then these rudiments are of Indian origin, but that proves nothing about their subsequent development. If it is post-Christian (as I myself think it is), there cannot be much doubt as to whence they came. The question is so important in the history of Indian religion that scholars are right in approaching it in a sceptical spirit; but if it were a question of borrowing between two secular authors, and if some critic pointed out (as Dr. Lorinser has done) sixteen passages which agree both in expression and in meaning; twenty-three which contain identical characteristic expressions, although differently applied; and over sixty which agree in meaning, though different in expression, the only conclusion to which we should come would be that someone was a plagiarist. But, as I have said, I sympathize in this case with the sceptical attitude, and admit that the coincidences *may* possibly be

accidental. I therefore, for the purposes of my present argument, do not rely upon them.

Mr. Keith goes further. He not only rejects the theory of the *Bhagavadgītā* borrowing from Christianity, but says that it is much more simple to assume that the poem represents a fusion of popular religion and philosophy. Of course we are at liberty to assume anything, and it is simple to assume something about which nothing is known. No one knows what the popular religion of India was when the *Bhagavadgītā* was written—we do not even know when it was written—and, till we do know something of the subject, it may be simple, but it will not be safe, to make assumptions about it.

As regards the sect of the *Bhāgavatas*, I speak subject to correction, for Mr. Keith knows much more about this side of Sanskrit literature than I, but, so far as I am aware, while the *Bhāgavatas* do appear to have taught the existence of a personal God, I do not remember to have heard that they taught *bhakti*. It is quite probable that Rāmānuja found the idea of a personal God in their teaching and adopted it, but that does not militate against his having developed the theory on Christian lines. Not only, as I said in my lecture, did he study within a few miles of St. Thomē, but there he became a great teacher. He was a pupil of a professed follower of Śaṅkara, and native histories tell us that *while there* he developed his own system, and actually conquered his preceptor in a discussion on the tenets which he had made his own.

As for the *Brahma Sūtras*, very possibly Rāmānuja interpreted them more correctly than did Śaṅkara, but I should be very much surprised to learn that there was anything in them about *bhakti*. Rāmānuja in his commentary discusses *bhakti* on several occasions (Śaṅkara, I may point out, dismisses it with one contemptuous remark), but this does not prove that the *Sūtras* allude to it, or that their author ever knew the word in its modern sense. Mr. Keith is, of course, aware that the word does not occur in the *Upaniṣads* except in two or three of the most modern,

one of which (the *Rāma-tāpanīya*) is probably at least a century later than Rāmānuja himself.

I venture to think that it is a mistake to urge that Christianity could not have influenced India at a very early period of its history. The positive evidence to the contrary is of considerable weight; but the subject is too long to discuss on the present occasion, and has, moreover, been dealt with in detail by Weber and Lorinser, and also, on the present occasion, by Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. Keith further says that while the coincidences which I point out are undoubtedly striking, they seem essentially to be of a kind from which no conclusions can well be drawn. In answer, I content myself with putting down a list of five coincidences occurring in one early *bhakti*-work of only about 200 verses, called the *Bhaktamāla*. In each case the writer, a man of Southern India, mentions the fact as typical of *bhakti* as he understood it.

- (1) A saint teaches that initiation means "being born again." The person who is taught misunderstands him, and takes the words literally.
- (2) Another saint, when smitten on one cheek, turns the other.
- (3) Another looks after a woman to lust after her, considers that his eye offends him, and blinds himself.
- (4) Another considers that his *right* hand offends him, so he cuts it off and casts it from him.
- (5) The incarnate God is referred to as having on one occasion washed the feet of His servants. This is specially interesting, for the Mahābhārata legend is that He washed the feet of Brāhmaṇas. The author distorts the old legend by changing Brāhmaṇas to saints or disciples.

Surely Mr. Keith cannot say that no conclusion can be drawn from these. One or two might be accidental coincidences, but what about five in one short book?

Finally, Mr. Keith discusses other coincidences, and shows that this or that might have come from this or

that particular source. So it might. But he does not prove that they all come from one source, and it is admitted that they can come from Christianity, in which *all* are found. Here probabilities are entirely in my favour.

As regards the *logos*-doctrine, he will pardon me for reminding him that *śabda*, as a technical term used by Kabir, is not the same as *vāc*. If Kabir's doctrine came from the *Brāhmaṇas*, why should he invent a new technical term? As for the Pauline doctrine of the Atonement, it would take too long to explain its absence from the Indian religions. I must content myself with pointing out the fact that most of the coincidences come from the Gospels, especially from St. John, and that, while *bhakti* means 'devotion' more nearly than what we call 'faith,' the Pauline doctrine of faith, as Mr. Kennedy tells me in a private letter, does not seem to have developed in the Syrian Church.

While Mr. Keith absolutely denies to the early *bhakti* teaching any kinship with Christianity, and is even sceptical as to the existence of Christian influence in later times, my other critic, Mr. Kennedy, takes up an almost opposite position. As I understand him, while differing from me on certain points, he maintains, at least, the strong probability of Christian ideas having been borrowed in both periods. Whether my views are ultimately accepted or not, I am glad that my paper has been read, for it has elicited from Mr. Kennedy the admirable account of the intercourse between India and the West in the early centuries of the Christian era with which he has prefaced his remarks. Here he is on his own ground, and has drawn from the stores of his learning with a bounteous hand. I do not propose, nor am I competent, to criticize it, and shall content myself with discussing the points on which we differ. Following the division of my paper, he separates his argument into two parts, and he recognizes that my earlier pages did not pretend to be much more than a summary of what previous scholars had written. Owing to the narrow frame within which I had to confine my observations, I was compelled

to omit many things that might have prevented misunderstanding. One of these was the fact that I do not maintain, as Weber did, that Christian influence came to India only through Alexandria. My views on that subject were stated more fully in the number of *The East and the West* for April, 1906. There I laid stress on the point that Christianity came to India by *two* routes—one by sea, and the other overland through Parthia, etc. The only difference between Mr. Kennedy and myself is therefore as to the exact starting-point of the sea route—the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea. But this is a minor issue. We both agree that from very early times there were Christian colonies in Southern India. Pantænus, in the second century, brought home with him a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew from that country, and Chrysostom (fourth century) tells us of Christian treatises translated into Indian languages. We are at one on this point.

We now turn to what Mr. Kennedy says are the two points in dispute, the Nativity festival of Kṛṣṇa and the legend of the White Continent. As to the former, I gather that he thinks the coincidences to be conclusive as to borrowing from Christianity, and, personally, I cannot imagine anyone coming to any other decision. The question of the origin of the pictures I am willing to abandon. Mr. Kennedy knows much more about the history of Christian art than I; and for the present I will admit that the Indian Madonna-pictures do not come from Alexandria. But we both agree that the other argument—the old legend of Kṛṣṇa, different from the Christian story, and suddenly, without apparent rhyme or reason, altered in vital points of detail so as to agree with it—is one which has never been answered.

As to the White Continent, Mr. Kennedy is even more sure of his ground than I am. I carefully refrained from identifying it with Alexandria or with any place. Mr. Kennedy, with greater courage and learning, locates it in Northern Bactria. His identification in no way affects my argument. He goes on to support my conclusion

by maintaining that the whole passage was inserted in the *Mahābhārata* with the clear intention of establishing the doctrine that devotion (i.e. *bhakti*) is the most saving of virtues. What more do I want? This is stronger even than what I said myself.

But Mr. Kennedy goes on to argue that all this is merely an example. That *bhakti* already existed in India, and that its practice was only encouraged by these narratives. Well, I am not prepared to say that he is altogether wrong, nor will I say that he is altogether right. We simply don't know. I have never argued—what I am inclined to believe is another question—that the whole system of *bhakti* is Christian. The object of my paper was “to show how the beliefs of the Nestorian Christians had been absorbed by Hinduism, and how they had profoundly affected the religious system current over a large portion of India,” and this is not very different from what Mr. Kennedy himself says in other words. But I must part company with him when he positively asserts, as I understand him, that *bhakti*, under that name, as a means of salvation, and approximating in its nature to the *bhakti* of the Indian Reformation, had been known in India from Vedic times. I have never seen the slightest proof of this. Belief in a personal God does not, *pace* Mr. Kennedy, necessarily involve the existence of *bhakti*. For that, the God must be a loving being in touch with His worshippers. This is not the characteristic of the personal deities of Hindū theological literature before the time of Rāmānuja. All that we know of early popular Hinduism shows that it was a religion based on fear, not on love. In dealing with Mr. Keith's remarks I have admitted that *bhakti* may have been pre-Christian, but I have said that I did not think that it was. To go farther than that is, to my mind, impossible. I do not know of the occurrence of the word in the sense indicated in any work older than the *Bhagavadgītā*; and I consider (although I base no argument upon it) that the way in which the word is there used indicates the post-Christian origin of that poem. Later on Mr. Kennedy quotes my

words where I say that in it there is nothing "distinctively Christian." I think I made it plain that by this I meant that it contains no single passage on which one can lay one's finger (as one can in the modern *bhakti*-works) and say, "this *must* be Christian in origin"; but, as I have hinted above in replying to Mr. Keith, there is a cumulative effect in a multitude of passages which *may* be Christian, that to my mind partakes of the nature of very strong proof. Here Mr. Kennedy closes the first part of his argument. It will be seen that we agree on many points. He also acknowledges that in the first part of my paper, while I did not conceal my own opinion, I only professed to summarize the results arrived at by others, and it will be remembered that I distinctly stated that grave differences existed concerning them.

Turning to the modern sects, I again, with one exception, find it difficult to define the exact points of difference between us. It is not due to any want of clearness on Mr. Kennedy's part, but to the fact that the question is one of degree rather than of essence. We both concur in the thesis that the modern sects have borrowed Christian ideas. I maintain that they got them from the Nestorians of Southern India, and he that they got them through Sūfism. This is the one clear issue. Before dealing with it, let me make two general remarks. One of these is that the argument as to this borrowing which has most weight with me is one that I cannot put into a formal syllogism. It approaches the nature of an *ipse dixit*, and therefore I mention it now with considerable diffidence. I have been soaking my mind in the modern religious literature of Northern India for the past thirty years, and I think I am pretty familiar with the general atmosphere inspiring a portion of the huge terrain. I approached that terrain with a mind absolutely free from preconceived ideas, and with altogether different objects. At first I was struck by what I thought were coincidences, but as I went on and grew more and more familiar with the country, the Christian element in the atmosphere was more and more impressed upon me. There was plenty of nitrogen and carbonic acid,

not to speak of argon, but the oxygen was identical with the teaching of our Gospels. This is a case of impression, which it is impossible to justify by formal proof; but there it is, and I offer it for what it is worth. The other general remark is that most people who write or speak about *bhakti* deal with its Kṛṣṇa side. This is the picturesque one, and its charming hymnology and *bambino*-legends are naturally attractive. But it is not here that the truest view of *bhakti* is displayed. Kṛṣṇa-worship is devotion, passionate devotion, and little more. On the other hand, the more sober Rāma-worship (numbering its ten followers to each one of the other), less known, and appealing less to the dilettante literary instinct, gives a far better idea of the nature of *bhakti* as a whole, and shows how it affects not only the emotional side of a man's being, but his whole self and character.

Let us consider now the one main point of difference between Mr. Kennedy and myself. Like me, he sees Christian elements in the *bhakti* of the Indian Reformation, but urges that it comes through Persian Śūfism, and not through Rāmānuja. The same proposition was put forward by Mr. Oakley in the number of *The East and the West* for last January, and my answer to Mr. Kennedy must be the same as my answer to him. *Bhakti* cannot owe its more important Christian elements to Śūfism, unless Persia is in Southern India, which it is not. That in later times Śūfism may have affected the *bhakti*-religions of the North, after they had been established there, is quite possible. Mr. Kennedy quotes the Rādhāvallabhīs as an example. But the modern *bhakti*-faith came to the North from Southern India as a fully developed cult. It had its saints, its teachers, its monasteries, in Southern India generations before Rāmānanda set forth to convert the Ganges Valley. All the early Apostles of the North—Rāmānanda, Vallābhācārya, Nābhājī, Vilvamāṅgala—to mention only a few referred to in my paper, were Southorner. Rāmānanda, as a matter of history, founded his own sect in the South and brought it North. Before this he was a formal disciple

of a Southern Mahant, who was in the direct line of spiritual descent from Rāmānuja. Rāmānanda claimed to maintain Rāmānuja's doctrines, and only widened their application to all castes. Vallabhācārya was a Telinga Brāhmaṇ. Nābhājī was born on the banks of the Gōdāvarī. Vilvamaṅgala came from the river Kṛṣṇavēṇā in the *Dakṣiṇadēśa*, where he was converted. All the *bhakti*-sects claim descent from one or other of four chief teachers—Rāmānuja, Viṣṇusvāmi, Madhvācārya, and Nimbāditya. Every one of these belonged to Southern India. The followers of Madhvācārya have never left it. No one would venture to suggest that these men did not preach the 'Christianized' *bhakti* in the South, and that the religion was radically changed after it came North. If anyone did do so, I should retort without hesitation that there is not the slightest proof of such a state of affairs, that it is dead against all tradition, and that the records of the teaching in the South show that there, in its essence, it was the same as the teaching of the North. Mr. Kennedy talks of the phrase 'Nearness to God' being a favourite *Śūfi* expression; but the man from whom I quoted it, Nanda Dāsa, was a disciple of Viṭṭhalanātha, a Telinga Brāhmaṇ. He would not have ventured to teach anything that his preceptor did not approve of.

Again, take the five typical *bhakti* coincidences mentioned above on p. 496. Not one of them is connected with the Ganges Valley. It was in Gōṇḍwāṇā that Caturbluja taught about "being born again." Gōpālā, who turned the other cheek to the smiter, hailed from Jaipur; Vilvamaṅgala put out his eye in the *Dakṣiṇadēśa*; the king who cut off his right hand lived in Purī, in Southern Orissa; and the man who altered the story about Kṛṣṇa washing the Brāhmaṇs' feet was a Telugu Dōm. There is not much room for *Śūfi* influence here.

As for Rāmānuja and the Bhāgavatas, I need not repeat what I have said in answer to Mr. Keith. Whether the great philosopher correctly interpreted the *Upaniṣads* or not, it is certain that, to quote Dr. Thibaut, "The Brahman of the older *Upaniṣads*," which of course are the only

ones germane to the present discussion, "is certainly not represented adequately by the strictly personal Īśvara of Rāmānuja." They lay "very little stress on the personal attributes of the highest being." Anyone who turns up the index to Dr. Thibaut's translation can see what importance the teacher attributed to *bhakti*.

Mr. Kennedy does not consider it probable that Rāmānuja should have got Christian ideas from the monks of Mylapore. Surely he is forgetting the facile syncretism of the Hindū religion. As I have said above, he lived for years—the best years of his life—close by them, and it was here that he "found salvation" and abandoned his anti-*bhakti* faith. That the Christianity that he borrowed was pure, or that it was Pauline, I do not for a moment pretend. It was very corrupt. We know that in the fourteenth century, if not much earlier, the Indian Nestorians had given up the rite of baptism, and, in this connection, it is significant that while none of the *bhakti*-sects have any initiatory rite corresponding to baptism, they have all, in the *Mahāprasāda*, something closely resembling the other Christian sacrament.

For these reasons I cannot accept the theory that *bhakti* owes its peculiar Christian colouring to Śūfism. It came from the South, and if the colouring was borrowed, as the striking coincidences that I have quoted show must have been the case, and as Mr. Kennedy admits, it must have been borrowed in the South of India. In that case the only possible source was the Nestorians, not necessarily only those of Mylapore, but also, quite possibly, the other important colonies scattered over that part of the country.

Here I must end. There is much more that I could say, but I have already taken up more space than I intended.

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February 12th, 1907.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

The Rev. Herbert Pentin, M.A.,

Mr. R. Narasimhachar, M.A.,

Mr. Moungh May Oung.

Professor E. G. Browne read a paper entitled "Account of Investigations into the History and Literature of the Hurúfí Sect, and its connection with the Bektáshí Order of Dervishes." The paper will appear in the July Journal.

*March 26th, 1907.*—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Mahomed Anwar Ali,  
 Mr. Bepin Behari Ghosál, M.A.,  
 Mr. Qazi Tajammul Husain,  
 Mr. Mallinath Ray, B.Sc.,  
 Mr. E. B. Soane,  
 Mr. J. P. Thompson.

It was announced that Mrs. Sinclair had presented to the Society a portrait of Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., engraved by Samuel Cousins, R.A., after the painting of 1850 by Henry Wyndham Phillips. A vote of thanks was passed to the donor.

Mrs. Rickmers read a paper on "Scenery, Cities, and People of Western Turkestan." Sir Charles Lyall and Dr. Thornton spoke, and a vote of thanks was passed to Mrs. Rickmers. An abstract of the paper will appear in the July number.

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### I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Bd. lx, Heft 4.

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## II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série x, Tome viii, No. 2.

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Destaing (E.). Un saint musulman au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle (fin).

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Lorgeou (E.). Notice sur un manuscrit siamois.

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IX. JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC  
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#### THE INSCRIPTION ON THE SOHGAURA PLATE.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

SOHGAURA is a village on the right (western) bank of the Rāptī, about fourteen miles south-south-east from Gōrakhpūr, situated in a locality which presents various indications<sup>1</sup> that there was a large settlement there in ancient times. It is shewn as 'Soghowra' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 102 (1880), in lat. 26° 32', long. 83° 30'. The copper plate containing the inscription—a small thing measuring about 2½" by 1⅞"—was discovered there, in digging the foundations for a house, some thirty-three years ago. Mr. Hoey secured it in 1893, and presented it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal; and we are greatly indebted to him for rescuing this relic of antiquity and ensuring the preservation of it. The standard of the Brāhmī characters of the inscription refers it to at any rate an early date in the Maurya period, B.C. 320 to about 180: and the method of spelling presented in it, along with the use of those characters and the general style of the record, would justify our placing it even before that time.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Hoey's remarks, *loc. cit.* below.

A photo-etching of the plate was published, with some remarks on it by Mr. Hoey, Mr. Vincent Smith, and Dr. Hoernle, in the Society's Proceedings for 1894, p. 84 ff.; and Dr. Hoernle there observed that the record seemed to consist of a *sāsana*, *śāsana*, 'an edict or order,' relating to two storerooms. It remained, however, for Professor Bühler to offer an interpretation of the record, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 10, 1896. 138 ff., and the *Indian Antiquary*, 25, 1896. 261 ff. He dealt with it from the photo-etching and an electrotype copy of the plate given to him by Dr. Grierson. I am using similar materials; Dr. Grierson having kindly lent me a second electrotype which was made at the same time. I cannot put forward a complete explanation of quite the whole of the record: but I offer my treatment of it as a substantial advance upon what has previously been written about it; with the hope that someone else may now be able to dispose of any points about it for which I do not finally account.

Except in a few small details which will be mentioned further on, I read the inscription just as Professor Bühler read it. Written out just as it stands on the original plate, without any separation of words, and without (except in one word, in line 4) any notation of long vowels,<sup>1</sup> double consonants, and Anusvāras, it runs as follows:—

#### Text.

- 1 Savatiyanamahamagunasasanemanavasitike
- 2 dasilimateusagumevācteduvekoṭhagalani
- 3 tiyavanimathulachachumedamabhalakanava
- 4 lakayiyatiatiyāyikuyāṇogulhitavaya

As the result of a detailed examination of the text, Professor Bühler gave the following translation of it:—

<sup>1</sup> As there is no certain instance of a long *ī* or *ā* having been intended in this record, perhaps it would be more accurate to say "without any use of the mark for the long *ā* except in *atiyāyikaya*, line 4, and as a component of the *o* of *koṭhagalani*, line 2, and *no*, line 4."

There may perhaps be an imperfect presentation of *ā* in (from that point of view) *sāsane*, line 1, and *medama*, line 3. But it is very dubious.

“The order of the great officials of Śrāvastī, (issued) from (their camp at) Mānavasitikāṭa :— These two storehouses with three partitions, (which are situated) even in famous Vāṁśagrāma, require the storage of loads (*bhāraka*) of Black Panicum, parched grain, cummin-seed and Āmba for (times of) urgent (need). One should not take (any thing from the grain stored).”

The record certainly relates to two storehouses; the words *ete duve koṭhagalani*, in line 2, make this clear. For the rest, however, my interpretation of the record differs so much from the above that I see no course open, except to compare the two step by step. I will first do that and present my completion of the text and translation of it (page 522 below), and will then explain wherein the general interest of the record lies.

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Reading the first ten syllables of the record just as I do, Professor Bühler corrected the ninth character, *ga*, into *ta*. He completed these syllables into *sāvatiyāna mahāmātāna*, which he took as representing a Sanskrit *śrāvastīyānām mahāmātrānām*. And with the following *sasane* completed into *sāsane* = *śāsanam*, he thus obtained the opening of his translation :—“The order of the great officials of Śrāvastī.”

To that, however, there are objections. The third syllable of our record is distinctly *ti*, and nothing else. As was urged by Professor Bühler, there certainly are cases, in Pāli at any rate, in which a Sanskrit *st* became *t*, *tt*, instead of following the general rule and giving *th*, *tth*. But the well-established corruption of *śrāvastī* is *sāvattthī*. Also, under the Gaṇa attached to Pāṇini, 4. 2, 97, the adjective from *śrāvastī* is formed with the suffix *ēya*; so that we have, not *śrāvastīya*, *sāvattthīya*, but *śrāvastēya*, *sāvattthēya*, °*eyya*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Gaṇa includes Vārāṇasī. I find its derivative, *vārāṇasēya*, ‘produced or born in, or belonging to, Benares,’ in the form *balanaseya*, in the Jōgimārā inscription, ARASI, 1903-4. 128.

It may be added, in connexion with a puzzle which still remains unsolved, that the Gaṇa further includes, not only Kauśāmbi, but also the name Vana-Kauśāmbi, “Kauśāmbi in the forest.” To this latter detail my attention was drawn, some little time ago, by Dr. Barnett.

Further, the ninth syllable of our record is distinctly *ga*. Professor Bühler, however, remarked that *mahāmagāna*, if taken as meaning "of the great Mugas," would give no admissible sense. And, to suit his general understanding of the text, he assumed here the use of the well-known word *mahāmāta*, *mahāmatta*, 'a high minister,' and altered the *ga* into *ta*. But we must not, in any text, except as quite a last resource, assume mistakes and alter original characters.

Taking the text precisely as it stands, I find in it *magana* for *maggānaṁ*, the genitive plural of *magga*, the well-established corruption of the Sanskrit *mārga*, 'a way, path, road.' Here we have, in full, *mahā-maggānaṁ*, 'of great roads.'

We can now see that the preceding syllables, *yana*, stand for *yāna*, 'a vehicle.' The term for 'a cart-road' would be *śakaṭa-mārga*, *śakaṭa-magga*. Here *yāna* has been used in order, plainly, to indicate roads adapted to other vehicles also; chariots, etc.

Before that, we have *ti* = *tri*, 'three.' And before that, *sava* for *sarva* = *sarva*, 'all.'

I thus complete the opening clause of the record into *sarva-ti-yānamahamaggānaṁ sasane*, "an order, a direction, a notice, of (i.e., belonging to, for) all the three great roads for vehicles."

At the end of line 1, as in some other cases in this record, we have a character formed in a size considerably smaller than the standard.<sup>1</sup> Here, Professor Bühler read *ka*. There being certain ancient Indian place-names ending in *kaṭa*, *kaḍa*, taken by him as appearing to have the same meaning with the Sanskrit *kaṭaka*, 'a camp, royal camp,' etc., he joined on to the *ka* the *ḍa* at the beginning of the next line,

<sup>1</sup> There is no need to assume that this character was at first omitted by accident, and was then inserted on revision. The smaller letters in this record were evidently so formed as a matter of convenience in arranging the lines of the text, as is often done (e.g., in a book-plate with a long record on it) in the present day. The second letters in lines 3, 4, were evidently placed as they are, and were formed small, to allow room for the nail-hole or rivet-hole at that corner; and the last two letters in that line were spaced out for the same purpose.

which he took as standing for *ḡā*. He thus obtained the ablative *kaḡā*, as = *kaḡakāt*. And he thus arrived at his rendering "(issued) from (their camp at) Mānavasitikaḡa."

To me, however, there appears a distinct attempt in the original to shew the vowel *e* prefixed to the *ka*. At any rate, I find here the appropriate word *tikē*, the locative singular of *tika* = the Sanskrit *trika*, 'a place where three roads meet.' The name of the junction is presented in the form *Manavasi*: this, of course might be modified, to suit any identification, by lengthening the short *a* in any or all of the first three syllables; and liberties might similarly be taken with the forms, as they stand in the record, of the two names in line 2.

In line 2, Professor Bühler took *silimate* as standing for *silimātē* or *silimantē* = *śrīmatī*. And, reading next after that *vasagame*, in which he took *game* as standing for *gāmē* = *grāmē*, he completed that word into *vaṃsagāmē*, and so arrived at the meaning "in famous Vainśagrāma."

The reading *va*, however, to obtain which he had to treat the letter as a "cursive" form, was simply suggested by there being a village 'Bansgaon' about six miles on the west of Sōhgaūrā. The character is really *u*. And we have here two names, *ḡasilimate usagame*,<sup>1</sup> followed by *va* for *ēva*, 'just so, indeed, actually;' the *ē* being elided as in Pāli and in the edicts of Aśoka.

The names might be either nominatives or locatives, singular; we shall come to this point directly. Here I need only add that, while the second component, *gama*, of the second name, of course may, and probably does, stand for *gāma* = *grāma*, 'a village,' it might stand just as well for *gamma* = *ganyā* or *grānyā*, or it might be *gama* itself in some such name as *Uśhaṃgama* or *Ūśhaṃgama*. Also, we might supply an Anusvāra in the first syllable, and complete the word into *uṃsagāmē*.

<sup>1</sup> There are four instances in this record, in which *ī* stands for an original *r*. In the name *ḡasilimata*, it may or may not do so. The record does not present an *r*.

The next phrase is *ête dure koṭhagalani*. Here, *koṭhagalani* stands for *koṭṭhāgālāni* = *kōshṭhāgārāṇi*, the nominative plural, for *kōshṭhāgārē*, nomin. dual, of *kōshṭhāgāra*, 'a storehouse.'

The words *ête dure*, 'these two,' might represent either *ētē drē* (neuter) in apposition with *kōshṭhāgārē*, or *étau drau* (masculine) in apposition with *grāmau*, nomin. dual of *grāma*, understood as being implied by *gama* for *gāma* in *usagame*.

If we take *étau drau*, we can obtain the meaning:—"Dasilimata and Usagāma, indeed, these two (*villages*), are caused to be made storehouses, are converted into storehouses." But it does not seem very likely that two entire villages, even if small ones, should be converted into storehouses; especially, since the storehouses are shown as actual buildings in the devices on the plate above the inscription.

With *ētē drē*, we might obtain the meaning:—"Dasilimata and Usagāma, indeed, these two storehouses, are caused to be made." But it does not seem altogether probable that two storehouses should thus receive specific names.

I prefer, taking *ētē drē*, to apply the preceding names as locatives:—"In, actually, (*the villages named*) Dasilimata and Usagāma, these two storehouses" etc. I must add that I do not find any approaches to such village-names in the map: except in the case of a place shown as 'Oonhegaon,'—which I take as meaning *Ūñchgāṇiy* or *Ūñchhṛgāṇiy*, not *Ūñshgāṇiy*,—near the right bank of the Rāptī, about eleven miles north-north-west-half-west from Sōhgaura; and, though we have a change of *chh* to *s* in the Marāṭhī *pusaṇēṁ*, 'to ask,' from *prachh*,<sup>1</sup> it seems hardly practicable, to take in our record such a form as *usagāma* or even *uñsagāma* from a Sanskrit *uñchhagrāma*, and yet to find the original name itself revived in modern times. But we need not be surprised if both the original names have disappeared long ago.

The third line was treated by Professor Bühler as follows. At the beginning of it, he read *tigharani*, which he took as

<sup>1</sup> This instance is cited by Gray in his *Indo-Iranian Philology*, § 177; but it is the only one given by him.

standing for *tighāvēni*, which, again, he took as representing a Sanskrit *trigarbhāni* for *trigarbhē*, in apposition with *kōshthāgārāni* for *kōshthāgārē*. And he explained *trigarbha* as meaning 'having three divisions, rooms, or chambers,' with reference to the three sections into which the pictures of the storehouses above the record seem to divide them. This he justified by quoting, from inscriptions, the forms *gabha* (for *gabbha*) and *gābha*, as corruptions of the Sanskrit *garbha*, in the sense of 'a cell or room.' But, open sheds, such as those depicted on the plate, being unsuited to the storage purposes which he had in view (see further on), he had to assume that these were simply aboveground covers of underground vaults.

Reserving my explanation of the word, I will only remark, just here, as follows. It would be natural enough to find in this place a word in apposition with *koṭṭhāgālāni*; the syllables *raui*, quite capable of completion into *rāni*, which might of course represent an original *rāni* with the lingual *ṇ*, are permissive of that; and some such meaning as that proposed by Professor Bühler would be admissible. But it seems practically impossible to obtain any such form as *tighāva* from *trigarbha*.<sup>1</sup> In the second character, which was formed small in order to allow for the hole through the plate, the stroke on the left, which in the photo-etching makes the semblance of *gha*, is in the electrotpe much smaller and quite detached from the other part. This character seems to me to have been intended for *ga*, rather than anything else. And, though I have searched widely, I cannot find any word into which *tigra*, *tighra*, or any such base, could be completed and restored, so as to give

<sup>1</sup> For the change of *bh* to *r*, coupled with a throwing back of the aspiration, Professor Bühler quoted the Marāṭhī *gādhav* = *garabha*, 'a donkey.' Mr. Gray, in his *Indo-Iranian Phonology*, § 317, stamps the change as extremely rare: he has not given any Indian instance of it there; but he has mentioned *gādhav* in § 140 and other places. I cannot trace any other instance.

Professor Bühler cited also the Marāṭhī *tighai*, 'a building having three rooms or divisions along its length,' which Professor Pischel gave him, with the suggestion that it may be derived from *tighava* and may stand for an interstitial form \**trighraba*. Molesworth has given *tighai*, with that meaning, and *dughai*, 'a building having two apartments along its length,' but has not offered a derivation of them, or shewn any separate word *ghai*.

us a nominative plural neuter capable of yielding a good meaning as descriptive of the storehouses.<sup>1</sup>

Four syllables towards the end of the line were read by Professor Bühler as *bhakakana*. This he took as standing for *bhālakāna(m)* = the Sanskrit *bhārakāṇām*, 'of loads.' In this I agree.

The intervening eight syllables were read by him as *mathalāchachamodānima*, which, by supplying the long *ā*, he completed into *mathalāchāchamodānima*. And, led by his view that the word *atigāyikaya*, 'for an urgent occasion,' in line 4, indicates that the storehouses were made in order to be filled with grain for "times of distress, when a drought causes a bad harvest,"—in fact, that they were public granaries,—he treated his text as follows. Between *matha* and *la* he inserted a *ka*; and he thus obtained *mathuka*, which he took as representing the Sanskrit *madhukā* with the meaning of 'black Panicum' according to Hēma-chandra and the Vaijayanī. Next after that he found the word *lācha*, which he took as representing *lāja*, 'fried or parched grain.' Next after that he found *achamōda*, as representing *ajamōda*, 'cumin or aniseed.' And next after that he found *ānima*, as representing *āmba*, 'some kind of grain.'

All that, with the exception of the insertion of a *ka* after *matha*, is more or less practicable in accordance with his view as to the general purport of the record. But we must, if it is by any means possible, avoid introducing into a text a syllable—here the *ka*—which is not really in it.<sup>2</sup> As regards the actual reading, I find distinctly *chachu*, not *chacha*, and *me*, not *mo*; and I do not find an Anusvāra after the *da*. And I allot to these words a totally different meaning.

<sup>1</sup> It may be remarked that *trigava*, 'having, weighing, or measuring three barley-corns,' will not help us.

<sup>2</sup> Even that condition might perhaps have been not unreasonably complied with, from Professor Bühler's point of view, by accepting *matha* as standing for *mattha*, the established corruption of *masta*, 'whey.' I mention this by way of further illustrating the kind of puzzle presented by spelling such as that of our record.

What is more natural, if not actually necessary, than that the three high-roads, mentioned in the record, should be distinctly specified? And how could that be done better than by naming the towns to and from which they led, in respect of the junction of them? The names of those towns are what I find here. One of them is easily recognizable; it is given as *mathula* for *mathulā* = Mathurā, 'Muttra.' Before that, I find *tiyarani* = Tryavani. After it, I find *chachu* for *chanichu* = Chañchu.

Between *chachu* and *bhalakana* we have *medama*. The vowel attached to the *ma* is distinctly *e*, not *o*. And the mark in the photo-etching, on the right of the top of the *da*, which was taken as an Anusvāra by Professor Bühler, is negatived, for that application, by the electrotpe; besides, the use of an Anusvāra here would be inconsistent with the practice in the rest of the record: if this mark was intentional at all, it means *ā*.

This word, *medama* (or just possibly *medāma*), I cannot explain. This much, however, is certain: that one or the other of the two words *tiyarani* and *medama* is a place-name. But I cannot anywhere trace a name which might be represented by *medama*. And it seems to me that, to complete the sense appropriately, there ought to be here a vernacular word, or a corruption of some Sanskrit word, meaning 'commodities, merchandise, goods, baggage,' etc.<sup>1</sup>

After *bhalakana*, we have a word of which one syllable stands at the end of line 3 and the other at the beginning of line 4.

Professor Bühler read here *chhata*, which he completed into *chhalam* or *chhālam*. And he took it as representing an inferential Sanskrit *\*kshālam* or *\*kheram*. Of these,

<sup>1</sup> The word may possibly have some connection with the root *mā*, 'to measure,' from which, it seems, we have in Pāli *matteha* as well as *mattho mātarā*, 'should be measured.' But a *me* could be obtained in other ways: it might come from a *ma*, as we have *thā* = *sthanā*, and Professor Pischel has given us, in his *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, 1. 166, *madambha* from *\*mardambha* = *\*mṛgāḍambha*, and *michara*, alongside of *mochara*, from *\*matidhara*.

he selected \**kshālam*, to which he assigned the meaning 'collection, accumulation;' deriving it from the root *kshal* in the sense of *chaya*, 'collecting.'

There is, of course, a Sanskrit word *chhala*; but it means 'fraud, deceit, pretext,' etc., and is not appropriate here. However, I cannot endorse the reading *chha*; an apparent suggestion in that direction in the photo-etching, a very thin and faint vertical bar across the circular part of the letter, is negated by the electrotpe.

I read *rala*. The explanation would be easy, if there were any indication of an *e* having been prefixed to the *lā*: we should then have *rāle* for *rālē* = the Sanskrit *rārah*, 'anything which covers or surrounds, or restrains,' or, freely, 'a shelter.' But there is no indication of an *e*; and we must not, at present at any rate, assume an accidental omission of an *e*. We may only complete the syllable with a long *ā* or an Anusvāra. I complete the two syllables into *rālā* for *rārā*, as the abridged form of the dative *rārāya* of *rāra*; compare the Pāli forms *atthā* for *atthāya* = *arthāya*, and *ēsaā* for *ēsanāya* = *ēśanāya*, given by Müller in his Pāli Grammar, 67. Against this, there might be urged the point that we have the unabridged dative after the verb. But the use of the abridged dative before the verb and the full form after it seems to me an artistic touch on the part of the author of the record.<sup>1</sup>

The next word stands in the original as *kaṣṇiyati*. Professor Bühler completed this into *kaṣṇiyānti*. He took that as representing a Sanskrit *kāṣṇyāntē*, the third person plural, for the dual *kāṣṇyātē*, of the present tense of a denominative verb from *kārya*, 'that which is to be done, duty, business.' And he thus obtained his translation:—" (These two store-houses) . . . . require (the storage) " etc.

<sup>1</sup> It is at any rate certain that we have here some derivative from *cri*, 'to surround, cover, conceal,' etc. The gerund *cāram* would give *cālam*, and so *rāla*, in the spelling of our record; but it would hardly construe. The infinitive, *cartum*, *caritum*, would construe; but it would give *vattum* or *raṭṭum*, which cannot be found here.

I follow the completion of the word into *kayyiyanti*, optionally *kayyiyānti*. But I would explain the word otherwise. (1) In Pāli, the 3rd pers. sing. of the present tense of the passive of *kāri* (*kāray*), the causal of *kri*, 'to do, make,' would be *kārayīyati*, 'it is caused to be made.' From that we should have, by contraction, *kāryīyati*; and from that we should have *kayyīyati*, by assimilation of the *r* and shortening of the *ā*, just as in *kayya*, alongside of *kāriya* and *kayira*, = *kārya*.<sup>1</sup> Compare a case in the forms given by Childers, from Senart's *Kaccāyanappakaraṇam*, of the passive of *kri* itself, namely, *kariyati*, *kariyati*, *kariyyati*, *kayyati*, *kayirati*; Childers has explained *kayyati* as "a contraction of *kariyati* through an intermediate form *karyati*." (2) In the Asōka edicts we have *kayāna* for *kayyāna*, \**kayyāṇa*, from *kalyāṇa* in the sense of 'a good deed:' see, e.g., EI, 2. 249, Delhi-Siwālik, line 14; Allahābād, line 6. And, on the analogy of that, we may have here the vernacular form of the 3rd pers. plural of a denominative *kalyāṇa* from *kalya*, 'ready, prepared for.' In either case, the word is fairly to be translated by "they are prepared."

After this we have *atīyāyikaya*. This, as was pointed out by Professor Bühler, of course stands for *atīyāyikāya*, representing *ātyayikāya*, the dative of the Sanskrit *atyayika*, 'not suffering delay, urgent.'

This word *ātyayika* is found in the Brāhmī Asōka edicts, in that same sense, in the forms *atīyāyika*, as here (e.g., ASSI, 1. 119, Dhauli, line 29, "a pressing matter"), and *āchāyika* (EI, 2. 455, Gīrnār, line 7). Childers gives, as the Pāli forms, *achchāyika*, *achchēka*, with the meaning 'irregular, accidental, unexpected, out of the usual course or time; pressing, urgent.'

This is followed by the phrase *nō gahitavaya*; in which the word *nō* means 'and not, but not.'

<sup>1</sup> We have the same assimilation and shortening in also the ordinary Prakrits; see Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 284, which gives us *ayya* = *ārya*, *kayya* = *kārya*, and *suyya* = *sārya*.

In the word *gahitaraya*, there are two peculiarities, both of which have been noticed by previous examiners of the record. In the *hi*, the *i* is formed in reverse, to the left instead of the right of the top of the *ha*.<sup>1</sup> And the third character looks much more like *ga* than *ta*. I can, however, only hold, with Professor Bühler, that *ta* was intended. The character may be, as he considered, a "stunted" form of *ta*, of a type of which, as he said, instances may be found in the Kālsī edicts of Asōka. But it seems to me that a trace of the vertical stroke forming the upper part of *ta* can be recognized, and that the letter became blocked in the mould before the striking off of this copy of the plate.

Professor Bühler completed this word, by supplying an *Anusvāra*, into *gahitarayaṃ*, which he took as standing for the Sanskrit *grahitāryam*, 'something which should or may be taken.' And it was thus that, with the preceding *nō*, he obtained his rendering:—"One should not take (*any thing from the grain stored*)." But there are objections to this

In the first place, on the analogy of the nominative *sāsane* in line 1, we should expect here, if a nominative were intended, *gahitaraye*, not *ya* for *yaṃ*; but the final syllable is distinctly *ya*, not *ye*. In the second place, wherever, in the edicts of Asōka, the *ry* of the participial suffix *tarya* is broken up, the epenthetic vowel is always *i*, not *a*; so that we have *tariya*, not *tariya*: for instance, in rock-edict 9 we have (EI, 2. 457 f., and plates) in Gīrnār, line 5, *ratayraṃ*, i.e. *rataryam*, for *rattaryam*, but in Kālsī, line 25, *ratariye*, for *rattariye*, both = *raktaryam*; and in the same edict we have in Gīrnār, line 6, *katayraṃ*, i.e. *kataryam*, for *kātaryam* or *kattaryam*, but in Kālsī, line 26, *kaṭariye*, for *kāṭariye* or *kattariye*, both = *kartaryam*. In the third place, it seems to me that the dative *atiyāyikāya*, the ordinary position of which would be before the verb, was expressly placed after the verb in order to emphasize it, and— as is made still more clear

<sup>1</sup> The character is, in fact, exactly similar to a reversed *h*, which might of course mean either *h* or *ri*. But I do not find that an acceptance of it in that way would help.

by the following *nō*— to introduce an antithesis to it, which could be well presented by the use of another dative.

Now, the form taken by the suffix *tarya* in Pāli was *tabba*: thus, *kātabba* and *kattabba* = *kartarya*; *gantabba* = *gantarya*; and *rattabba* = *raktarya*. From that we might at once infer a vernacular form *tarra*, with *rr* instead of *bb*, even if Professor Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 570, did not cite actual instances of it from the Prākṛits. But this form *tarra* itself is also traceable in the edicts of Aśoka. For instance, in rock-edict 9, in the passages indicated above, the Shāhbāzgarhī version, line 19 (loc. cit.), gives us *ratarro* for (plainly) *rattarro*, and *kaṭarro* for (plainly) *kāṭarro* or *kattarro*.<sup>1</sup> And, more to the point still, I find the same form, in the dative case, in the Rūpnāth edict, line 5: we there have *lākhāpetarāya*, which stands quite regularly for *lakkhāpetarrāya* = *lakṣaṇātarya*, 'for that it should be caused to be observed,' and *vicāsetarāya* for *vicāsetarrāya* = *vicāsayātarya*.<sup>2</sup>

In these circumstances, I find that here in our record *nō gahitarāya* stands, quite regularly, for *nō gahitarrāya* = *no grahītaryāya*, 'and not, but not, for that it should be taken.' I cannot exactly prove my interpretation of *grahītaryāya*, as equivalent here to *grahāṇāya* in the sense of "for taking (and keeping)." But it seems fairly clear to me that the

<sup>1</sup> Other similar forms, as well as the same words in other passages, are citable from the Kharoṣṭhī edicts.

<sup>2</sup> The published treatments of these two words (IA, 6, 159; 20, 163, para. 15; 22, 305, para. 31, are based on assumptions that in *lakṣaṇātarya* the *la* is a mistake for *h* or *b*, and that in both words the terminations *tarāya*, *tarāya*, stand, by mistake or otherwise, for *tarya* as = *tarya* or *taryāya*. And Professor Bühler cited the first word, so treated, in support of his explanation of *gahitāya* by *grahītaryāya*.

The actual readings of these two words in the Rūpnāth edict are quite clear in the facsimiles: see the plates in IA, 6, 156; 22, 299. And what the passage says is as follows:—"And this matter has been caused to be engraved on rocks (both) in other localities and here (at home), (and, where) there is a stone pillar, on (that) stone pillar,—with a view to causing it to be observed, and, by this same intimation, with a view" etc. I refrain from offering at present a translation of the remainder of the sentence, which includes *vicāsetarrāya*; the meaning of that word (and of certain other peculiar derivatives from apparently the same root) will have to be more fully considered, with the help of my explanation of *lākhāpetarāya*, *lakkhāpetarrāya*, in conjunction with the treatments by Professor Kern and Dr. Vogel (JL, 8, 169, 170 f.) and by Professor Venis (JASB, 1907, 2, 4 ff.) of the analogous passage in the Sarnāth edict.

closing words of the record tell us that the storehouses were intended “(for the temporary sheltering of goods), but not for taking and keeping (for any prolonged or ordinary warehousing of them)”; in other terms, “not for permanent use.”<sup>1</sup> At the same time, in view of one purpose which storehouses served in ancient India (see page 524 below), it is not impossible that these words may have been meant to shew that these two storehouses were not depôts for the receipt of revenue in kind or of transit-duties.

\* \* \* \* \*

With the above introduction, I give my completion of the text, with restoration of double consonants, long vowels, and Anusvāras, and my translation of it, as follows:—

#### Text.

- 1 Savva-ti-yānamahāmaggānaṃ sāsane Manavasi-tikē
- 2 Dasilimatē Usagāmē = va ūte duve koṭṭhāgālāni
- 3 Tiyavani-Mathulā-Chaṇchu-medama-bhālakānaṃ vā-
- 4 lā kayyiyanti atiyāyikāya nō gahitavvāya

#### Translation.

Notice for all the three great roads for vehicles! At the junction, (*named*) Manavasi, of the three roads, in actually (*the villages*) Dasilimata and Usagāma, these two storehouses are prepared for the sheltering of loads of commodities of (i.e., from and to) Tiyavani, Mathulā, and Chaṇchu,—to meet any case of urgent need, but not for permanent use!

\* \* \* \* \*

Our interest in this record, however, is not confined to obtaining a correct understanding of the text of it. There are other points about it. And first as regards its bearing on ancient manners and customs.

<sup>1</sup> Just as in the case of Travellers' Bungalows: the usual rule is that a new-comer may evict an occupant who has held any room or set of rooms for twenty-four hours.

The inscription is a public notification about two store-houses connected with three high-roads of vehicular traffic. Regarding the buildings of the class to which these two erections belonged, a definition quoted by Childers in his Pāli Dictionary, from some unspecified Pāli work, tells us as follows :—“ *Koṭṭhāgāraṇ ti tividhaṇi koṭṭhāgāraṇi dhana-koṭṭhāgāraṇi dhañña-koṭṭhāgāraṇi vatthu-koṭṭhāgāraṇi*; store-houses are of three sorts, treasuries, granaries, warehouses.” And we have in Sanskrit *kōṣṭhāgārika* and in Pāli *koṭṭhāgārika* in the sense of ‘a keeper of a storehouse;’ denoting, as the case may be, either a public official of the State, or a private servant of some wealthy individual.

The storehouses of ancient India evidently played an important part in the administrative and economic arrangements. In the first place, the kings had their royal store-houses, and apparently one in each village. Thus, the Jātaka No. 406 (ed. Fausböll, 3. 365) says that a king of Vidēha, by name Vidēharāja, abdicated, and went into religious retirement in the Himavanta region :— *Sattayōjanē Mithilā-nagarē rajjani tiyōjanasatikē Vidēha-ratṭhē sōlasasū gāma-sahasāsū pūritāni koṭṭhāgārāni sōlasasahasū-nāṭakittihiyo chhadḍetvā putta-dhitaro amanasikarivā*; “abandoning his sovereignty at the city Mithilā measuring seven *yōjanas*, and his filled storehouses in sixteen thousand villages in the Vidēha country measuring three hundred *yōjanas*, and his sixteen thousand dancing-girls, and thinking no more about his sons and daughters.” And it may be added that, in a style similar to that of the definition quoted above from Childers, the commentary (ibid., 367) says that these storehouses of king Vidēharāja were :— *Suvanna-rajata-maṇi-muttādi-ratana-koṭṭhāgārāni ch=eva dussakkoṭṭhāgāra-dhañña-koṭṭhāgārāni cha*; “storehouses for gold, silver, jewels, pearls, and other precious things; storehouses for woven clothes; and storehouses for grain, granaries.” Manners and customs seem to have been much the same throughout the ancient world; and, in a general way, these royal storehouses of India remind us—(if we recall two easily rememberable instances from the west)—of Hezekiah’s

“storehouses for the increase of corn and wine and oil” (2 Chron., xxxii, 28), and of the two “store-cities,” Pithom and Raamses, which one of the Pharaohs caused the Israelites to build for him (Exodus, i, 11). There was, however, a specific purpose to which the royal storehouses of one kind, the granaries, were applied in ancient India; namely, for the receipt of revenue in kind: and this explains why the kings should have a storehouse in each village. The Jātaka No. 276 tells us (ed. Fausböll, 2. 378) that the Bōdhisatta, Buddha in a previous birth as a king of Indapatta in the land of Kuru, had a high minister of the class termed Mahāmatta, with the title of Dōṇamāpaka, ‘the measurer of *dōṇas* (popularly, bushels),’ whose duty it was to sit in the door of the king’s storehouse at that city, and measure out the rice which was to be taken as the king’s share of the produce.

But also wealthy private individuals had their storehouses and officers in charge of them. The tenth chapter of the Divyāvadāna, entitled Menḍhakāvadāna, “the gest of Menḍhaka,” tells a story in connexion with a twelve years’ famine at Vārāṇasī. When the astrologers had predicted the approach of the famine, the citizens were warned, by proclamation with beat of gong, that only those should remain who possessed provisions sufficient for the whole time. And we are then introduced to the great householder Menḍhaka, who (ed. Cowell and Neil, 132) send for the keeper of his storehouse, to ascertain whether there is enough on hand to maintain him and all his family and retinue during the entire period of the famine.

We now learn, from our present record, that there was also another class of storehouses. We know from Megasthenēs that along the high-roads of India the distances were marked off by pillars, which we may very fairly call milestones, set up at intervals of one *krōśa* or *kōśa*, = 1 mile 240 yards, treated by him as equivalent to ten stadia, = a few feet over 1 mile 260 yards. And we know from the edicts of Aśōka (see this Journal, 1906. 416 f.) that that great king not only caused avenues of shady trees to be

planted along his high-roads, and drinking-places to be made here and there, for the enjoyment and convenience of both men and beasts, but also, at distances of eight *kōs*, = 9 miles 160 yards, caused wells to be dug and rest-houses to be built. We now gather that some at least of the principal high-roads were further provided with public storehouses, in connexion with goods, baggage, etc., in transit. These storehouses were notified as being available for only temporary use, in cases of emergency. And they seem to have been intended for sheltering such goods on any occasions of collapse of the means of conveyance, for convenience in breaking bulk in order to hand over part of a consignment to local merchants, and for any other miscellaneous purposes.

It may be added that the safety of the Indian storehouses was regarded from a very serious point of view; the punishment for breaking into them with an eye to robbery was death by lynching. The *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, 9. 280, says:—*Kōshthāgār-āyudhāgāra-dēvatāgāra-bhēdakān hasty-uśva-ratha-hartṛīnś=cha hanyād=ēv=āvichārayan*; “(the king) should slay, without even waiting to try him, anyone who breaks into a storehouse, an armoury, or a temple, and anyone who steals an elephant, a horse, or a chariot.”

\* \* \* \* \*

The next point of interest is the identification of the places mentioned in line 3 of the record. I determine it on the understanding that the junction of the three roads must have been somewhere close to Sōhgaurā, even if it was not at that place itself.

One of these places is quite unmistakable. It is mentioned here as *mathula* for *mathulā* = Mathurā, ‘Muttra,’ in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, some 325 miles away to the west-by-north from Sōhgaurā.

Next after that we have the name presented as *chachu*. On the authority of what we learn from Hiuen-tsiang (see page 355 ff. above), I take this as standing for Chañchu = Chañchu. And I identify this town with the place which was visited by him next after Benares, on his way down

the Ganges. It is probably Ghāzīpūr, about 65 miles south-by-east from Sōhgaurā.

The third place is mentioned as *tiyavani* = Tryavani. By way of contrast with roads from the other two places, coming in one from the west and the other from the south, we want a road coming in from somewhere towards the north-east. And I find the required starting-point of it in the place known as Tribēṇī Ghāt, a short distance across the Nepalese frontier, about 70 miles north-north-east-half-east from Sōhgaurā. I cannot, indeed, offer to explain how the name Trivēṇī, Tribēṇī, may have come to replace an original Tryavani;<sup>1</sup> or why the locality should have been called Tryavani, "the three-land," unless perhaps (as is likely enough) because there met near there the three territories of Kōsala, Vidēha, and Nēpāl. Nor can I ascertain whether there is now actually a town at Tribēṇī Ghāt. But it would be natural enough that there should have been in early times a high-road from somewhere near Gōrakhpūr into Nēpāl viā Tribēṇī Ghāt; and the absence of a town there now would not necessarily prove that there never was one. At any rate, looking to all the surroundings of our record, I feel certain that the third place is Tribēṇī Ghāt, mentioned here by an earlier name as Tryavani. I may add that the name Nēpāl can be carried back, with any certainty, only to the fourth century, that is

<sup>1</sup> According to Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, Trivēṇī is a name of Prayāga, Allahābād, as being the confluence of the Ganges, the Jamnā, and the subterranean Sarasvatī. There is also a Tribēṇī on the Hūgli, a sacred place, about twenty-five miles above Calcutta, so called, according to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, 13. 353, because there is a confluence there, also, of the Ganges, the Jamnā, and a local Sarasvatī; the Jamnā here being (see the Imperial Gazetteer, 7. 134) the lower section of the Brahmaputra, from its entrance into the plains to the confluence in question.

At Tribēṇī Ghāt, two or three small nullahs seem to flow into the Gaṇḍak. But I cannot obtain any indication of there being there a real confluence, sufficient to suggest that the name was always Trivēṇī.

The matter would become simple if, in our record, in the third syllable in line 3, we might read *va* instead of *ra*; thus obtaining *tiyavani*, for *tiyavēṇī*, *tiyēṇī*. While, however, the photo-etching gives a slight suggestion in that direction, it is not endorsed by the electrotype.

I would say explicitly that I do not suggest any etymological connexion between the names Tryavani and Tribēṇī Ghāt. I hold that the latter supplanted the former, as the result of some suggestion or invention, leading away from the original appellation of the locality, but combining a reminiscence of it.

done by the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (F.G.I, 1), which was incised at some time about A.D. 375.

\* \* \* \* \*

Another point in our record is this. Towards each of the four corners of the plate there is a hole through the plate; these holes were obviously made with a view to nailing the notice up, or riveting it, in some place where it could be easily seen and read. Also, the record was not incised; the letters of it, and the devices above them, stand up in relief, and for the most part in fairly high relief.

Dr. Hoernle, judging the matter from some small dot-like projections between some of the letters, expressed the opinion (*loc. cit.*, page 510 above) that the plate was cast in a mould of sand of imperfect smoothness.

I cannot altogether endorse that. A mould of sand would hardly stand more than one casting,—two at the outside. It is difficult to see how the details of such small lettering could have been satisfactorily arranged in even fine moist sand. And, surely, it would have been at least as easy to incise two copies of the plate as to prepare such a mould. My impression is that the process of casting was employed because a great many more than two copies were required, and that the plate was cast from a hard or fairly hard mould.

Two copies of the plate at least were certainly made; one for posting up at each of the storehouses. But, why make a mould for casting from, for the sake of even two copies of the notice? It is possible, and not unlikely, that more copies of the notice than one were put up at each storehouse; perhaps even one on each post.<sup>1</sup> But my impression is that copies of it must have been struck off for posting up in also such places as Sarais, village-offices, other storehouses, etc., in neighbouring localities.

It is as the result of this view that I think that the junction of the three roads was not necessarily at Sōhgaurā itself. At the same time, it must have been somewhere near

<sup>1</sup> Just as the notices in a Traveller's Bungalow are stuck up in each room or set of rooms.

that place. Along the greater part of each of the three roads, it would be sufficient to advertise:—"The nearest storehouse is at such-and-such a place." Only at these two particular storehouses, and near them, on the last stage or two from them, would it be necessary to advertise the fact that they were intended for the use of travellers, not by one road only, but by any of the three roads.

If a conjecture may be hazarded, I should say that the two storehouses were made at a crossing of the Rāptī, on opposite banks; just as, in the Bombay Presidency, we have often placed a Dharmśālā (a Sarai) on each bank of a large river where the ford or ferry is a long and troublesome one. The arrangement was probably as follows. The roads from Mathurā and Chāñchu met on the western bank of the Rāptī; and one storehouse was placed there, very likely in the apex of the triangle. The road which led from that point down to the river was, of course, the commencement of the road to Tryavani; and the other storehouse was placed near where that road rose from the opposite bank.

\* \* \* \* \*

The remaining point is the nature of the devices over the record on the plate.

Two of them obviously represent the storehouses themselves, which are shewn as sheds with double roofs. The lower roof in each case is supported by four posts; and these perhaps stand for four rows of posts, the front posts hiding those behind them.

In the other devices I recognize, not religious emblems, Buddhist or otherwise,—(I mean, not religious emblems employed here as such),—nor Maṅgalas, auspicious symbols, but the arms of the three towns mentioned in line 3 of the record. It has long been understood, from the constant occurrence of certain devices on coins found mostly in particular localities only, that the cities of ancient India had their special cognizances. We here have definite evidence of the fact.

On the left we have a tree or plant, in leaf, in a railed enclosure or box. With the devices taken in the order in

which the places are mentioned in line 3, this will be the mark of the town Tryavani.

In the centre we have something which is usually regarded as a Chaitya or memorial over some sacred object, but in respect of which Professor Bühler suggested that it "may be meant for a rude representation of Mount Mēru;" this is very similar, except for the ball within the semicircle at the top of it, to the Chaitya (or Mēru) which figures, with sometimes other symbols, on coins which are attributed to various places and persons.<sup>1</sup> It is accompanied by something which resembles a spoon with a long handle ending apparently with a knob, but was considered by Professor Bühler to be a toilet-mirror. These will be the arms of Mathurā. \*

On the right of that we have another tree or plant, in this case leafless, again in a railed enclosure or box. This will belong to Chañchu; and it may be remarked here that the word *chañchu*, known best as meaning 'a beak,' is also a name, according to Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, of the castor-oil plant, of a red kind of the same plant, of the plant Gōnādika, and of the plant Kshudrachañchu.

It is probably with this last device, rather than with the arms of Mathurā, that we must couple the remaining object; the way in which it lies, sloping slightly to the right, seems to mark that connexion.<sup>2</sup> It might be thought, at first sight, that we have here either the character *ma* or a sun with the moon above it. But the electrotpe shews distinctly, at each end of the semicircular top part, a slightly spread out and notched termination which stamps it at once as something very different. A full consideration of this device would be a somewhat lengthy matter. Only the following remarks can be made here.

This device is a very plain form—almost the plainest—of a symbol which is found freely with Buddhist and sometimes with Jain remains, also on coins and seals of various

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, plate 1, figs. 26, 27, 29, and plate 2, figs. 6 to 9, 11 to 17, 19, 20; and Rapson's *Indian Coins*, plate 1, figs. 11, 13, and plate 3, fig. 6.

<sup>2</sup> A mark which the photo-etching shows, between this symbol and the railed enclosure or box, is only an exaggeration of a fault in the making of the plate.

periods and surroundings, and in the shape of personal ornaments. Following Mr. Beal, General Sir Alexander Cunningham finally took the symbol in its fuller form, or perhaps only the upper component of it, to be the emblem of the Buddhist Triratna or three precious things; namely, Buddha, the Dharma (the Law or Faith), and the Saṅgha (the Congregation or Order). Mr. Fergusson regarded it as the Trisūla or trident; and some writers, following him, have called it "the Buddhist trident." More recently, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji characterized it as the Nandipada, which term, meaning really 'the footprint of Nandi (the bull of Śiva),' he proposed to explain as meaning 'the symbol of the Bull.\*' After that, Mr. Sewell made an ingenious attempt (this Journal, 1886. 393 ff.) to connect it with the Egyptian scarab. But Professor Bühler, in his treatment of the Sōhgaurā plate, followed the view that it is the Nandipada.

This device certainly was extremely popular among the Buddhists; and (to cite a very early instance of its use by them) it is found, in at least three varieties, amongst the relics of the Sakyas from the Piprahwa Stūpa (see the plate in this Journal, 1898. 579). But, whether it had any special religious meaning for the Buddhists, so that it might really be properly called the Triratna symbol or invested with any other Buddhist designation, is an open question.

This much, however, is certain; that it is not either the top of a Trisūla or the Nandipada. We have the device, in one of its best forms, along with the Trisūla, the trident, on some of the coins of Kadphīsēs II. (see, for some very clear examples, Gardner's Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria, plate 25, figs. 7, 10, 12): the complete difference is observable there at once. The view that it is the Nandipada is only based on a rock-cut instance of it on the Padaṇa Hill, accompanied by the word *nandipaam* = *nandipadam* (see JBBRAS, 15. 320, and plate 3). There, however, there is— (quite exceptionally, as far as all other traceable instances go)— the representation of two hoofs of an ox on the circle which forms the lower part of it. The word *nandi* does not mean a bull in general, but is the

proper name, meaning 'the happy one' or 'the rejoicer,' of a particular bull, the bull of Śiva; and the word *nandipada* means, not 'the symbol of the Bull' as is there suggested, but 'the footprint of Nandi.' The label *nandipaani* clearly refers, not to the whole device as given there, but to the hoof-marks only.

Long before the time when Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote, Mr. Thomas had proposed (this Journal, 1865. 483) to trace this device back to a combination of the sun and the moon into a symbol resembling, in fact identical with, the astronomical symbol for the constellation Taurus, the Bull, as a sign of the zodiac. And, following that lead, later writers have given the name of "the Taurine symbol" to that device as found on coins and seals. Regarding the antiquity of that device, there is no doubt, since it can be traced back to at least about B.C. 250; and it might well be our present device in its simplest form. But, whether it had any connexion with the sign Taurus, is another question, in respect of which we must note the fact that it occurs, in ancient instances, with a lion as well as with a bull.

This topic could hardly be pursued to any conclusion, without more light, than we seem to have, on the history of our existing symbols for the signs of the zodiac and the planets.<sup>1</sup> But my inclination is to view the device with which we are concerned as an Indian development of the top of the caduceus,—regarded, not as the attribute and symbol of Mercury, but as the herald's staff, the token of a peaceable embassy,—the knowledge of which, in India, is carried back to at any rate about B.C. 325 by the occurrence of it on the coins of that Indian king, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, whom the Greeks called *Sōphytēs* and *Sōpeithēs*, and whose Indian name may have been *Śōphita*, or *Saupishta* (*Śōpiṭṭha*), or *Śōbhita*, quite as much as *Saubhūta* or *Saubhūti* as is commonly held. If so, the device was developed, not from the more elaborate caduceus,

<sup>1</sup> Can any of them be carried back, in their present meanings, to any date earlier than mediæval times?

with the top consisting of intertwined snakes, which we have on coins of Demetrius and Mauēs (Gardner, plate 3, fig. 2; plate 16, fig. 1), but from the original caduceus, the olive-branch with wreaths of wool, which we have on the coins of Sōphytēs (Gardner, plate 1, fig. 3). And its form on the Sōhgaurū plate would represent one of the first steps towards the subsequent elaborations of the device; that step having been made, after somewhat opening out and straightening the curved ends of the top of the caduceus, by expanding and notching the extremities of them.

\* \* \* \* \*

A word may be added in conclusion. The author of this record almost seems, like the author of the inscription on the Piprahwa vase, to have laid himself out, from some prophetic instinct, to compose an enigma to exercise the wits of epigraphists of modern times. In justification of this remark there is, not only the difference between Professor Bühler's rendering of the record and mine, but also this. If the record were not of such very early date, the opening clause might just as well be taken thus:—*Savva-tiyāna-mahānaggūnānī sāsane*; "a precept about all the high paths of the Triyāna, the Three Vehicles!," with reference to the three systems by which Buddhists may attain Nirvāṇa; and quite possibly, with a little ingenuity, a meaning to match that could be devised for the rest of it. We know, however (at least, we have reason to believe), that, so far at any rate as regards any such three divisions as the *Hīnayāna*, the *Mahāyāna*, and the *Madhyamayāna*, there was only one system, that which came to be called the *Hīnayāna*, before the time of Kanishka.

## XXII.

**FURTHER NOTES ON THE LITERATURE OF THE  
HURUFIS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE  
BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES.**

By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., M.R.A.S.

NINE years ago, in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 61-94, I published an article entitled *Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Hurúfî Sect*. The materials for that article were chiefly derived from a manuscript of the *Jávidán-i-Kabir* (Ec. 1. 27) in the Cambridge University Library, and two manuscripts (*Anciens Fonds Persan*, 24, and *Supplément Persan*, 107) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, of which the former contained (1) the *Isticá-náma* of the Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynî, of Astarábád, composed shortly after A.H. 828 (= A.D. 1425), (2) an allegorical *mathnawî* poem, and (3) a glossary of the dialect words used in the *Jávidán-i-Kabir*; while the latter contained another Hurúfî treatise which appeared to be that entitled the *Maḥabbat-náma*. Thanks to information contributed by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, I was also able to prove that the sect, which appears not to have taken root in Persia, the land of its birth, spread into Turkey, where it caused some commotion at several different periods, and suffered several fierce persecutions, amongst the victims of which (in A.H. 820 = A.D. 1417-18) was the bilingual poet Nesimî, whose *Dirân* is not uncommon in manuscript, and was printed at the *Akhtar* Press in Constantinople in A.H. 1298 (= A.D. 1881). I was not, however, aware at that time how considerable was the extent of the Hurúfî literature still extant, nor did I know that the Hurúfî doctrines are still

professed and taught amongst the members of the Bektáshí Order of Dervishes.

The connection of the Hurúfis with the Bektáshís first became known to me in the following manner. About three years after the publication of the article to which I have referred above, a certain dealer in Oriental manuscripts in London, a native of Baghdad, from whom I had already purchased a considerable number of MSS., invited me to furnish him with a list of my desiderata, in order that he might submit the same to his correspondents in the East. I did so, and mentioned in my list the *Jávidán-náma* or any other Hurúfí books. Shortly afterwards (in Feb.-March, 1901) he forwarded to me a parcel of manuscripts in which was included a copy of this work (now in the British Museum, marked Or. 5,957) besides some other books of the sect in question. The prices set on these MSS. were high, but some half-dozen were secured by the Cambridge University Library, while another half-dozen were purchased by the British Museum, and now bear the class-marks Or. 5,957 - Or. 5,961.

The comparatively high prices realised by these MSS. seem to have stimulated the search for other similar ones, and gradually, as the supply not only continued but increased, it became clear that these Hurúfí books existed in considerable quantities, and were still widely read and copied in the East, especially in Turkey. Prices consequently fell rapidly, and latterly few of these MSS. have fetched more than £2 or £3 in the limited market where the demand for them existed. Nor was it long before we discovered that it was from the Bektáshí dervishes that they were, in almost all cases, directly or indirectly derived, and that it was amongst the members of this Order that the Hurúfí doctrines flourish at the present day.

With this dervish order all who have visited Constantinople or other parts of the Turkish Empire with open eyes are familiar. Towards Christians, and even Christian missionaries, they commonly show an unusual friendliness, but amongst the Muhammadans they are regarded with

a much more unfavourable eye than the Mevlevís, Rúfá'ís, Qádirís, and other dervish orders. The reason of their ill repute I had hitherto been unable to ascertain: it was generally asserted that they shared the Shí'ite views of the Persians, but this did not explain why they were more disliked by the orthodox Sunní Turks than were the heterodox Persians with whom they were supposed to be in sympathy. Moreover, Hájji Bektásh, the founder of the order, though of Persian origin, enjoyed high favour with the Ottoman Sultan in his day, lived and died in the odour of sanctity, and is chiefly known in history as having conferred his blessing on the Janissary corps when it was first formed; a blessing in memory of which the Janissaries wore on their head-dresses a white band, supposed to represent the sleeve of the saint as it rested in blessing on the head of their leader. Hájji Bektásh is said by Mu'allim Náji (*Asámt*, p. 106) to have died in A.H. 738 (= A.D. 1337-8), which date, curiously enough, coincides with the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing the word *Bektáshiyya* (بكتاشیه) by which the order which he founded is known. Fadlu'lláh the Hurúfí was born two years later, in A.H. 740.

The matter is explained and the connection further established in the only printed book included amongst 46 Hurúfí works acquired by the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, and myself since 1901. This book, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5), is entitled *Kāshifu'l-Asrār u Dāfi'u'l-Ashrār* ("The Revealer of Mysteries and the Refuter of Reprobates"), and was composed by one of the orthodox 'Ulamá named Isháq Efendi in denunciation of the Bektáshís. For the most part it consists of a detailed refutation of a Hurúfí work of 32 chapters (according to the number of the letters in the Perso-Arabian alphabet) entitled '*Ishq-náma* ("The Book of Love") by 'Izzu'd-Din Firishtazáda. Of this book the Bektáshís had three years previously (in A.H. 1288 = A.D. 1871-2) ventured to publish a lithographed edition, of which also I possess a copy. In the preface of his refutation Isháq Efendi speaks (p. 2) as follows:—

“Be it known that of all those sects which busy themselves with misleading the people of Islám, the Bektáshís are the chief offenders, and that although it is obvious both from their words and deeds that they are not of the Muslims, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2) they made this fact patent to all. The books which these persons call *Jávidán* are six in number, one of which was composed by their original misleader, Fadlu’lláh the Hurúfí, while the other five are the works of his *Khalífas* (Vicars). And since in these five books their heresies and blasphemies are very evident, they are wont to teach and study them secretly amongst themselves; but as Firishta-záda in his *Jávidán*, entitled ‘*Ishq-náma* (“The Book of Love”), did in some measure conceal his blasphemies, and since in the above-mentioned year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2) they [i.e. the Bektáshís] made so bold as to print and circulate this work, it has unquestionably become a matter of urgent necessity that a treatise should be written to make known to the faithful their true character, and the blasphemous nature of the doctrines contained in their books. Therefore, relying on God, I have ventured to write such a treatise, comprising three chapters, as follows:—

“Chapter i:—Setting forth the origin of Fadl[u’lláh] the Hurúfí, and the principles and laws of certain of the Bektáshís.

“Chapter ii:—Setting forth the blasphemies of Firishta-záda’s *Jávidán*.

“Chapter iii:—Setting forth the blasphemies of the other *Jávidáns*.”

The author next speaks, briefly of the Carmathians (*al-Qarámīta*), whom he regards as the successors of the *Ibáhiyya*, or communists (meaning probably the Mazdakites), and the progenitors of the Hurúfis. Thence he passes to Fadlu’lláh, “who,” says he, “secretly busied himself in teaching his blasphemies, and raised up for himself nine *Khalífas* or Vicars.” “After a while,” he continues further on, “the evil doctrines of these heretics became known amongst men, and the son of Tímúr [*i-Lang*, i.e. Tamerlane]

caused Fadl the Hurúfí to be put to death, after which he tied a rope to his legs, dragged him publicly through the streets and *bázárs*, and removed his foul existence from this nether world."

After the death of the founder of the Hurúfí sect, according to Isháq Efendi, "his *Khalífas*, or Vicars, agreed to disperse themselves through the lands of the Muslims," and he who bore the title of *al-'Alí al-A'la* ("the High, the Supreme") came to the monastery of Hájji Bektásh in Anatolia, and there lived in seclusion, teaching the *Jávidán* to the inmates of the monastery, and assuring them that it represented the teaching of Hájji Bektásh the Saint (*walí*). "The inmates of the monastery," continues Isháq Efendi, "being ignorant and foolish, accepted the *Jávidán*, notwithstanding that its obvious purport was the denial of all divine obligations and the pandering to the lusts of the flesh; named it 'the Secret'; and enjoined the utmost secrecy concerning it, to such a degree that if anyone enters their order and afterwards reveals 'the Secret' they consider his life forfeit. By this their so-called 'Secret' is meant certain blasphemous passages in the *Jávidán*, hinted at and alluded to by detached letters like *alif* (ا), *waw* (و), *jím* (ج), and *zayn* (ز), for the understanding of which symbols they have composed a tract entitled *Miftáhu'l-Hayát* ('The Key of Life'). This they name 'the Secret'; and should one possess it, he understands the *Jávidán*, which without it is incomprehensible. They were thus careful to conceal their secret for fear lest the doctors of religion should obtain some inkling of its nature, and should suppress it; and thus, since A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8), have they succeeded in secretly seducing many.

"But in A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5), during the reign of his late Majesty Sultán Maḥmúd Khán-i-Ghází (whose abode is now in Paradise), their blasphemies became in some degree apparent, so that he commanded their elders (*ulú*), who sold false miracles to the ignorant, to be put to death, their monasteries to be levelled with the ground, and their lands and part of their allowances to be made over to the

Naqsh-bandí order of dervishes. So, in the course of the next thirty or forty years they continued, some in the guise of shaykhs and dervishes of the Sa'dí, some of the Rufá'í, some of the Qádirí, and some of the Naqshbandí orders, each in his own chosen retreat, secretly to teach their blasphemies and heresies, until finally, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2), they fully disclosed their false doctrines, to such a degree that Firishta-záda dared to print and publish amongst the Muslims his *Jávidán*."

The author next enumerates their chief heresies and the wiles whereby they seek to mislead simple-minded Muslims. He says that they believe in the divinity of Fadlu'lláh, and regard the Deity as a power which manifested itself through Moses, Jesus, and all the great Prophets, and revealed the Scriptures which they brought, though it did not reveal their true allegorical meaning until it appeared in person as Fadlu'lláh in the year A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) at Astarábád in Persia, bringing the *Jávidán*, which contained the true explanation of all the revealed books which had preceded it. This being their actual belief, they pretend to be Shí'ites and devoted admirers of the Prophetic Household, declaring love of the Prophet's family to be the root of the matter, and the sins of him who loves 'Alí to be venial. Thus they accustom their neophytes to neglect prayer and fasting and to indulge in forbidden practices, like the drinking of wine, and only "when they are well assured of their infidelity," to quote our author's words, "do they teach them that blasphemous heresy which they call 'the Secret,' since in fact there is in the *Jávidáns* no mention of the name of anyone connected with the Holy Family; only, in order to attract the Shí'ites, they say that He who appeared in the form of 'Alí was again Fadl the Hurúfí."

They have also, according to Ishaq Efendi, a rule or custom which they call "the sixteen girdles," each girdle representing allegiance to one of the Prophets. He who girds himself with one of these girdles takes the Prophet represented by that girdle as his special patron, and professes to observe his law, but in fact only observes some one point

which he regards as typical of that Prophet. They also believe in the three Persons of the Christian Trinity, and credit their own *bábás* or elders with miraculous powers, but the neophytes of the order are ignorant of these things, and merely believe themselves to be Shí'ites.

I should like, did space permit, to quote at greater length from this interesting book, but I have, I think, said enough to prove beyond all doubt the intimate connection which exists between the Hurúfís and the Bektáshís. It is curious that the sect seems to have disappeared from Persia, the land of its birth, while in Turkey its main stronghold is, as I am informed by Mr. Andrew Ryan, British Vice-Consul at Constantinople, in Albania. Hence, while the older Hurúfí literature is chiefly in Persian, the later literature is almost entirely in Turkish. In Arabic there appears to be but little, save a version (apparently abridged) of Firishta-záda's '*Ishq-náma*, of which a manuscript (labelled كتاب الفضل الإلهي) was acquired by the Cambridge University Library in December last.

Of the doctrines of the Hurúfís I have not space to speak at length here; I have discussed them in outline in my article in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 69-89, and an admirable sketch of these is given by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb in vol. i of his *History of Ottoman Poetry*, pp. 338-342, 353-355, 373 *et seqq.* Nor are the materials required for a full elucidation of these doctrines at present sufficiently accessible, though in a short time M. Clément Huart will publish in the Gibb Memorial Series a volume of Persian Hurúfí texts with French translations, to which I hope to add a short Introduction or Appendix. Amongst the texts which M. Huart proposes to publish are the *Huláyat-náma*, the *Maḥram-náma*, the *Niháyat-náma*, and other treatises, as well as a list of the abbreviations used by the Hurúfís, and the glossary of the dialect-words employed in the *Jávidán-i-Kabir* and other Hurúfí writings.

I regret that at present I have been unable to find any reference to the execution of Faḍlu'lláh, or the causes which led to it, in any of the chronicles of the reign of Tímúr-i-Lang,

in which it occurred. Nor are the chief dates given altogether satisfactory, for while A.H. 804 (= A.D. 1401-2) is mentioned by Ibn Hajar as the date of Fadlu'lláh's death, and, more generally, A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) by Isháq Efendi as the date when the Hurúfí doctrines began to be promulgated, we find on the fly-leaf of one of the Hurúfí MSS. in the British Museum (Or. 6,381), dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), the following series of dates:—

- (1) Birth of Fadlu'lláh, A.H. 740 (= A.D. 1330-40).
- (2) Manifestation, or disclosure, of knowledge, A.H. 788 (= A.D. 1386-7).
- (3) Martyrdom of Fadlu'lláh, A.H. 796 (= A.D. 1393-4).
- (4) Age of Fadlu'lláh at the time of his death, 56 years.
- (5) Death of his *Khalífa*, or Vicar, entitled *Hadrat-i-'Alhyi A'la*, A.H. 822 (= A.D. 1419).
- (6) Death of Anti-Christ (*Dajjál*), who is "Márán-sháh" (i.e. Tímúr's son, Míránsháh, whose name the Hurúfis have thus changed to make it mean "the Serpent-King"), A.H. 803 (= A.D. 1400-1).

Lastly, the following verse, inscribed by the side of the above dates, would seem to imply that Fadlu'lláh performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in A.H. 775 (= 1373-4):—

از دال گذشته عین و هی چون ' از کعبه قدم نهاد بیرون

"*Ayn* (ع = 70) and *Há* (ه = 5) had passed from *Dhál* (ذ = 700) when he [i.e. Fadlu'lláh] set his foot outside the Ka'ba."

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from quoting a very curious and interesting document which I found on f. 24 of the British Museum MS. Or. 6,380, and which appears to be, having regard both to the superscription and the contents, the last testament of Fadlu'lláh, written on a piece of paper and placed by him between the leaves of the *Mahabbat-náma-i-Iláhi*. This document runs as follows:—

## وصیت نامه

سواد خط مبارک ح ق چ ه [یعنی حضرت فضل جل شأنه]  
 بر قطعه کاغذ نوشته در میان اوراق محبت نامه الهی بود قطع  
 یک دل از شوق سخنها دارم قاصدی نیست که در پیش تو  
 تقریر کند، خدا بر حال این فقیر گواه است که بغیر از تفرقه اطفال  
 و مفارقت اصحاب هیچ نگرانی نمانده است، مسئله چند که  
 نگران بود تسلیم آن عزیز و عزیزان کرده است، اگر حق تعالی  
 جمیع نیک خواسته باشد برسد باقی تا چه خواهد کرد، یا رب  
 یا رب شبهای من

در همه عمرم مرا یک دوست در شروان نبود (f. 24b)

دوست کی باشد کجا ای کاش بودی آشنا

من حسین وقت و نا اهلان یزید و شمر من

روز گارم جمله عاشورا و شروان کربلا

بر آن عزیزان پوشیده نیست که این فقیر را از جهت دین نگرانی  
 نمانده است سلام و دعای ما درین آخر باصحاب و یاران و دوستان  
 برسانند و نوع سازند که این قاعده ها و این ابیات و این حقایق  
 بایشان برسد، روز چند بگوشه نا شناخت فروکش کنند و آنرا  
 ضبط بکنند و این آئین نو است، آن فرزندان و ماندگان و آزادگان را  
 از ما به پرسند والسلام

## TRANSLATION.

## "TESTAMENT.

("Copy of the Blessed Writing of H. F. J. H. [= HADIRAT-I-FADLU'LLAH, JALLA SHA'NUHU]<sup>1</sup> written on a fragment of paper and placed amongst the leaves of the *Mahabbat-nama*.)

"I have a whole heart [filled] with eagerness for speech, but there is no messenger to declare to thee [what I would say]. God is witness of the condition of this poor unfortunate that, save parting from [his] children and separation from [his] friends, no expectation is left. [The settlement of] sundry matters which were pending he leaves to that dear friend and other dear friends. If God Almighty desires good for all, it will come: for the rest [we must wait and see] what He will do. O Lord, O Lord of my nights!

*In the town of Shirván all my life not a single friend was mine:*

*Who and where is a friend? Alas! not e'en an acquaintance I saw!*

*The Husayn of the Age am I, and each worthless foe a Shimir and Yazid,*

*My life is a day of mourning, and Shirván my Kerbelá.*

It is not hidden from those dear friends that no expectation remains to this poor unfortunate in the matter of religion. Convey my salutations and prayers at this last moment to my companions and friends and dear ones, and act in such manner that these rules [of conduct], verses and truths, may reach them. Let them be laid away for a few days in some secret corner, and let them be well kept. This is the New Ordinance. Let my son enquire on our part after those who are left and the noble ones. Farewell."

<sup>1</sup> The use of the expression *jalla sha'nuhu*, 'glorious in His state,' after the name of a man, is, of course, rank blasphemy in the eyes of the orthodox, but the Hurúfis, who regard Fadlu'lláh as an Incarnation of the Deity, habitually place it after his name, generally in the abbreviated form here employed.

This letter, obscure as it is in certain passages, has nevertheless a human and personal note rarely to be found in the misty utterances of the Hurúfís. To us it seems strange that in Asia men should have been, nay, and still are, so ready to die for subtleties so intangible and ideas so bizarre as those which constitute the doctrines of the Hurúfís and other similar sects, and we are apt to think that some great ethical or eschatological idea must underlie them. But this, in my opinion, is an error; in Asia, especially in Persia, men lay down their lives for a new Avatar and a number fraught with mystical significance, like the numbers 7, 12, 14, or 19, rather than for some social or ethical ideal. In the West religion is chiefly concerned with conduct, but in the East with knowledge.

# I. BRITISH MUSEUM.

## (1) OR. 5,957 (*Persian and dialect of Astarábád*).

The *Jávidán-i-Kabir* of Faḍlu'lláh the Hurúfí (ff. 4<sup>b</sup>–481<sup>a</sup>), followed by another tract (ff. 481<sup>b</sup>–483<sup>b</sup>), and (f. 481<sup>b</sup>) a short poem explaining why the word ابتدا is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Jávidán-i-Kabir*. At the end of the volume (ff. 485<sup>a</sup>–490<sup>a</sup>) is a vocabulary of the dialect words used in the *Jávidán*, containing the explanation of some 770 words, and entitled لغت استرآبادی ("Glossary of the Astarábádí dialect"). Ff. 490 of 22·5 × 12·4 c. Transcribed by the Mu'adhdhin (Mu'ezzin) Darwísh 'Isá b. Kamálu'd-Dín Khwāja of ارکری کسری in A.H. 1196 (= A.D. 1782). Bought 30, iii, 1901.

## (2) OR. 5,957\* (*Persian*).

*Miftáh-i-Hurúf-i-Jávidán*, a key to the abbreviations and signs employed in the *Jávidán*, of which some 150 are explained. Ff. 3 (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–3<sup>b</sup> written on). Acquired with the above MS., within the covers of which it was originally placed.

(3) OR. 5,958 (*Persian*).

A tract with no proper title, described as رسالة فضل حروفی, apparently by Fadlu'lláh, beginning:—

ذات نطقی که وجود سی کلمه حضرت فضل حق است چ ت  
مجموع موجود است الخ

Transcribed by Darwīsh Husayn Aḥmad in A.H. 1155 (= A.D. 1742-3).

(4) OR. 5,959 (*Persian*).

The *Ādam-nāma*, transcribed in a fine, bold *ta'liq* hand, by Darwīsh 'Alī-qulī, in Rabī' ii, A.H. 987 (= June, A.D. 1579), and purchased by the Museum 30, iii, 1901. Ff. 289 of 25.3 × 17 c. and 16 lines; rubrication.

(5) OR. 5,960 (*Turkish*).

The *‘Ishq-nāma* of Firishta-zāda ('Abdu'l-Majīd b. Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dīn), comprising 32 chapters, preceded by a table of contents (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-2<sup>a</sup>), and beginning:—

ف حقیقه امیر المؤمنین علی کرم الله وجهه، وود اختصر  
الأبواب على الانمين والثلثین بعدد اننا ولدشبن کلمه تامه الهته أزلية  
و ابدية وعلم آدم الاسماء كلها،

This work was composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1429-30). This copy was completed on Ramaḍān 20, A.H. 1276 (= April 12, A.D. 1860). Ff. 72 of 23.7 × 15.9 c. and 25 lines.

(6) OR. 5,961 (*Turkish*).

A collection of five Hurufi works, dated A.H. 1274 (= A.D. 1857-8), and comprising ff. 117 of 16.2 × 10.5 c. It was bought 30, iii, 1901, and contains:—

- (1) *Risāla-i-Nuṣṣatu'l-Bayān* (on the "Point of Explanation"), ff. 1-33, beginning:—

قوله تعالى سُرِّبِهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْأَفَاقِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّىٰ يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ  
أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ ' اِی طالب بِل و آگاه اول که . . . الخ

- (2) *Ākhīrat-nāma* of Firišta-zāda (ff. 34<sup>b</sup>-57<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

الحمد لله . . . الخ ' اَمَّا بعد ' بو معر عبد المجدد بن فرشته  
عز الدین . . . آخرت داه . بو کانی تحریر ایلدی

- (3) Commentary on a *qasida* by Abdāl Bábá (ff. 58<sup>b</sup>-81<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

بالقوة ایدم اولاً سودم که آشکار اولام  
با بن دخی آدم گئی بردم جهان با نا اولم '

- (4) Tract by Mithālī (ff. 82<sup>b</sup>-86<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

ق اسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين ' حضرت ق خدا  
دافت بی هما عرشاه اللهی و بأول کلام ما مساهسده که جواهر  
دتر کمون و علم لدین

اول سمع المانی ای حکم ' هسب اسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
دوب . ماسمله بو می نظم نموره شلردر بن حفر و مفر بر کناد  
سدذ کمربن فعل الله اعنی مانی خاکای اهل الله . . . الخ

- (5) A Turkish poem in 32 *maqalas* and a *tatimmat*, beginning:—

سطر بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ' آدم و حوا در ای دیو رجم  
بعنی بسم التیند اسم آدهی ' ق حق سلطان هر دو عالمی

In this doctrinal poem, which fills the remainder of the MS., the doctrines of the Hūrūfīs are pretty clearly set forth.

(7) OR. 6,290 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A fine old copy of the *Divân of Nesimî*, transcribed in Ramadân, A.H. 974 (= March-April, A.D. 1567), by Darwîsh Mustafâ Nâ-Murâd, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 17 of 19·8 × 12·2 c., written in a good *ta'liq* and entitled:—

غزلیات نسیمی البغدادی [الملقب بعماد الدین] من اصحاب  
فضل فتیاض الحروفی المقتول بسیف الشرع فی حدّ سنّہ ٩٧٠ هـ کذا ذکر  
فی کشف الظنون

(8) OR. 6,293 (*Persian*).

The '*Arsh-nāma*, a *mathnawî* poem of about 1,120 *bayts*, transcribed in Muḥarram, A.H. 1274 (= Aug.-Sept., A.D. 1857), and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Begins:—

بی بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ' آدم خاکست ای دیو رجیم '  
آدم خاکی که جان عالمست ' پیش ذات حق وی اسم اعظمست '

(9) OR. 6,294 (*Turkish*).

The *Divân of 'Arshî Dedé*, transcribed in Rajab, A.H. 1289 (= Sept., A.D. 1872), by Sayyid Maḥmūd Bábâ, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 157 of 23 × 14·2 c. and 19 lines. Begins:—

بای بسم الله ایله قرآنه ایتدم ابتدا '  
قاف ویا وذالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا ' ٩

The copyist further describes himself as:—

ساکن بدرگاه شهید بکت قرب رومیلی حصاری حافظ احمد  
الشعدا

(10) OR. 6,295 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A collection of five tracts, all, apparently, by Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh Ṣalāḥî (or Ṣalāḥu'd-Dîn), transcribed at Sofia

in Jumáda ii, A.H. 1238 (= Feb.-March, A.D. 1823), purchased 6, xii, 1901, and containing:—

(1) نطق شریف حضرت مصری شرح صلاحی عبد الله افندی (1)  
قدّس سرهما

This fills ff. 1-32, and begins:—

ایکی قاشق آردسندہ چکدی خط استوا  
علم الاسمائی تعلیم ایتدی اول خطدن خدا

Ends on f. 32\* thus:—

بر زمان مصری لسانندن بو نطقی نظم ایدن  
شمدی رمزینی صلاحیدن ینه شرح ایلدی

The copyist's name is given as Ahmad Fā'iz, and the date of transcription as A.H. 1231 (= A.D. 1816).

(2) A prose tract in Turkish (ff. 33-36), without title.

(3) A Turkish tract (ff. 37-46) in mixed prose and verse.

(4) On f. 47\*. The figure of the Hurufi man, entitled:—

نسخه کبرا [for نسخه کبری] در بو

(5) Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh Saláhi Efendi's commentary (composed in A.H. 1175 = A.D. 1761-2: see f. 83) on a Persian *ghazal* of 11 *bayts* with the *radf* یافتم by Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí (ff. 48<sup>b</sup>-83\*), beginning:—

پیر طریقت سلطان مولانای رومی حضرتلر ینگ اون بر بیت یافتم  
غزلنی شیخ عبد الله صلاحی افندی شرح اینمشدر قدّس سرهما العزیز

دوش وقت صبحدم در چرخ پایان یافتم

در میان دانه خشخاش سندان یافتم

یکت گلاهی داشتم از لبَلَبُوگم شد زمن

در میان دفتر ملا سلیمان یافتم

Shaykh Saláhu'd-Dín is described as belonging to the Khalwatí order of dervishes (من الخلوتية الكاملية).

- (6) A Persian tract (ff. 84<sup>b</sup>-103<sup>a</sup>) by the above-mentioned Šaláhi Efendi on the "Companions of [the Battle of] Badr," entitled:—

رساله فارسی صلاحی افندی در اصحاب بدر

Begins:—

بنظم این رساله یا الهی ' مرا بنما طریق راست راهی '

(11) Or. 6,379 (*Persian*).

The *Kursi-náma*, a Persian *mathnawí* poem of about 4,349 *bayts*, beginning:—

ابتدارا بهترین نام خدا ' بود فضلش کردم از وی ابتدا '

فآلله آن خداوند کریم ' هنادی خلد از صراط مستقیم '

Ff. 199 of 14 × 9·5 c. Transcription completed at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1025 (= Jan. 8, A.D. 1617). Purchased 13, v, 1902.

(12) Or. 6,380 (*Persian*).

A collection of Hurúfí tracts, including the *Wasíyyat-náma*, the *Tahqíq-náma*, the *Bashárat-náma*, and the *Hiáúyat-náma*, transcribed (f. 23<sup>b</sup>) in A.H. 1004 (= A.D. 1595-6), and purchased 13, v, 1902. Ff. 103 of 17·6 × 12 c. Contents:

- (1) The *Wasíyyat-náma* (ff. 2<sup>b</sup>-23<sup>b</sup>). The title occurs on f. 4<sup>a</sup> in the following passage:—

خواست که رساله بر سبیل اختصار باسم وصیت نامه و یادگار  
از جمعی درویشان صادق و طالبان محقق همدمان محرم و  
محرمان همدم موسوم بوصیت نامه کتابت کند '

This tract is divided into sections (فصول), each beginning بدان ای درویش. Colophon on f. 23<sup>b</sup>,

giving date of completion as the beginning of Muḥarram, A.H. 1004 (= Sept., A.D. 1595), and name of copyist as Walí.

- (2) On f. 24<sup>a</sup> is a short prose passage (8 lines) on what happens to the soul after the destruction of the body, followed by the testament (*Wasīyyat-náma*) of Faḍlu'lláh, of which the text and translation are given on pp. 541-2 *supra*.
- (3) F. 25<sup>a</sup>. Two versified lists of the Twelve Imáms, of 3 and 9 *bayts* respectively, by Jalá'í Bey and Sayyid Nesímí.
- (4) Ff. 25-28. A *qasída* of about 125 *bayts*, beginning:—

بفضل باى بسم الله سخن گوئيم كه در عبرا (?)

كه بى هر دو جهان بود و بود همچون الف يكتا

On f. 29<sup>b</sup> is another colophon, giving the date Muḥarram, A.H. 999 (= Oct.-Nov., A.D. 1590). This is followed by a poem of 17 *bayts* rhyming in ق, and by a few remarks on prayer, etc.

- (5) The *Bashárat-náma-i-Iláhi* (ff. 30<sup>a</sup>-62<sup>b</sup>), a *mathnawí* poem of about 1,089 *bayts*, composed by one of the *Khalífás*, or Vicars, of Faḍlu'lláh named Abu'l-Ílusan, and beginning:—

دوش در همدام صبح اولين ' با حريف حوزوش بودم قرين

- (6) Ff. 62<sup>b</sup>-64<sup>b</sup>. A short prose tract, beginning:—

چند كلمه در باب موازين العبارات املا كرد مى شود . . . الخ

- (7) The *Hidáyat-náma* (ff. 64<sup>b</sup>-103<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هدانا لهذا . . . الخ ' بدان اى طالب

عاشق صادق وقتك الله تعالى فى طلب المعانى والكمالات كه  
جميع سالكان . . . الخ

The '*Arsh-nāma* is cited on ff. 82<sup>b</sup> and 92<sup>b</sup>, and the '*Jāvidān-nāma* on f. 95<sup>a</sup>. Faḍlu'llāh is spoken of as "His Holiness the Master of the Interpretation" (حضرت صاحب تأویل).

There is a final colophon on f. 103<sup>b</sup> giving the date of transcription of the '*Hidāyat-nāma* as Sha'bān, A.H. 1003 (= April–May, A.D. 1595), followed by 3 *bayts* from the '*Maḥshar-nāma-i-Ilāhī* of Ḥadrat-i-'Aliyyi A'lā, one of the *Khalīfas* of Faḍlu'llāh.

(13) OR. G,381 (*Persian and dialect*).

A Hurufī tract by Mīr Fādilī (ff. 4<sup>b</sup>–101<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و بفضلہ نستعین ' قوله ج ت ج ت ج ت کلام  
صاحب کمال کہ بیان ف ت و همه اشیا هکره . . . اکنون  
بدانکہ این فقیر و حقیرا درین آیت با حرمت کہ وعدہ رؤیت را  
ق ت ت اول بسی شب کردند '

The colophon (on f. 101<sup>a</sup>) is dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), and is followed (ff. 101<sup>b</sup> *et seqq.*) by a commentary by Ḥamzu Bey, and (ff. 108<sup>a</sup>–113<sup>a</sup>) by numerous verses from different sources. I have already referred (p. 540 *supra*) to the important series of dates given on f. 2<sup>a</sup> of this MS. They are given in figures and also, in the following note, in words:—

ظهور و بروز ت خدا از هجرت حبیب خدام در هفت صد و  
هشتاد و هشت شد '

و ولادت او در هفت صد و چهل واقع شد '

و شهادت او در هفت صد نود و شش شد '

و مقتول شدن دجال کہ مارانشاه است علیہ اللعنة در سنه ۸۳

In a marginal note the last date is "corrected" to A.H. 703, which is an obvious error. Amongst the numerous other notes and verses scribbled on the blank pages of this MS. are the following:—

بهشتدن بش نسنه طشرد چیقدی اول آدم و حوّا و شیطان و  
 طاوس و مار، آدمدن مراد روحدر و حوّا جسم در و شیطان طبیعت  
 در و طاوس شهوتدر و مار غضب در (f. 1a)  
 بیت، آب در چشمه خورشید نماند ای عیسی،  
 خون بدست آر که با خاک تیمم گُفرست (f. 2a)  
 رباعیات سید اسحق،  
 سی سال ز بعد - رگت از فِ خدا،  
 ناگاد بگوشم آمد از غیب ندا،  
 که مرده صد سال چه خفتی در خاک،  
 بر خیز که هنگام حسابست و جزا (f. 2a)

## II. • IN MY OWN COLLECTION.

(14) A. 41.

One of five *Hurúfí* MSS. bought at the sale of the effects of a *Bektáshí* dervish in May, 1901. Ff. 205 of 15·5 × 10·5 c.  
 Contents:—

- (1) *Hikmatu'l-Asrār* (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-6<sup>a</sup>), a short tract in Turkish, consisting chiefly of quotations from the *Qur'án* and the Traditions, and beginning:—

اسلام دیننگ بنیادی بش نسنه اوزره در الخ

- (2) Two quotations of six verses each, apparently from the *Mathnawí* (f. 7<sup>a</sup>).

- (3) The *Musajja'*, a short Persian treatise in rhymed prose, of Mawláná Ghiyáth (ff. 7<sup>b</sup>-9<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

ای دل رهبره روره بر روح پرور مطلع انور ساز برابر سجع  
سراسر مدحت حیدر الخ

- (4) A *qasida* of 162 *bayts* (ff. 9<sup>a</sup>-15<sup>b</sup>) by Kamál b. Ghiyáth, beginning:—

ای دل دانا زبان بکشا و یک دم با خود آ  
اول دفتر مزین کن بتوحید خدا

This is followed (ff. 15<sup>b</sup>-25<sup>b</sup>) by other pieces of verse by Sa'di, 'Attár, Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, etc.

- (5) The *Khutbatu'l-Bayán* (Turkish), of which the title and opening words run thus:—

هذا كتاب خطبة الميان امير المؤمنين حضرت شاه مردان كرم  
الله وجهه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ' حمد بى حد و ثنائى بى عد . . .  
الخ ' اما بعد حمد و ثنا والصلوة والسلام . . . الخ ' اما بعد  
ای طالب راد حقیقت اگر بیلیمک دیلرسن که تحقیقاً کیمدر اول  
شاه اولیا و وصی مصطفی اول ولی مجتبا اول سرور اصفیا . . . الخ

It comprises seventy *Kalimas*, or sayings of 'Alí b. Abí Talib, each of which is explained and illustrated, and fills ff. 26<sup>b</sup>-181<sup>a</sup>. The colophon is dated A.H. 983 (= A.D. 1575-6).

- (6) A short tract in Turkish entitled *Irshád-i-Kiswá* (ff. 181<sup>b</sup>-183<sup>a</sup>), beginning after the doxology:—

اما بعد ' بر نچه كلمه تاج و كسوه بيان ادر ' امام محمد باقر ع  
بو رساليه ارشاد كسوه ديو آد وردى

- (7) Another tract in Turkish by Bába Qayghúsiz (ff. 183<sup>a</sup>–185<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

ای عقل کامل بو سوزگ جوهرنه بر نظر ایله گورنه بیان ایلر

- (8) Another short tract in Turkish (ff. 185<sup>b</sup>–186<sup>a</sup>) on 23 things which man must avoid.
- (9) Another short Turkish tract (f. 186<sup>a</sup>) on the tradition “He who knows himself hath known his Lord.”
- (10) A Persian tract by Zaynu’-Dín al-Khwáfí on Súfí ethics (آداب الصوفیة), in 19 chapters (ff. 186<sup>b</sup>–189<sup>b</sup>).
- (11) Another Persian tract (ff. 189<sup>b</sup>–192<sup>a</sup>) on the dispute between Knowledge (علم), Understanding (عقل), Prosperity (دولت), and Health (عافیت).
- (12) A Persian tract entitled *Mudhaffar-náma-i-Núshirván*, supposed to have been compiled by Buzurjmihr for his sovereign (ff. 192<sup>b</sup>–196<sup>a</sup>).
- (13) An Arabic tract (ff. 197<sup>b</sup>–198<sup>b</sup>) by a disciple of the saint Jamálu’-Dín al-Ḥusayn al-Qudsí on the 32 letters contained in the Prophet’s titles.
- (14) A Persian tract (ff. 198<sup>b</sup>–202<sup>b</sup>) in eleven sections, beginning:—

فصل اول در اقسام نفوس و آن چهار است فلکی و حیوانی و نباتی  
و طبیعی الخ .

- (15) Two Persian *ghazals* by Rafiqí and a Persian quatrain (ff. 203<sup>a</sup>–203<sup>b</sup>).
- (16) A note on the genealogy of Sayyid ‘Imádu’-Dín Nesímí in Turkish (ff. 203<sup>b</sup>–204<sup>b</sup>). He is said to have taken his *takhallus* from a district called Nesím near Baghdad, and to have been originally a follower of Shaykh Shiblí, but afterwards of Faḍlu’lláh the Hurúfí, one of whose Vicars (*Khulafá*) he became.
- (17) A few of the *qit’as* of Ibn Yamín (f. 205). Here the MS. breaks off abruptly. It contains, as will be seen, little that is essentially Hurúfí, but rather such

mixture of Šúfî and Shí'ite treatises as would be suitable to the Bektáshî neophyte, though the notice of Nesímî indicates sympathy with the Hurúfîs.

(15) A. 42 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektáshî sale in May, 1901. Ff. 88 of 17·4 x 12·1 c. Contents:—

- (1) *Bayân-i-Aḥwâl-i-Ḥashr wa Amr-i-Ma'âd* (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–4<sup>b</sup>) on the Resurrection, beginning:—

هذا بيان احوال حشر و امر معادى بيلدير  
 ايمدى معلوم اولديكه بزم كندو ذوقمزده احوال حشرگ و امر  
 معادين تمثيلى اولديركه جميع مشكللر انسانه معلوم اوله دورت  
 مرتبه اوزرينه دير آخ

- (2) *Risâla-i-Ḥulûl u Ittihâd-i-bi-hâl* (ff. 4<sup>b</sup>–8<sup>a</sup>) on Incarnation and Union, beginning:—

سيد شريف قدس ستره حاشيه تجريدده بيان ايلديگى بحثى  
 قظمير نال اندوب دير كه آخ

- (3) The *Âkhirat-nâma* of Firîшту-zâda (ff. 8<sup>b</sup>–15<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين ولا عدوان الا على  
 الظالمين وصلى الله على مظهر الذات محمد وآله اجمعين  
 اما بعد ' بوفير عبد المجيد ابن فرشته اصلح الله شأنه و صانه عما  
 شانه آخ

- (4) The *Kitâb-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayân* by Shaykh-zâda (ff. 19<sup>b</sup> et seqq.), beginning:—

قال الله تعالى آية سُرِّيهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْأَفَاقِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى  
يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ ' اى طالب بيل و آگاه اولكه आफاده نشانلر  
وار دير الخ

It comprises 22 sections (فصل), and is dated Friday, 15 Jumáda i, A.H. 1282 (= Oct. 6, A.D. 1865). The scribe, As'ad, calls himself "the least of the servants of the Family of the Cloak [i.e. the Prophet, his daughter Fátima, her husband 'Alí, and their two sons al-Hasan and al-Husayn] and the servant of Maḥmúd Bába" [who was no doubt the Pír, or Elder, of the *tekyé* to which he belonged].

- (5) F. 79<sup>a</sup>. A Turkish quatrain and two *bayts*, one in Turkish and one in Persian.
- (6) Ff. 79<sup>b</sup>–80<sup>b</sup>. A short Turkish tract on the secrets of the virtues of the letters, and the knowledge of the numbers belonging to the letters.
- (7) A short Turkish tract on the true nature of man (f. 81<sup>a</sup>). The remaining pages (ff. 81<sup>b</sup>–88<sup>b</sup>) are blank.

(16) A. 43 (*Turkish*).

A collection of *al-Furúfí* poems and treatises, containing ff. 134 of 17·5 × 12·2 c., bought in September, 1901, and containing:—

- (1) A *qasída* of Shuhúdí (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–3<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

غرض ایجاد عالم‌دن ظیور ذاتِ داور در  
عجب معنی نازک‌در که عقل آندۀ مقصود در

It contains 71 verses, and ends:—

شهودی اوتوز ایکی حرف‌د اسرار بنه ایردگسه  
امین اولدڭ صوسزلق زحمتندن آب کوتردر

This is followed by other Hurúfí poems (ff. 3<sup>b</sup>-11<sup>a</sup>) by Shuhúdí, Surúrí, Khalílí, and Nesímí, in Turkish, and by one Persian *bayt* by Na'ímí, and two Arabic *bayts* ascribed to 'Alí.

- (2) The *Bashárat-náma* of Rafí'í (ff. 11<sup>b</sup>-54<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

قال النبى صَلىَّ اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات  
 'أول سبع المثنائى اى حكيم' 'گلدی بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم'

The poem comprises some 1,440 verses, and ends:—

بو دعایى مستجاب ایت یا مجیب  
 'فضلگ اظهار ایت پدیدار حبیب'

The characteristic Hurúfí symbols for the numbers 28 and 32 are of constant occurrence, and are always substituted in the poem for the Turkish equivalents of these numbers, *yigirmi sekiz* and *otuz iki*.

- (3) The *Tulúfa* of Shuhúdí, a Turkish *mathnawí* poem (ff. 55<sup>b</sup>-76<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

'ابتدا فضل عظیم لا ینام' 'حمد لله گلدی مفتاح کلام'

F. 76<sup>b</sup> is blank. On f. 77<sup>a</sup> is inscribed a *bayt* from the *Kursí-náma* and a reported saying of 'Alí in respect to the different classes of those who know God.

- (4) A Turkish treatise (ff. 77<sup>b</sup>-80<sup>b</sup>) without title, beginning:—

ولبتوا فی کھفہم ثلاث مائۃ وآزادوا تسعاً یعنی اگلندیلر اصحاب  
 کھف مغارہ لری ایچندہ اوچبوز ییل دخی طقوز ییل عبارتدر ستہ  
 ایامدن کہ اوچبوز بیگ ییل اولور الخ

- (5) Another short piece (ff. 80<sup>b</sup>-81<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

قال الشيخ ابو الحسن هذا استمع من صاحب التأويل اسرار جهر  
 واخفاء صلات ابن طغراء دو ابرو و چهار مزہ و موی سر منشق بخط  
 استوا الخ

- (6) A tract in Persian (ff. 81<sup>a</sup>–88<sup>b</sup>) without title, beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هدانا لهذا وما كنا لنهتدى لولا هداانا الله ، بنام  
قديم لا يزال الخ

- (7) The *Hidāyat-nāma*, in Turkish, with Persian preface, by Firishta-zāda (ff. 89<sup>b</sup>–112<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

بنام قديم لا يزال و عليم متعال . . . الخ ، اما بعد ، باعث  
اين تحرير و سبب ايسن تقرير آن بود كه ياران همدم و همدمان  
محرم طالبان محقق دينى و صادقان مستحق يقينى ازين تفسير  
داعى بندۀ فضل يزدانى عبد المجيد ابن فرشته عز الدين اصلح الله  
شأنه التماس كردند كه . . . الخ

The title is given on f. 90<sup>a</sup>, l. 14, and the date of composition (on the same page) as Rabī' i, A.H. 830 (= Jan., A.D. 1427). Persian verses by Faḍlu'llāh (صاحب تأويل) occur on ff. 96<sup>a</sup>, 111<sup>b</sup>, 112<sup>a</sup>–112<sup>b</sup>.

- (8) A Turkish poem of 42 *bayts* (ff. 113<sup>b</sup>–114<sup>b</sup>), by Darwīsh Alwān, entitled *Dast-nāma*, beginning:—

ايشتكيم نظملمه برسوز ديم خوش  
اگر عاقل ايسگ جان ايله ايت گوش

- (9) The *Ganj-nāma*, a Turkish *mathnawī* poem (ff. 115<sup>b</sup>–120<sup>a</sup>) by Rafī'ī, beginning:—

ای گنج بهان بى بدایت ، وى بحر محیط بى نهایت

- (10) The *Shahriyār-nāma* (ff. 121<sup>b</sup>–131<sup>a</sup>), a Turkish *mathnawī* poem by Panāhī, beginning:—

ابتدا در ابتدادر ابتدا ، ابتدادن حاصل اولدى انتها  
ابتدا گلدی کلام لا ینام ، ف و ضاد و لام حقدن و السلام

It was composed, according to the concluding verses (f. 131<sup>a</sup>), in A.H. 860 (= A.D. 1456):—

دیر ۸۰۰ ییل ۶۰ ییل ایدی ' بو تمام اولمقلغه تحویل ایدی '  
نظمی حقدن اولدی بوسوز لر تمام ' ایلر کده آیدر ماه صیام '

The remaining leaves (ff. 131<sup>b</sup>–134) are blank.

(17) A. 49 (*Turkish*: printed).

The *Kāshifu'l-Asrār wa Dāfi'u'l-Ashrār* of Ishāq Efendi, discussed in the earlier portion of this article, a Refutation of the Bektāshīs and Hurūfīs in three chapters, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874–5). Pp. 174 of 15·7 × 11·5. Begins, after the brief doxology:—

. . . و بعد ' معلوم اوله که اهل اسلامی اضلالیله مشغول اولان  
طوائف اشک باشلوجه سی طائفة بکتاشیان اولوب الخ

(18) A. 69 (*Turkish*).

Lithographed edition of the *'Ishq-nāma* (here called *'Ashiq-nāma-i-Ilāhī*) of 'Abdu'l-Majīd b. Firishta (or "Firishta-zāda") 'Izzu'd-Dīn, which is professedly a translation into Turkish of the *Jāvidān-nāma*, and was made (p. 3, ll. 2–3) in Shawwāl, A.H. 833 (= June–July, A.D. 1430). It is divided into 32 chapters, of which the contents are stated on pp. 5–7, and begins:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين ' والصلوة والسلام على رسولنا محمد  
و آله وصحبه اجمعين ' والعاقبة للمتقين ' والعدوان على الشياطين '  
آما بعد ' بو حقیر فرشته زاده عبد المجید عز الدین اصلح الله شأنه  
ایدرکه . . . الخ

Pp. 164 of 20 × 13·5 c. There is no date or place of publication, but this is probably the edition referred to in the *Kāshifu'l-Asrār* (see p. 536 *supra*) as having been published in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2).

It is followed by another treatise, with separate pagination (pp. 19), entitled *Kamál-náma-i-Ál-i-‘Abbá*, beginning:—

حَسَنَ حَمْدِ زَكِيٍّ نَامَعْدُودٍ، وَحُسَيْنِ ثَنَائِيٍّ وَفِي نَا مَحْدُودٍ أَوَّلُهُ  
الْمَخ . . .

(19) B. 15 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 90 of 22·2 × 13·2 c. One of seven MSS. bought in September, 1901, containing:—

- (1) The *Miftáh*, or key to the contractions occurring in the *Hurúfí* writings, of which some 150 are given (ff. 2<sup>b</sup>–3<sup>b</sup>). This is probably “the tract entitled *Miftáhul-Hayát* (‘The Key of Life’)” referred to in the *Káshifü’l-Asrár*. See p. 537 *supra*.
- (2) *Sirru’l-Mufradát* (“The Secret of the single [Letters]”: ff. 4<sup>a</sup>–5<sup>b</sup>). This describes a form of *abjad* in which the numerical values of the letters differ from those ordinarily assigned: e.g., ح = 1 (i.e. ا) instead of 8; ط = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 9, up to ن = 7 (i.e. ز) instead of 50; س again = 1 (i.e. ا) instead of 60; ع = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 70, up to ش, which again = 7. In other words, the first seven letters of the *abjad* (ا ب ج د ه و ز) are discarded, or keep their original values of 1–7, and the remaining 21 fall into 3 groups of 7 each, the letters in each group indicating the numbers 1 to 7. Begins:—

يَخْشَى نَظَرَ اَيَّدَسَنَ كَه قَانُونِ نَبِيْجَه ضَبْطَا . . . اَلْمَخ

- (3) The *Ishq-náma* of Firishtu-záda (ff. 5<sup>b</sup>–85<sup>b</sup>), lacking the Preface which precedes the Table of Contents in the lithographed edition, and beginning with the latter, which agrees with the lithograph. On the other hand, in this MS. a different Preface, lacking in the lithograph, is interpolated between the Table of Contents and Chapter i. This begins, after the short doxology:—

اما بعد ' حضرت احدیته حمد ایتدکدن صغره و رسول حضرتنه  
سلام ایتدکدن صغره معلوم و مفهوم اولنه که بو علم لدنیّه الهی فارسی  
لسانی اوزرینه ایدی

The author's name, title of the work, and date of composition stand here (f. 6<sup>b</sup>) as in the lithograph, but the two texts, though probably representing two different recensions, appear in the main to correspond.

(20) C. 6 (*Turkish*).

The *Divân* of 'Arshî, a Turkish Hurufî poet, bought 22, v, 1901. ff. 90 of 22·7 × 14·4 c. Not dated. Begins:—

با بسم اللّٰه ايله قرانده ایتدم ابتدا '  
قاف و یا ودالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا '

(21) C. 7 (*Turkish*).

The *Divân* of another Turkish poet named Muhiyyu'd-Dîn Abdâl, bought 22, v, 1901, beginning:—

بزده بلدیگمزی سویلیم ' دگلّیانه علی مدحن ایلیلیم  
علی در مؤمنلرگ رهبری ' علیدر مصطفی ننگ سودکلری '

Ff. 40 of 22 × 16·3 c. Copied by Lutfî, A.H. 1271  
(= A.D. 1854-5).

(22) C. 8 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektâshî sale in May, 1901, containing ff. 104 of 23·6 × 14·1 c., and containing:—

(1) A Turkish *mathnawî* poem (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–30<sup>a</sup>) in 32 chapters, by *Turâbî*, containing about 1100 couplets, and beginning:—

باه بسم التّٰهی گل دگلّه عیان ' شاه مردان ستری در بو گل اینان '

and ending :—

‘ بو ترابی جوشوب جان و دلی ’ سویلدن سن سویلین سن یا علی ’

(2) *Kayfiyyat-i-Khilqat Risālesi* (ff. 33<sup>b</sup>–38<sup>b</sup>), a tract in Turkish on the manner of Creation, beginning :—

ما خلق الله تعالى آدم ستين لونا من الخراب خلق نور محمد  
ما خلق في السموات و الأرض و ما خلق جبرائيل ميكائيل  
اسرافيل عزرائيل الخ

(3) Life of Hājji Bektāsh and the *Wilāyat-nāma* of Hājim Sultān (ff. 38<sup>b</sup>–72<sup>a</sup>), the latter filling only 2 pages (ff. 71<sup>b</sup>–72<sup>a</sup>), entitled :—

هذا مناقب حضرت خنکار حاجی بکتاش ولی ولایت نامه  
حاجم سلطان حضرتلری قدس الله ارواحهم اجمعین

The *Manāqib* begins :—

الحمد لله . . . الخ ، اما بعد بلغلکم حق سبحانه و تعالی  
خلقى يرا تتمدن مراد اولدرکه علم معرفت عبادة ايکى جهانده الخ

The *Wilāyat-nāma* begins :—

بارک الله فيکم طيب الله انفسکم و رضى الله عنکم و عن  
والديکم و عن استاذيکم و عن كافة المسلمين اجمعين حاضرین (sic)  
غائبين برحمتک يا ارحم الراحمين بارک الله اعترکم الله  
اوفيانلر ايچون دگليمانلر ايچون الخ .

(4) The *Ākhirat-nāma* of Firishta-zāda (ff. 73<sup>b</sup>–76<sup>b</sup>), beginning :—

الحمد لله . . . الخ ، اما بعد ، بوفقيير عبد المجيد [بن]  
فرشته عز الدين الخ

(5) A treatise on the Letters (ff. 76<sup>b</sup>–90<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

آب ث ت ج ح خ ح الى آخره پا چا ژا گا و علم آدم الاسماء كلها الخ

(6) The remainder of the volume (ff. 91<sup>a</sup>–104<sup>a</sup>) contains scraps of Turkish poetry, *gulsāngs*, prayers, and (ff. 94<sup>b</sup>–95<sup>a</sup>) an account of the affiliation of Hájji Bektásh and of the spread of his Order, entitled:—

در بیان سلسله حضرت خنکار حاجی بكتاش ولى قدس الله  
سره العالى and طريق سرايتى

(23) C. 9 (*Turkish*).

Another collection of Hurúfí tracts, containing ff. 79 of 22·8 × 15·3 c. Bought 22, v, 1901. Contents:—

(1) Tract without title (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–17<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هدا (sic) لهذا وما كنا نهتدى لولا ان هدانا الله  
. . . اما بعد، بلك كلام الهى و نطق ربانى و كتاب آسمانى  
ايچنده واحاديث نبويه ده گوردم كه . . . الخ

(2) The *Faqr-náma* of Virání Dedé (ff. 17<sup>a</sup>–51<sup>b</sup>), beginning:  
الحمد لله رب العالمين، ايمدى اى طالب فضل حق الحمد  
لله دن مراد تنگرى آگمقدر و تنگرى آگمقدن مراد الخ

The colophon is dated Shawwál, A.H. 1059 (= Oct., A.D. 1649).

(3) The *Fayd-náma* (ff. 51<sup>b</sup>–76<sup>a</sup>), a Turkish *mathnawí* poem, beginning:—

سطر بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، آدم و حوا در اى ديو رجيم  
يعنى بسم الله ايسه آدمى، فضل حق سلطان هر دو عالمى

In the colophon (f. 76<sup>a</sup>), which is dated the end of Shawwál, A.H. 1059 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1649), it is called:—

الرسالة الفيضية القدسية الموسومة بفيض نامه

(4) The *Tirāsh-nāma* (ff. 76<sup>a</sup>–77<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

اَوَّلُ لِبَاسِيْنَ اَلْوَرَكُنْ بُوْنِي اَوْقِيْهِ وَ اِذَا شِئْنَا بَدَلْنَا اَمْثَالَهُمْ تَبْدِيْلًا

(24) C. 10 (*Turkish*).

'*Uyūnū'l-Hilāyat*, a Turkish Hurūfī prose treatise with Arabic Preface, beginning:—

الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِيْ جَعَلَنَا مِنْ اُمَّةٍ حَبِيْبَةٍ وَ خَلِيْلَةٍ مُحَمَّدٍ  
المصطفى اَلَيْحَ

This Preface (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–3<sup>b</sup>) is chiefly in praise of the Twelve Imāms. The Turkish text begins:—

راقم تسويدات المئتان صحائف عميان كريدى رسمى بكتاشى  
ناتوان بو طرزيله تحقيق بيان حال و بو نهمجه شرح ما فى البال  
ايدركه . . . اَلَيْحَ

It thus appears that the author was a Bektāshī named Kiridī Rasmī, or Rasmī of Crete. Ff. 82 of 22·8 × 15·6 c. and 15 lines. The colophon, which is undated, runs:—

كتبه الفقير الحسين من بنده محمود بابا فى الحصار، و منه هو

(25) C. 11 (*Turkish*).

The *Faḍīlat-nāma*, a long Turkish *mathnawī* poem in the apocopated hexameter *hazaj* metre, beginning:—

ازل ياد ايددليم حتى و قديمى ' دى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيمى

It appears to treat chiefly of the virtues of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, as stated in the following line in the Introduction (f. 5<sup>a</sup>):—

فضيلت نامه سندن مرتضانك ' بيان معجزندن مصطفى نك  
خبر موردین روایات علیدن ' بیان ایله دیدیگن فضل ولیدن

A superficial examination reveals little that is characteristically Hurūfī, the general tone of the poem being Shī'ite.

Bought 7, v, 1903. Ff. 262 of  $20 \times 14$  c. The *Faḍilat-nāma* ends on f. 247, and the remaining pages of the volume are inscribed with various short poems by Nesīmī, Sarmad, Asrār Dedé, etc.

(26) C. 12.

*Risāla-i-Dil u Dānā*, a long Turkish *mathnawī* poem in which *ghazals* are intermingled, by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Efendi al-Oghlānī al-Āq-sarā'ī, beginning:—

‘الها علمنه يوق حدّ و غاييت’ خدایا وصفنه يوق هيچ بهاييت

This is followed by *ghazals* and other poems in which the author uses his name, Ibrāhīm, as his *takhallus*, while in others the *takhallus* Khidr occurs. The MS. is one of the five bought at the Bektāshī sale in Constantinople in May, 1901.

Ff. 116 of  $23\frac{3}{4} \times 17$  and 19 lines. Good Turkish *naskh*. The colophon is dated A.H. 1285 (= A.D. 1868-9), and runs as follows:—

حرّرد الحَقير سيّد اسعد السّعداء چاكر آل عبا عن بندۀ حضرت  
سيّد محمود بابا سّجاده نشين بدرگاہ شريف شهيد لک دلکش در  
روم ايلسی حصارى بالآ قدس اللّٰه اسرارهم و نفعنا اللّٰه بانوارهم  
اجمعين في ٩ زسّمه ١٢٨٥

In this MS. also I have observed nothing distinctively Hurufi.

### III. IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

(27) ANCIEN FONDS PERSAN, 24.

For full description of this MS., which was acquired 24, vi, 1873, see the *J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1898, pp. 63-64. Contents:—

- (1) The *Isticá-náma* (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–59<sup>b</sup>) of Amír Abú'l-Yaqín Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Astarábádī, who mentions (f. 9<sup>a</sup>) Ramaḍán 12, A.H. 846 (= Jan. 14, A.D. 1443), as the date of his conversion. The colophon is dated A.H. 970 (= A.D. 1562–3), and is preceded by the two following quatrains:—

اینست کتاب آستوا نامه بنام  
 اعلام کند بهشت و دوزخ بتمام  
 هر کس که بخواند این کتاب از سر صدق  
 داند همه ارواح کجا کرد مقام  
 هر کو بکتاب آستوا نامه رسید  
 از فضل بسر نامه خامه رسید  
 در یافت بهشت و روز حشر را بییقین  
 با معرفت مکتل نام (sic) رسید

- (2) A Persian Ḥurúfī *mathnawī* poem (ff. 62<sup>b</sup>–80<sup>b</sup>) on Alexander's quest for the Water of Life, beginning:

'بتدا کردم بنام ذو الجلال حی و قیوم و قدیم بی زوال

On the preceding page (f. 62<sup>a</sup>) is scribbled a poem by Khayálí.

- (3) The glossary of the dialect words in the *Jaridán-i-Kabir* (ff. 62<sup>b</sup>–80<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

آبی آون آمی آمیند آمدن آویته  
 آنست آورد آوردن آمد آمدند آمدند آویخته

(28) SUPPLÉMENT PERSAN, 107 (*Persian*).

A Ḥurúfī work which, for reasons stated on p. 65 *ad calc.* in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, I believe to be the

*Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī*. For further description see the article above-mentioned, pp. 64-66. Ff. 139. Dated A.H. 895 (= A.D. 1489-90). Copyist, Darwīsh Aḥmad.

#### IV. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

(29) Or. 40 (*Turkish*).

The *Durān* of 'Arshī, beginning:—

بِاِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَيْلَهٗ قَرَّانَهٗ اَيْتَدَمْ اَبْتَدَاْ

قَاف وِیَا وِدَالِی قِیْلَدَمْ حَرْفِ وَاَحْدَدَهٗ اَدَاْ

Ff. 128 of 23 = 16·6 c. and 17 lines. Good plain Turkish *naskh*, within red lines. Bought 5, ii, 1901. Copyist, Sayyid 'Alī Ridā, who describes himself as "dust at the feet of the Family of the Cloak" (see p. 555 *supra*)—*خاکپای آل عبا*. Some of the poems are in Persian. At the end of the volume (f. 128) is a short biographical notice of the poet. He belonged to Yenī Bâzâr in Rumelia, and his proper name was Maḥmūd. He originally took the *takhalluṣ* of Chákí (چاكی), which he afterwards changed to 'Arshī (عرشی), because, as he says:—

عُلُغُلْ شَعْرَمِنْ بَعْرَشِ رَسِیدْ زَآنْ سَبَبْ شَدْ تَخْلَصُمْ عَرَشِیْ

He appears to have lived about A.H. 964 (= A.D. 1556-7).

(30) Or. 41 (*Turkish*).

The *Wilāyat-nāma* of Hājji Bektāsh:—

هَذَا وِلَايَتِ نَامَةُ قُطْبِ عَالَمِ خُنْكَارِ حَاجِي بَكْتَاشِ وِلٰی قُدَسْ

مُسْتَرَةِ الْعَزِيزِ

Ff. 132 of 24·3 × 16·8 c. and 17 lines. Poor Turkish *nasta'liq*. Dated 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1274 (= 7 July, A.D. 1858). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The contents are given (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-2<sup>a</sup>) as follows:—

(فهرست) حاجی بکتاش ولی ننگ نسبی (حاجی بکتاش بن سید محمد بن موسی ثانی بن ابراهیم المجاب بن علی [بن] موسی الرضا آخ) و مولودی - معلمه ویردکلری - خنکار اسمنی ویردکلری - حاجی دیندیگی - خراسان ارنلرینه نشان گوستردیگی - سوسام بیراخی اوزرنده نماز قیلدکلری - اوصاف حمیدهلری - احمد یسوی ننگ اوصاف حمیدهلری - قُبَّة الف و تاج و خرقه و چراغ و علم و سجاده - احمد یسوی قطب الدین حیدری بدخشانه ارسالی حاجی بکتاش ولی واروب گتوردیگی - \* احمد یسوی حضورینه ایرشدیگی - بدخشان ملکینی فتح ایتدیگی - داریجه اوزرنده نماز قیلدیغی - \* خواجه احمد یسوی اذنیله رومه گلدیگی - روم ارنلرینه سلام ویردیگی - ولی امریه نشان گوستردیگی ابرهیم حاجبه نظر ابتدیگی - خضرایله ملاقی و بوستاجییه نظر ایتدیگی اورکوب ولایتنده گوستردیگی رمز - سوچه قریو ننگ قراری - اشارت ایله دیوار طوغرلدیغی - گوستردیگی ولایتی - نور الدین خواجهیه گوستردیگی ولایت - بش طاش طانقلق ویردیگی - زمهریره الما صارییه گوستردیگی رمز - برفقیه امامستی - خمیر قیاده رمز گوستروب طاش کسدیگی - ولایتلرندن بری - گندم و مرجمکی طاش ایلدیگی - امرجمه سلطان ایله رمزی - اشارتله قزلبه خلوت یاپلدیغی - خضر نسبی ایله ملاقی اولدیغی - غائب ارنلرینه ملاقی اولدیغی - صاری اسماعیلی قونیهیه ملا خنکاره

\* The sections indicated between the asterisks, as well as the end of the tract, from f. 116<sup>b</sup> onwards, are in verse, the remainder in prose.

گوندردیگی در' - بر چوپانی الیه فرنگستانه آتدیگی در' -  
 قدماحق انایه ولایت گوستردیگی' - قدماحق انایه نفس ایدوب  
 اولادی اولدیگی' - کوانچ ابداله سؤال ایتدیگی ره-زی' - دریا  
 اوزرنده گمی خلاص' - قدرینه صنا نظر ایتدیگی' - سید غازی  
 زیارتی' - گوستردیگی ره-زلیز' - سید محمود خیران ارسلانه بنوب  
 گلدیگی' - یونس امرهیی عبدیق امردیه ارسالی' - الخ

From f. 115<sup>b</sup> to the end is in verse, and also, as already mentioned, ff. 15<sup>a</sup>-30<sup>b</sup>. The biography ends with Hájji Bektásh's appointment of five Khalífas, or Vicars; his testamentary instructions to Šarí Isma'íl; his death, and the miracles performed after it; and his burial. The text begins:—

شكر و سپاس بی غایه و حمد [و] ثناء لانهایه اول واحد فرد یکتا و  
 رؤف عظیم بی همتا آفریدگار عالمبان اول پادشاه اولسونكه الخ.

(31) Or. 42 (*Turkish*).

رسالة فی خواص المفردات العجمیه لدرویش بابا اویس

*Risāla fī Khawāṣṣi'l-Mufradāt 'ajiba*, a treatise on the virtues of the letters, etc., in four chapters, by Darwīsh Bábá Uways. Ff. 35 of 14.4 × 9.9 c. and 11 lines; written in good *nash* with rubrications, and dated A.H. 952 (= A.D. 1545-6). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The author is described as "one of the disciples (*abdāl*) of Sulṭān Sayyid-i-Ghāzī." The text begins:—

الحمد لله المعلم (sic) الاسرار والمطلع شمس علمه الممدنى  
 في قلوب انبيائه الخ

The characteristic Hurúfi signs for 28, 32, etc., occur throughout.

(32) Or. 43 (*Persian*).

A collection of Ḥurúfī tracts, bought 5, ii, 1901, and containing ff. 112 of 15 × 10 c. On f. 1 is given a list of the abbreviations used by the Ḥurúfīs. The other contents are as follows:—

- (1) The *Shiráb-nāma* of Sayyid Isháq, a contemporary of Faḍlu'lláh (ff. 2<sup>b</sup>–31<sup>b</sup>), composed in A.H. 814 (= A.D. 1411–12). Transcription ended on Dhu'l-Qa'da 2, A.H. 1018 (= Jan. 27, A.D. 1610), in the village of 'Ayn Malik in Kurdistán. Scribe, Shujá' Dedé. At the end stand the words: بعون قآ الله الوهاب. Begins:—

بنام عاشق اول و مَحَبَّت ازل كه بنظر جمیل نگران جمال و بديده  
تفصيل حيران اجمال الخ

- (2) The *Wilāyat-nāma* (ff. 32<sup>b</sup>–58<sup>a</sup>), composed in Rajab, A.H. 1030 (= May–June, A.D. 1621), beginning:—

شكرو سپاس و حمد بى قياس بانى عالم ناس را كه بوهم و قياس  
و تفرقه و مواس پيامن سرادقات ذو صفات او نتوان گشت الخ

- (3) Another tract, anonymous and untitled (ff. 58<sup>b</sup>–66<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

شكرو سپاس ح خالقى را كه از فواتح كلام تفرقه صورى و معنوى  
مارا در سلكت نظام كشيد الخ

- (4) The *Zubdatu'n-Najāt* (ff. 66<sup>b</sup>–69<sup>b</sup>), beginning (after the doxology):—

بدان اب طالب صراط مستقيم و جوينده راه محبات و رستكارى الخ

- (5) A titleless and anonymous tract which seems to be the *Tahqiq-nāma* (ff. 70<sup>b</sup>–86<sup>a</sup>), containing 4 *tahqiqs*, and beginning:—

شکر و سپاس و حمد بی قیاس ح احد قدیمی را ح د که قبضه  
خاک و قطره آب الخ

- (6) Two portions of a Turkish commentary (entitled *Shurḥ-i-Javīdī*) on the *Jāridān-nāma* (ff. 88<sup>a</sup>–109<sup>a</sup>) by “Ilājji Efendi,” and (ff. 110<sup>b</sup>–112<sup>b</sup>) some other writings, including a discussion of the question why the word ابتدا is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Jāridān-nāma*.

(33) OR. 44 (*Turkish*).

The '*Ishq-nāma* of 'Abdu'l-Majīd b. Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dīn (Firishta-zāda), composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1430). Ff. 133 of 18.9 × 10.8 c. and 13 lines. Good, clear naskh with rubrications; dated the end of Jumāda ii, A.H. 996 (= May 26, A.D. 1588); bought 5, ii, 1901. The arrangement of the prefatory matter differs from the lithographed edition described above (p. 558 *supra*), but agrees with it in the number, order, and contents of the chapters. Begins after table of contents and doxology:—

حضرت احدیتہ حمد ایتمکدنصغرہ [و] رسول حضرتینہ صلوة  
وسلام ایتمکدن صغرہ معلوم و مفہوم اولدی کہ بو علم لدنہ الہیہ  
فارسی نسانی اوزربنہ ایدی بعد از آن بو روم ملکندہ الخ

The contents of the 32 chapters is given as follows:—

- باب ۱ فی العشق و المحبة ' باب ۲ فی معرفة لواہ الحمد  
باب ۳ فی حقيقة الرحمة ' باب ۴ میراث الأرض  
باب ۵ فی کیفیة السُّتِ بَرِّکُمْ قَالُوا بَدِی ' باب ۶ فی المعراج  
باب ۷ اسرار کلمة الله ' باب ۸ فی قدم القرآن  
باب ۹ خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ فِي سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ  
باب ۱۰ فی حقيقة السكر و التقوی

- باب ۱۱ فی داجه الأرض ‘  
 باب ۱۲ فی اسرار الحج والاحرام و حجر الاسود وغيره ‘  
 باب ۱۳ فی کيفيَّة اُمّة وُسْطَى ‘ باب ۱۴ فی حقيقة صلوة الوُسْطَى ‘  
 باب ۱۵ فی حقيقة لا تقربا هذه الشجرة ‘  
 باب ۱۶ فی تعظيم ببت العتيق و سفينة نوح وغيره ‘  
 باب ۱۷ فی حقيقة، بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ‘  
 باب ۱۸ فی حقيقة الامانة ‘  
 باب ۱۹ فی ستر الحج والعمرة و عيرد ‘ باب ۲۰ فی حقيقة كشف الساق ‘  
 باب ۲۱ فی حقيقة الحروف ‘ باب ۲۲ فی السجدة على الساق ‘  
 باب ۲۳ فی ستر طلوع الشمس من مغربها ‘ باب ۲۴ فی کيفيَّة المهدي ‘  
 باب ۲۵ فی زمان المهدي ‘  
 باب ۲۶ فی حقيقة اليوم الذي يخرج المهدي ‘  
 باب ۲۷ فی قول المسيح من الحواريين ‘ باب ۲۸ فی حقيقة كنز الكعبة ‘  
 باب ۲۹ فی احاطة الاسم الاعظم ‘ باب ۳۰ فی رؤية الله ‘  
 باب ۳۱ فی رحم حوا ‘ باب ۳۲ فی حقيقة امير المؤمنين على ‘

In the course of the book the author represents it as essentially a Turkish version of the *Jāridān-nāma* in the following words :—

معلوم و مفہوم اولدی کہ بو علم لدنہ الہیہ فارسی لسانی اوزرینہ  
 ایدی بعد از آن بو روم مملکتندہ فارسی لسانی بلنلر قلیلدر بعض  
 الاخوان اہل مشربدن . . . شویله تمئی ایتدیلر کہ بو علم  
 لدنیہ الہیہ کہ علم تاویلدر ترکی لسانہ گلہ ‘

(34) Or. 45 (*Turkish*).

The *Sa'ádat-náma*, composed by one of the disciples of Mawláná Báyzid (the title is mentioned on f. 2<sup>a</sup>, l. 6 of the text). Ff. 42 of 18·6 × 10·9 c. and 13 lines. Dated Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 995 (= Nov., A.D. 1587). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The following explanation of the genesis of this book occurs near the beginning, immediately after the Doxology, which closely agrees with that of the '*Ishq-náma* :—

معلوم و مفهوم اولدی که بو علم علم الهی در و دخی ابداندر که  
مؤدی اولر علم ادیان که اَلْعِلْمُ عِلْمَانِ عِلْمُ الْاَبْدَانِ وَ عِلْمُ الْاَلْبَانِ  
مَنْ عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ عِلْمَ الْاَبْدَانِ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ عِلْمَ اَدِيَانِ در، 'مگره بو  
علم الهیة فضلیته (فصیله MS.) فارسی دلنجه ایدی که بو بندد فیاضه  
بو علم الهی که ایرشدی مولانا ابا یزید. حضرتلرندن ایرشدی سلمه  
الله فی الدارین بو بندد فضل فیاضه پیر و مرشد اولوب تقلیدات  
ظلمائیة جهلیة دن خلاص ایلدی . . . بو علم الهیة فضلیته  
(فصیله MS.) فارسی دلندن ترکی دلنه ترجمه قلدی

(35) Or. 62 (*Persian*).

A Persian Hurufi *qasida* by Sayyid-i-Sharíf, with Persian prose commentary by the author, entitled :—

هذا شرح قصيدة سيد شريف عليه الرحمة

On the inside of the cover it is labelled in a later hand "*Járidán-náma*." Ff. 196 of 21 × 15·2 c. Good modern naskh, with rubrications; dated A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5). Bought 3, v, 1901. Begins :—

ستایش بر کمال لایق ذات کریمست که سؤالات سائلان و تقاضا  
محتاجان در خزانن موهبة وجود او هیچ تنقیص و تنقیض پیدا  
نمی کند الخ

The *qaṣida* begins :—

زاهل مدرسه و خانقاه جمله ديار ، سؤالهاست مرا بر طريق استفسار ،

The '*Arsh-nāma* is repeatedly cited in the commentary. The author mentions having met Amīr Sayyid 'Alī at Tabriz, when engaged there in making copies for himself of the *Jāvidān-nāma* and other Ḥurūfī works.

(36) OR. 488 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Dirān* of '*Arshī*, containing ff. 129 of 22 × 16 c.; not dated; bought 18, viii, 1904; beginning as usual :—

بسم الله ايله قرآنه ايتدم ابتدا ،

Followed (on ff. 124<sup>a</sup>–126<sup>a</sup>) by the *Miftāḥ*, or key to the contractions employed in the Ḥurūfī books, entitled مفتاح كتب حروفیان.

(37) OR. 530 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 88 of 19·4 × 14 c., transcribed by Darwish Muṣṭafā in the *tekye* of Bābā Qayghusuz in the Qaṣrū'l-'Ayn at Cairo; the first portion was completed on Ṣafar 26, A.H. 1223 (= April 23, A.D. 1808), and the second on 17 Jumāda i of the same year (= July 11, A.D. 1808). Bought I, xi, 1904. Contains :—

(1) A Turkish translation of the *Kanzu'l-Ḥaqq'iq wa Kashfu'd-Daqq'iq* of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aynu'l-Qudāt of Hamadān (ff. 1–40).

(2) A Ḥurūfī work (ff. 42<sup>b</sup>–86<sup>b</sup>) entitled the *Kashf-nāma* (so in title and colophon), beginning :—

ذلك فضل الله يؤتيه من يشاء والله ذو الفضل العظيم ، الحمد  
كه اون اسميله تسميه لنمشدردم الكتاب فاتحة الكتاب كتبه وافييه  
و شافيه وكافيه واساس وسبع المثاني وام القرآن وسورة صلوات در

(38) Or. 531 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the '*Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda, agreeing with Or. 44 (see pp. 570-1 *supra*) in beginning abruptly with the table of contents, and agreeing also in the preface which follows this. Ff. 198 of  $16\cdot6 \times 11\cdot5$  c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. The '*Ishq-náma* occupies ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-191<sup>b</sup>, and is followed by another short *Ḥurúfí* treatise without title or author's name (ff. 192<sup>a</sup>-197<sup>a</sup>).

(39) Or. 532 (*Turkish*).

A collection of mystical and religious tracts in Turkish, none of which appear to be *Ḥurúfí*, though one (No. 8) is connected with Hájji Bektásh, on which account the volume is mentioned here. The collection is, however, labelled on the cover *مجموعه حروفیه* ("Ḥurúfí Miscellany"). Ff. 158 of  $16\cdot2 \times 10\cdot11$  c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contents:—

- (1) The *Ḥaqíqat-náma* of Shaykh Šáfi (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-13<sup>b</sup>), a treatise on Dreams and their interpretation, beginning, after a short doxology:—

اما بعد ' بو بر عجاله در بر عزیزگ دلگ ازرنه صفا قرنداش لرندن  
کم آنلرگ معرفت حقلى بو ضعيف ازرنه واجب در . . . الخ

- (2) The *Pand-náma* or "Book of Counsel," ascribed in the brief table of contents on the cover to *Du'ífi* (written *ضعیفی*), beginning:—

ينه اسمى (sic) الهى ايلدم ياد ' كه اولاهر سزم آنكله آباد

Ff. 17<sup>b</sup>-35<sup>b</sup>; dated the end of Rajab, A.H. 944 (= 2 Jan., A.D. 1538).

- (3) A Turkish poem (ff. 37<sup>b</sup>-49<sup>a</sup>) entitled in the table of contents *Tuhfa-i-Muḥammad Nasīm*. The heading in the text and initial verses are as follows:—

حضرت شیخ وردی رحمہ اللہ شرح ابو البرکات الشیخ محمد  
نسیم جلوتی (خلوتی؟) حنفید قطب العارفین الشیخ عبد الحی  
الاسکداری قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز

بسمله نوریلہ ایچ ' فالی گلستانہ دن  
جوہر عرفانی صایچ ' لعل بدخشانہ دن  
حمد خدایہ کشف ' ایلہ بو اسراری سن  
رفع نقاب ایلیوب ' بکر عروسانہ دن

This is dated A.H. 1173 (= A.D. 1759-60).

- (4) A translation of the celebrated *Burda*, or "Mantle-poem," of al-Búṣīrī. Ff. 53<sup>b</sup>-64<sup>b</sup>. No colophon.
- (5) Another treatise on Dreams (ff. 65<sup>b</sup>-72<sup>a</sup>), and the Seven Circles to which they belong, entitled in the Table of Contents *Risāla-i-Yedi Dā'ira* ("The Treatise of the Seven Circles"), beginning:—

حمد اول اللہ کہ جمیع مخلوقات خلق ایتدکن صگرہ  
مخلوقات امر اوزرینہ اولسونلر ایچون الخ

- (6) The *Tasfiyatu'l-Sulūk* (ff. 72<sup>a</sup>-81<sup>a</sup>), a treatise on religious discipline and exercises.
- (7) *Kitāb-i-Maqāmāt-i-Arcliyā* (ff. 81<sup>b</sup>-101<sup>a</sup>), by Muḥammad b. Ḥamza.
- (8) The *Maqālāt*, or Discourses, of Hājji Bektāsh (written by بکدش) of Khurāsān (ff. 103<sup>b</sup>-107<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

بلمک گرک کم خلایق درت بلوک گروہدر

- (9) A treatise entitled in the Table of Contents *Maqāmātu'l-Aqṭāb* (ff. 109<sup>b</sup>-126<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

الحمد لله على نعمائه . . . الخ ' و بعد ' بلگل که بر عزیز  
رجال الله نعدروارسه شیخ الشیوخ محبی الدین عربی . . . الخ

Special commendation is bestowed on Shaykh Muḥiyu'd-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabī's *Putūḥāt*.

(10) Another tract (ff. 127<sup>a</sup>-132<sup>b</sup>), entitled in the Table of Contents *Dá'ira-i-Rijáhu'l-Ghayb*. This is followed (ff. 133<sup>b</sup>-134<sup>a</sup>) by diagrams of talismans, etc.

(11) Another tract, incomplete at end, entitled in the Table of Contents *Asmá'u'l-Husná* (ff. 135-157), beginning :

الحمد لله الذى أنعم علينا من النعم و علمنا من الاسماء ما لم  
نعلم الخ

(40) Or. 544 (*Arabic-Turkish*).

Ff. 36 of 19·1 × 10·11 c.; bought 21, i, 1905. Contents:—

(1) *Mirátu't-Talibin* (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-2<sup>b</sup>), by Zaynu'd-Din al-Khwáfí, beginning:—

اعلم ايها الطالب ان جناب الحق سبحانه وتعالى اعلى و اقدس  
من أن يصل اليه واحد . . . الخ

(2) *Risála-i-Nuqţatu'l-Bayân* (ff. 3<sup>b</sup>-36), in Turkish, by “*Shaykh-i-Hadrat*,” in 21 sections, beginning:—

سُرِّبِمَ آيَاتِنَا فِي آلَوَاقٍ وَ فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى تَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ ،  
ای طالب اسرار الهی بلکل و آگاد اولغمل که آفاقده نشانلر وار  
در . . . الخ

(41) Or. 567 (*Turkish*).

A good modern copy, dated Rajab, A.H. 1234 (= April-May, A.D. 1819), of the *Divân* of Nesímî of Baghdad, beginning:—

دریای محیط جوشه گلدی. کون ایلہ مکان خروشه گلدی

Bought 14, vii, 1905; ff. 214 of 23·5 × 16·3 c.; scribe, Hájji 'Alí.

(42) Or. 568 (*Turkish*).

Prose and verse writings of Virání Bába, followed (f. 55<sup>b</sup>) by the '*Uyúnu'l-Hidáya* of Rasmi Efendi the Bektáshí.

Ff. 148 of 17<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 11·8 c.; bought 14, vii, 1905; transcribed in A.H. 1249 (= A.D. 1833-4) by Darwish Muḥammad Amín. Vírání Bábá's work (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-53<sup>a</sup>) begins:—

ایمدی ای طالب ق حق الحمد لله دن مراد تگر تعالی یی  
اکمقدر . . . الخ

On f. 5<sup>a</sup> Hájji Bektásh is mentioned as:—

سلطان جهان سید غازی و خنکار حاجی بکتاشی ولی و روح  
محمد و علی

The '*Uyūn'l-Hidāya* (ff. 55<sup>b</sup>-139<sup>a</sup>) begins:—

الحمد لله الذى جعلنا من أمة جليله و خليفه محمد المصطفى الخ

(43) Or. 569 (*Turkish*).

The *Basharat-nāma* of Rafi'í. Ff. 75 of 24 × 16·6 c. and 15 ll.; abundant rubrications; transcribed in A.H. 1268 (= A.D. 1851-2) by Muṣṭafá Nadhíf al-'Alá'í. There is a prose preface (ff. 2<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>b</sup>), which, with the title, begins:—

ويسمى مقدمة الحقائق بالمبشرات نامة لرفيعى عليه الرحمة  
والرضوان قال النبى عليه السلام ' بسم الله اترحمين الرحيم '  
فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات احديهن  
اول سبع المثانى اى حكيم ' گلدی بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم '

The wholly poetical portion begins on f. 4<sup>b</sup> as follows:—

اولدى يگر مى سكر حرف اى جوان '  
احمد مرسى كتابى بى گمان '  
لام الفسله اولدى يگر مى طقوز '  
اولده بر حرف اولدى باشقه شيه سز '

(44) OR. 677 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Dirân* of 'Arshî-Dedé, beginning as usual:—

بَاء بِسْمِ اللَّهِ اَيْلَه قَرَّانَه اَيْتَدَم اَبْتَدَا  
قَاف وِيا وِدا لى قَيْلَدَم حَرْف وِاحْدَه اِدا

Ff. 105 of 22 × 15·5 c. Transcribed in A.H. 1222 (= A.D. 1807–8) by Darwîsh 'Īsâ b. Kamâlu'd-Dîn Khojâ of خاگ اقدام موحدين ارکری کسری, who describes himself as حروفی. Bought 17, ii, 1906. On f. 1<sup>a</sup> are scribbled two dates, that of the birth of Fuḍlu'llâh the Hurufî (A.H. 740 = A.D. 1339–40), and that of the birth of 'Arshî Dedé (A.H. 970 = A.D. 1562–3).

(45) OR. 702 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the 'Ishq-nâma of Firishta-zâda, beginning, like the other manuscript copies described above, with the Index (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–2<sup>b</sup>), which is followed by the Preface already noticed. Ff. 126 of 20 × 14 c. Transcription ended on Saturday, Shu'bán 1. A.H. 1219 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1804). Scribe, Sayyid Hâlidh Yahyâ, of the Shâdhili order of darwishes.

## INDEX OF HURUFÎ WORKS

## REPRESENTED IN THE ABOVE LIST.

*The letters placed after the class-marks indicate whether the MS. in question belongs to the British Museum (B.M.), myself (E.G.B.), the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (B.N.), or the Cambridge University Library (C.U.L.).*

*Ādam-nāma* (Persian). OR. 5959 (B.M.).

*Ākhirat-nāma* (Turkish), by Firishta-zâda. OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 34<sup>b</sup>–57<sup>a</sup>; A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 8<sup>b</sup>–15<sup>b</sup>; C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 73<sup>b</sup>–76<sup>b</sup>.

'*Arsh-nāma* (Pers.). OR. 6293 (B.M.).

'*Arshî-Dedé, Dirân* of — (Turk.). OR. 6294 (B.M.); C. 6 (E.G.B.); OR. 40 (C.U.L.); OR. 488 (C.U.L.); OR. 677 (C.U.L.).

*Asmâ-i-Husnâ*. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 135–157.

*Bashárat-náma* of Rafi'í (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 11<sup>b</sup>-54<sup>a</sup>;  
OR. 569 (C.U.L.).

*Bashárat-náma-i-Iláhi* (Pers.). OR. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 30<sup>a</sup>-62<sup>b</sup>.

*Bayán-i-Ahwál-i-Hashr* (Turk.). A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>b</sup>.

*Bektásh, dar Bayán-i-Silsila-i-Hájjí* — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.),  
ff. 94<sup>b</sup>-95<sup>a</sup>.

*Bektásh, Mandáqib-i-Hájjí* — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 38<sup>b</sup>-71<sup>a</sup>.

*Bektásh, Maqálat-i-Hájjí* — (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 103<sup>b</sup>-  
107<sup>b</sup>.

*Burda, Tarjuma-i-* — (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 53<sup>b</sup>-64<sup>b</sup>.

*Dá'ira-i-Rijálu'l-Ghayb* — (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 127<sup>a</sup>-  
132<sup>b</sup>.

*Diwán.* See under *Arshi*, *Muhyiyu'd-Din Abdál*, and *Nesimí*.

*Faḍilat-náma* (Turk.). C. 11 (E.G.B.).

*Faḍilí, Mir* —, Hurufi tract by — (Pers.). OR. 5381 (B.M.),  
ff. 4<sup>b</sup>-101<sup>a</sup>.

*Faqr-náma* (Turk.) of Virání-Dedé, q.r. C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 17<sup>a</sup>-51<sup>b</sup>.

*Fayḍ-náma* (Turk.) of Virání-Dedé, q.v. C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 51<sup>b</sup>-76<sup>a</sup>.

*Ganj-náma* (Turk.) of Rafi'í. A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 115<sup>b</sup>-120<sup>a</sup>.

*Ghiyáth, Amír* — or *Mawláná*, Poems and *Musajja'* (Pers.).  
A. 41 (E.G.B.), ff. 7<sup>b</sup>-15<sup>b</sup>.

*Haqiqat-náma* (Turk.) of Shaykh Saḍí. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-13<sup>b</sup>.

*Hidáyat-náma* (Pers.). There seem to be two different works  
thus entitled, one wholly in Persian, represented by OR. 6380  
(B.M.), ff. 64<sup>b</sup>-103<sup>b</sup>; the other in Turkish with a Persian  
preface, by Firishta-záda, represented by A. 43 (E.G.B.),  
ff. 89<sup>b</sup>-112<sup>b</sup>.

*Hikmatu'l-Asrúr*, or *Khutbatu'l-Bayán* (Turkish). A. 41 (E.G.B.),  
ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-6<sup>a</sup>.

*Ishq-náma* (Turk.) of Firishta-záda. OR. 5960 (B.M.); A. 69  
(E.G.B.), the lithographed edition; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 5<sup>b</sup>-85<sup>b</sup>;  
OR. 44 (C.U.L.); OR. 531 (C.U.L.); and OR. 702 (C.U.L.).

*Istiwá-náma* (Pers.) of Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Astarábádí. Anc.  
Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-59<sup>b</sup>.

*Jávidán-náma-i-Kabír* (Pers. and dialect). OR. 5957 (B.M.).  
Other MSS. at Cambridge (Ee. 1. 27), Leyden, and St. Sophia.  
See my *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University  
Library*, p. 69.

*Kanun'ul-Haqá'iq wa Kashfu'd-Da'á'iq* of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aynu'l Qudát of Hamadán, translated into Turkish. OR. 530 (C.U.L.), ff. 1-40.

*Káshif'ul-Asrár wa Dáfi'u'l-Ashrár* (Turk.), by Ishuq Efendi, printed A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5). A. 49 (E.G.B.).

*Kháyalí*, Poem by — (Pers.). Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), f. 62<sup>a</sup>.

*Khutbatu'l-Bayán*. See *Hikmatu'l-Asrár* above.

*Kursi-náma* (Pers.). OR. 6379 (B.M.).

<p><i>Lughat-i-Astarábádi.</i>  <i>Lughat-i-Járidán-i-Kabír.</i></p>	{	<p>Glossary of dialect words used in the <i>Járidán-náma-i-Kabír</i>, explained in Persian. OR. 5957 (B.M.), ff. 485<sup>a</sup>-490<sup>a</sup>; Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 62<sup>b</sup>-80<sup>b</sup>.</p>
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*Mahabbat-náma* (Pers.), by Faḍlu'lláh. Suppl. Pers. 107 (B.N.).

*Maqámát-i-Iqtáb* (Turk.) OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 109<sup>b</sup>-126<sup>b</sup>.

*Maqámát-i-Awliyá* (Turk.) of Muḥammad b. Hamza. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 81<sup>b</sup>-101<sup>a</sup>.

<p><i>Miftáh-i-Huruf-i-Járidán.</i>  <i>Miftah-i-Kutub-Hurufiyyán.</i></p>	{	<p>A key to the contractions used in the <i>Járidán-i-Kabír</i> and other Hurúfi books. OR. 5957* (B.M.); OR. 488 (C.U.L.), ff. 124<sup>a</sup>-126<sup>a</sup>; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 2<sup>b</sup>-3<sup>b</sup>.</p>
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*Mirátu't-Talibín* (Arab.). OR. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-2<sup>b</sup>.

*Misrî, Nutq-i-* — (Turk.), verse by Misrî with commentary by Saláhi. OR. 6295 (B.M.), ff. 1-32.

*Mithálí*, tract by — (Turk.). OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 82<sup>b</sup>-86.

*Muḥiyyu'd-Din Abdál, Dirán of* — (Turk.). C. 7 (E.G.B.).

*Nesimí, Dirán of* — (Turk.-Pers.). OR. 6290 (B.M.); OR. 567 (C.U.L.).

*Pand náma* of Da'ifí (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 17<sup>b</sup>-35<sup>b</sup>.

*Risála-i-Asháb-i-Badr* (Pers.), by Saláhi Efendi. OR. 6295 (B.M.), ff. 84<sup>b</sup>-103<sup>a</sup>.

*Risála-i-Dil u Dáná* (Turk.), by Shaykh Ibráhím Efendi al-Oghlání al-Aq-sará'í. C. 12 (E.G.B.).

*Risála-i-Faḍl-i-Hurúfí* (Pers.). OR. 5958 (B.M.).

*Risála-i-Huruf*, a treatise on the Letters. C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 76<sup>b</sup>-90<sup>b</sup>.

*Risála-i-Kayfiyyat-i-Khilqat* (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 33<sup>b</sup>-38<sup>b</sup>.

*Risāla-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayān* (Turk.). OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 1-33.  
OR. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 3<sup>b</sup>-36.

*Risāla-i-Yedi Dû'ira* (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 65<sup>b</sup>-72<sup>a</sup>.

*Sa'âdat-nâma* (Turk.). OR. 45 (C.U.L.).

*Şalâhi Efendi, Shaykh 'Abdu'llâh* —, tract by —. OR. 6295 (B.M.).

*Sharḥ-i-Javidân*, a Turkish commentary on the *Javidân-nâma* by "Hâjji Efendi." OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 88-109<sup>a</sup>.

*Sharif, Sayyid-i* —, *qasîda of* —, with commentary (Persian). OR. 62 (C.U.L.).

*Shirâb-nâma* (Pers.) of Sayyid Ishâq. OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 2<sup>b</sup>-31<sup>b</sup>.

*Shuhûdî, Tuhfa and poems of* — (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-3<sup>b</sup> and 55<sup>b</sup>-76<sup>a</sup>.

*Sirru'l-Mufradât* (Turk.), by Darwish Bâbâ Uways. B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 4<sup>a</sup>-5<sup>b</sup>; OR. 42 (C.U.L.).

*Tahqiq-nâma* (Pers.). OR. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 25-28; OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 70<sup>b</sup>-86<sup>a</sup>. These two tracts, however, are not identical, and the proper title is in both cases uncertain.

*Tasfiya-i-Sulûk* (Turk.). OR. 532 (B.M.), ff. 72<sup>a</sup>-81<sup>a</sup>.

*Tirûsh-nâma* (Turk.). C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 76<sup>a</sup>-77<sup>a</sup>.

*Tuhfa-i-Muḥammad Nesim* (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 37<sup>b</sup>-49<sup>a</sup>.

*Tuhfa-i-Shuhûdî*. See under *Shuhûdî*, above.

*'Uyûnu'l-Hidiya* (Turk.). C. 10 (E.G.B.); OR. 568 (C.U.L.), ff. 55<sup>b</sup>-139<sup>a</sup>.

*Virânî-Bâbâ* (or *-Dellî*), prose and verse of — (Turk.). OR. 568 (C.U.L.), ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-53<sup>a</sup>. See also under *Faqr-nâma*.

*Waṣiyyat-nâma* (Pers.). OR. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 2<sup>b</sup>-25<sup>b</sup>.

*Wilâyat-nâma* (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 71<sup>b</sup>-72<sup>a</sup>. — of Hâjji Bektâsh (Turk.). OR. 41 (C.U.L.). — another Pers.; OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 32<sup>a</sup>-58<sup>a</sup>.

*Zubdatu'n-Najât* (Pers.). OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 66<sup>b</sup>-69<sup>b</sup>.



## XXIII.

THE PAHLAVI TEXT OF YASNAS LXVI (Sp. LXV)  
AND LXVIII (Sp. LXVII),

FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TRANSLATED.\*

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

YASNA LXVI (Sp. LXV).

*To the Ahurian One of Ahura (Advi Sūra Anāhita).<sup>1</sup>*

*Offerings to Her as the Representative of Ahura.*

WITH *asa*<sup>2</sup> (as the ritual sanctity)<sup>2</sup> I will offer this *zaoθra* having the *Haoma* with it, and the flesh with it, and the *haḍānaṣpatā*, (also) lifted up with (ritual) sanctity (*aša*). (2) To thee, O Ahurian One<sup>1</sup> of Ahura, will I offer it, (3) for the propitiation of *Aūharmazd* (*Ahura Mazda*), the radiant, the glorious, and of the *Amesaspends*, the August Immortals, and of *Sraoša*, the Holy, and of *Aūharmazd's* Fire, the lofty Chief who is of *Asa*, the sacred Law, etc.; see S.B.E. xxxi at Y. VII, 5-13; see also Y. XXII, XXVII, 24-27.<sup>3</sup>

\* The Pahlavi texts have been carefully prepared with all the MSS. collated for Z.D.M.G. For LXV (Sp. LXIV) see Z.D.M.G. for July, 1907.

Translations into Parsi-Persian and Gujarati from texts not collated, and otherwise of an uncritical character, have alone preceded this.

<sup>1</sup> So doubtless, as the Heavenly Source of Waters. Readers may be surprised at the purity and fervour of these pieces as addressed to the Holy and Heavenly Stream; but it should not be forgotten that She especially represents Ahura in His attribute of 'purity.' She is, like *Ānāmaiti*, His daughter; she expels disease, and with it all unholiness.

<sup>2</sup> *Aša* not as equalling 'for a reward.'

<sup>3</sup> *Yasna* LXVII (Sp. LXVI) here follows, but it is included with in other sections elsewhere treated.

## YASNA LXVIII (Sp. LXVII).

*To the Ahurian One, continued.**Prayers for Friendship, for Health and Happiness.*

Therefore do I offer this offering to thee, O (thou) Ahurian One of Ahura, for<sup>1</sup> friendship (in my need), (2) when (or 'if') I have offended thee; [the meaning is that every single person has offended; that is to say, this sentence is uttered (officially as) in the Destoor's office. (It has no especial reference personally to the Priest himself, but is pronounced like a general confession)]<sup>2</sup>; and may this Zaoθra<sup>3</sup> attain to<sup>4</sup> thee (etc., as already pronounced; see elsewhere).

(3) To thee, O Ahurian One of Ahura, may it come on with its Haoma, and its flesh, and its Haδānaεpata; (4) and may the sweetness<sup>5</sup> and fatness<sup>5</sup> come on<sup>6</sup> to me<sup>7</sup> also (who am) the Zaoθar,<sup>8</sup>

(5) for the bestowal of health and healing, of progress and protection, for the Soul's beatitude<sup>9</sup> and for sanctity;


<sup>1</sup> Acc. in the original.

<sup>2</sup> So elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Reading zaoθra n.s.f.

<sup>4</sup> The original is genitive.

<sup>5</sup> The datives are not recognised.

<sup>6</sup> The 2nd singular is not seen: was  taken as a 3rd sing.? compare the other supposed cases with their Vedic analogues.

<sup>7</sup> Māvayaca is here first taught us to be a dative of azēm. We should not regard the throng of such initiatives on the part of the Pahl. trlr. as a matter of no importance.

<sup>8</sup> Zaoθrē, as dat. sg. m. I varied the usual translation with a vocative in S.B.E. xxxi, see Zaoθrē above, which is surely not dative; but I now recede to the Avesta dative h.e.e. There might be two words, zaoθra (see zaoθrām, etc.) and zaoθrya; this latter as the word usually deciphered zaoθrē (partī jamyāt), here zaoθrya; but on the whole I would now change the reading above to zaoθra with some MSS.

<sup>9</sup> Hu + ahu (aṇhu). I can no longer accede to the advanced idea of 'preparation' here adopted, on account of a missing letter which may well have fallen out from a text. I now agree with the Pahlavi translation.

This suggestion of the Pahlavi huaxūih is valid in spite of the form of the original Avesta text, which lacks a needed letter to make it correspond; havañhāi as = dat. of hu + aṇhu (ahu) is defective; we formerly read an havañha, Indian '\*savaśā,' to 'savas' after the pattern of mānasā to mānas; and affording the

that is, for sacrificial (merit and efficacy), and for good fame, for equanimity,<sup>1</sup> and for success (lit. 'victory') which helps the settlements advance (lit. 'on').

*Interior Sincerity, a deeply spiritual Sacrificer.*

(6) (Yeu,) I sacrifice to thee, O Ahurāni of Ahura, with<sup>2</sup> the *zaoθra*<sup>3</sup> of the good thought;

(7) I sacrifice to thee, O Ahurāni of Ahura, with the *zaoθra* of the good<sup>4</sup> word;

(8) I sacrifice to thee, O Ahurāni of Ahura, with the *zaoθra* of the good deed,

(9) for clear (or 'enlightened') thought, for enlightened speech, and for the enlightened deed, [for undoubting belief in the matter of the Yazats],

(10) for the good life's blessedness of the soul, for the progress of the settlements, for the life's blessedness<sup>5</sup> and for sanctity<sup>6</sup> (that is, for ceremonial merit).

suspiciously intelligent meaning of 'preparation.' Nēr. has only *uttamāya* at Y. XI, 26.

But the Pers. MSS. with *nēk-sāhibi* here and *nēk-axūi* at Y. XI, 26, puts us still further upon the track of discovering that 'v' has fallen out of *havañhāi*, which cannot mean 'felicity,' etc. We may read *hu + aihya = havañhya* after this hint, which should have been known years ago. It may be that the 'v' fell out on account of the foregoing 'v' in . . . va . . . before it in the word *havañhāi*: recall the curious infim. terminal *anuhe* for *-aühve = -ase*. This question was, as seen above, first pushed forward by the Persian translator. Nēr. has *uttamohāya* at Y. XV, 2, to *-uh-*; otherwise the word does not occur with him, Nēr. At Y. LXI, 17, the Pers. treats differently; see J.R.A.S. at the place. As alternative we may have 'good mastership,' 'discipline.'

<sup>1</sup> The *va* would make *frēhdātar ī gēhāñih* (so) independent of *pērōzgarīh*; but see the original.

<sup>2</sup> *Pavan*.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the original as ablative, where is the Pahlavi plural form for *zōhar = zaoθra*?

<sup>4</sup> The MS. DJ, A, C<sup>1</sup> has *naśā*; but there is no such idea in the original. This *naśā* might allude by anticipation to *havañhāi* in 10 when understood as if the 'hava' equalled 'hva' = 'own.' DJ in Gāthas.

<sup>5</sup> So I would again improve upon my old translation of 1886.

Is *havañhāi* an adjective, agreeing with *urunē*: 'for the beatified soul, for life-giving progress to the settlements'? (., the Pers. MSS., gain translates *nēk-sāhibi* the 'good mastership': here 'the good conscience,' *hū . . . alu* (*aühū*), would be too advanced an idea. Too advanced meanings are the fatal errors of beginners. Perhaps, as said, the *naśā* of the MSS. A at section 7 came from the *hava* of *havañhāi*, mistaken for 'hava' = 'hva' = 'svā' = 'own'; its original should be *hu* = 'well,' not *hava = svā*.

<sup>6</sup> Free, or erroneous, for 'the most holy ones'; see the original.

*For Heaven hereafter and for a good Offspring here.*

(11) And grant me, O Ahurian One of Ahura, that which is the best world of the saints, the shining, all-glorious.<sup>1</sup>

(12) Grant me (also), O Ahurāni of Ahura, a personal<sup>2</sup> offspring; (that is, an original and not an adoptive one),

(12) who may bring prosperity to my dwelling, (or) my village, my county, or my province and jungle regions;

(14) (and for this) I sacrifice (continually on) to thee, O Ahurāni of Ahura.

*To the Mythic Sea, the Caspian,<sup>1</sup> etc.*

(15) I sacrifice to the Sea of Wide shores (the Caspian?<sup>3</sup>), (16) and to all the holy waters (do I sacrifice) which (are) upon the earth, even those which are standing, and to the forth-flowing waters, and to those which (rest) in springs [of spring source (whose sources are of springs)], and to those which flow from hills<sup>4</sup> (flowing from the force of gravitation, and not upward as apparently in springs), and those in dug canals,<sup>5</sup> and snow<sup>6</sup> waters (hail melting or mixed with rain), and rain<sup>7</sup>-waters; (17) yea, with that sacrifice and (vast) praise (do we sacrifice), since it is the

<sup>1</sup> Or 'all happy,' 'delectable.'

<sup>2</sup> In this sense, better than 'manly.' I formerly rendered 'legitimate,' but I now think a 'not-adopted off-spring' more probable.

<sup>3</sup> Although the Ahurāni was the heavenly source of all waters, rain, dews, snow, rivers, gulfs, etc., yet it seems notable that an Orontes (Alvand)\* or the Oxus was often had in view, with the Caspian, into which the latter flowed, referred to in the immediate connection. Is the 'p' in 'Caspian' really that of 'ap,' 'kaš ap-,' the vouru having fallen away? Or was Urumiya this mythic sea, or the Aral? Views as to the identity of the particular body of water held in view in these mythical allusions would change with expositors from generation to generation accordingly as their geographical information would become developed or restricted.

<sup>4</sup> So the Pers. translates: and so A and B mark gīrān. Waters which flow from obvious gravitation, whereas waters whose sources were springs were supposed to ascend without obvious physical cause. Persian dērān-, 'long' (flowing), would not be so probable.

<sup>5</sup> Kutasīg; Pers. kūrēz (so).

<sup>6</sup> So the Persian 'barf.'

<sup>7</sup> So the Persian 'bārān.'

\* Mt. Alvand must have been named from some river.

most correct<sup>1</sup> (though addressed to the Ahurāni), for those (waters) as a yasna and a (yašt) praise even from Aša the Best (Vahišta)<sup>2</sup> [as is also clear from the (substance of) the Dēn (corroboration)].

(18) (Yea,) we sacrifice to the good waters, the best, the Mazda-made and holy, (19) to the good waters even do we sacrifice (as duty to them; see the gen. forms of the original); (20) and I sacrifice to the sweetness<sup>3</sup> and the fatness (21) from which are the flowing<sup>4</sup> of water and the growth of plants,<sup>4</sup>

*Repulsions, the Mūs, the Asmaoγa.*

(22) for the sake of the withstanding of Āz,<sup>5</sup> the demon-made one, (23) and on account of that witch, the Mūs,<sup>6</sup> (24) for the withstanding<sup>7</sup> of her [that is, until it be no longer possible for her to commit (her) sin].

The meaning is (that the allusion is to the Mūs), that so it is necessary to say that (the above) for the sake of repulsingly<sup>8</sup> (*sic*) destroying<sup>8</sup> her, [that Mūs (the evil fairy); that is to say, until (vadaš) by means of this (pavanaē) she is thoroughly consumed] for a repulsing<sup>9</sup> (*sic*)

<sup>1</sup> B. om dātīhātūm; and has for it 'bāyen tan' i martumān, 'adding over 'man' yehabūdāk.' Therefore B. would render 'those waters within the body of man which are of a contributive nature' ('sources of strength'). Is not dātīhātūm, however, a kind of apology for the tervour of this Yašt addressed to the Heavenly Source of waters? The assurance is given that it is in accordance with Aša Vahišta, who especially rules all ritual as well as all higher law, aša, rita, rite.

<sup>2</sup> The passage in the original is evidently an interpolation.

<sup>3</sup> So for the various objects in sacrifice.

<sup>4</sup> Notice the idea that the sacrifice is the moving force in nature.

<sup>5</sup> Āzi, demon of 'evil desire.' One is much tempted to regard this word as a degeneration from āzi, the Āzi Dahāka, 'the scorching anguisher': the āhi of the Veda who coiled his folds about the cloud cows, keeping off the rain. The holy sacrifice withstands and removes him or her; and the rainfall comes on again. But we had better for the present hold to the more clumsy derivation.

<sup>6</sup> Whether this 'Mūs' refers to a plague of mice or rats, or to a kleptomaniac epidemic (mūs, 'to steal'), or not, this entire 24 should be referred only inclusively to the Mūs by this gloss. I am still pleased with my old suggestion, 'that cheat, the P.'

<sup>7</sup> Avāz astešnīh rāi(rāδ(?)), for the dative paitīštātayačēn.

<sup>8</sup> laxvār nasēnešnīh rāi(rāδ(?)), for paitīštātayačēn.

<sup>9</sup> So, laxvār tarpēšnīh (so B.) rāi (or rād 'tarpēšnīh rāi' or 'tarpēnešnīh rāi'), for paitīštātayačēn.

overcoming<sup>1</sup> of her, [that is to say, until she be made powerless]. What stands in the way<sup>2</sup>; (that is to say, 'she who stands in the path') has an opposition also (patirak yehemtūnešnih ič<sup>3</sup>) (an adversary meeting her face to face) [that is to say, in order that there may be to her a counter-opposing approach] on account of her<sup>4</sup> hostility; [that is, since (or 'in order that') from (her) beginning she may not advance (nor make her evil progress)];

(25) and also by occasion of (or 'against') the Ašemaoya, the unholy, and of the tyrant also full of death; [that is, in order that the oppression (which proceeds) from them may be held back].<sup>5</sup> (26) for the restraining the demons' hostility and that of evil men.

### *Reiterations, Invocations.*

(27) Listen to our Yasna, O Ahurāni of Ahura; be well content with this (our) Yasna, O Ahurāni. [(Rubric) the zaoθra is here to be prepared within the pot (of offering).]

At this our Yasna sit<sup>6</sup> (i.e. 'attend'), (O Ahurāni), [that is, have an ear]. (29) Let her<sup>7</sup> (the Ahurāni) come to us in friendly aid through an abundant<sup>8</sup> Yasna offering of zaoθras [accompanied] with a recital (marūk) with a well-celebrated [sacrifice, with a nīrang of zaoθras] with a good continuous (frāz) production of zaoθras [from one's own substance].<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note 9 on p. 587.

<sup>2</sup> So B. and C.

<sup>3</sup> Patirak yehemtūnešnih-, for paityaoget; no rāi here; notice rāi for other datives.

<sup>4</sup> As said above, this 24 should not refer exclusively to the Mūš; the Ašemaoya is more directly involved, but practically both are present.

<sup>5</sup> The point of everything here is the zaoθra: the offering effects all this.

<sup>6</sup> So most critically and for the first time in exegesis, giving us the rendering of *āhiša*.

<sup>7</sup> In error, of course, from the original 2nd person; unless, indeed, the form *jamyā* could be 3rd sg., with some. Was not, however, an offerer intended?—'Let one, the faithful, come with an abundant offering'; a hint to the contributors.

<sup>8</sup> Notice that **دود** was first of all explained to us here by the Pahl. trlr., as = *kubed*. It is, as I advanced in A.J.P. not long since, = *ašā*, the *š* having an inherent 'a.' It equals *ptéra* in a sense of emphasis; recall where the cows bellowed '*pténa*' in the Rik, i.e. 'right lustily.' *Aša* is properly *arša*.

*Rewards to the Faithful and Punctilious.*

(30) He who offers to you, O (ye) good waters, Ahurian Ones of Ahura, (31) with the best Zaoθra, with the best adjusted zaoθra, with a zaoθra<sup>1</sup> (searchingly) examined by the pious (that is, examined as fit, almost 'tested' by the pious) [some say 'with a zaoθra purified (by) the pious'<sup>2</sup>],

(32) to him do ye give<sup>3</sup> both splendour<sup>4</sup> and glory and continuous<sup>5</sup> health of body; (33) to him do ye give life-vigour of the body and dominant success<sup>6</sup> (victory) of person; (34) to him do ye give possessions (even) riches full of brilliant ease (or glory) to him do ye give a personal<sup>7</sup> offspring; (35) to him a long life; (36) to him this sanctity of the Best World, (Heaven), the shining, all-glorious; (37) and to me do thou (read 'do ye') give it, O good waters, [to<sup>8</sup> me who am] the sacrificing Zaoatar.

*Response of the Attending Worshippers.*

(38) And to us<sup>9</sup> also who are the Mazdayasnjans (now here) offering, and friendly colleagues (clients) to that Zaoatar (who thus speaks for us do ye give the blessings), (39) (to

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. A, B, C insert torān, 'of oxen,' having some reference to the sacred herds; but K' seems to omit it. I think it may have originated from the syllable '-tā-' in vahištābyō, which -tā in an earlier Avesta-Pahlavi character might possibly have looked like the signs for tōrā, one stroke having been accidentally lengthened. nōvak', generally = 'good,' seems to render sraēta, which we should rather reproduce with 'beautiful,' 'fitting.'

<sup>2</sup> The purified zaoθra of the pious. The idea of close inspection involved an attempted test of purification, pairmanharštābyō = nigērit'.

<sup>3</sup> 'Do ye give' is from 37.

<sup>4</sup> 'Riches' ? for rāi 'so,' in spite of rayō -āō-)mand as applied to the Deity.

<sup>5</sup> A career (a continuance) (ravešnīh (sic)) of health of body, as often, a form as from i, ac = 'to go,' was seen in -ātem as read ātem, so in Pahlavi 𐭠𐭡𐭣 = āi.

<sup>6</sup> The Pers. has fatah, as seeing zi = ji = 'to conquer,' in zivarīh; should vazdvare be vizdvare?

<sup>7</sup> Not adoptive; now so preferring to ('legitimate'); it must have been soon adopted as legitimate.

Was this expressive iteration an accidental growth? Hardly; see the metre.

The last word 'long' is part of a compositum in the original.

<sup>8</sup> Zaoθrē, here first recognised as a dative of zaoatar.

<sup>9</sup> Notice the gen. pl. torce in ahmākem, here first recognised.

us) both Hervads and disciples,<sup>1</sup> men and women (as we are), and children and maidens of the field-work,<sup>2</sup> (40) to us (do ye give these blessings) who think habitually (frāz) in accordance with the good aša (the law of ritual truth) (was aša seen in aθra of vanhaθra?; recall řta, aša, = rite); that is to say, let it be good works for us, (meaning 'let their accruing ceremonial merit be ours') for the complete overcoming (pavan barā tarvēnešnih, so for vītare) of suppression (or 'anguish'), in the complete overcoming of hostility (lit. 'of torment') and of the armed attack (hōn', so for haēnayāšēa) of the demolisher (vōīr(n)) [and of the (evil) impelling (spirit): (or 'for the dispossession of the harmful impeller, (making) the matter not his'), and (for the ousting)<sup>3</sup> of the unfriendly and of the foe].


### *The Straightest Path.*

(41) And grant us the prayer for the straightest path and the possession (?) of it, (—so the original: but vāzešn<sup>4</sup> certainly should otherwise mean 'the driving, or riding, on it, the straight<sup>5</sup> path and its use') the path which is the straightest<sup>6</sup> from (or 'of') Asa (as the ritual and moral

<sup>1</sup> So for aēθryanāmea.

<sup>2</sup> Kār is determined to this sense by vā-triyā-.

<sup>3</sup> 'For the thing is not his': that is, 'it is not the possession of the impeller (of the raid).' Hardly the more subtle 'for the removal of him whose interests are alien, whose the thing is not.' It looks as if this loit mindavam aš had been occasioned by the 'a' privative of the following word. It is also quite possible that something in the form of aurvaθaēbyyaēā suggested mindavam; arθa may have been recalled: lā mindavam may have been thus original Pahlavi text and not gloss; adōštār (Pers. bi-dūst would then be additional Pahlavi text. It is better to take rānēnitār in an evil sense, and as added explanation for vōīr(n), and to take 'not is the matter His' as further explanation possibly occasioned by the anticipation of the 'a' privative in aurvaθaēbyyaēā: perhaps the 'instigator (of evil)' would be more suitable. Has vōīrya anything to do with vi + řan, or 'vij, vaēj'? Vōīr(n), so, to reproduce, but 'ōi' may have Av. value as 'ōi.'

<sup>4</sup> We might possibly regard Spiegel's form as meant for āvindešn. The Pers., however, reads vāzešn and does not translate, feeling the difficulty. Certain signs for 'vāzešn' might also partly mean 'vādešn,' and the sign for 'z' was suggested by the form  = *z* in the Av. original, which often represents a Pahlavi *z*.

<sup>5</sup> Notice the frequent occurrence of this Gāthic expression, which also appears on the Behistan inscriptions.

truth); and grant us the best world of the saints, the shining, all happy (or 'all glorious').

*The Priest Resumes.*

*Home Amenities.*

(42) And I pray in my āfrīn<sup>1</sup> for the amenity of my house, and for the joyful habitation of it, and for the long habitation of it, and for those<sup>2</sup> villages of the Mazdayasnians each, from which they, (the priestly offerers, may receive) this zaōθra as an offering supported by their gifts; (43) and I pray with my āfrīn for amenity (correctness in habitation) (44) and for joyful habitation and for long habitation for every Mazdayasnian village (as well), and for abundant support and for a good<sup>3</sup> support, and a friendly<sup>4</sup> support for<sup>5</sup> the (Holy) Fire; (45) and (therefore) for a good beneficial offering service to thee, O Ahurāni of Ahura, do I make my āfrīn prayer; (46) and I pray in my āfrīn for Rāman χvāstra<sup>6</sup> (i.e. for abundant food, and harvests) for those Provinces<sup>7</sup>;

(47) and I ask for health and healing which (may be) yours,<sup>8</sup> the pious and holy man's.<sup>9</sup> (48) And I pray in my āfrīn (for (?) it, for (?) every saint.

(49) Who is the good saint between earth and heaven?

<sup>1</sup> One would suppose that āfrīnāmi meant originally a prayer used at an āfrīn (āpūt) ceremony, but *vice versa* might have been the case. The ceremony must have been here named from the word: see its idea.

<sup>2</sup> B. ins. harvisp; but it has no equivalent in the original. May it not, however, suggest an emendation of the original, which has vispāyai *vide* below.

The form of the itē, 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 (so some MSS.), may have been affected by that of the termination of the previous word. The point of 'each' is to define 'those.' It was most proper that the particular villages whose representatives should be there present with their offerings should be first officially noticed.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. ušta.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. vañta.

<sup>5</sup> So 'av' with error; it should be vocative, but there is no preceding 'tava.'

<sup>6</sup> Joyful tasting, good appetite.

<sup>7</sup> Plural for singular.

<sup>8</sup> Not necessarily voc.; see the original.

<sup>9</sup> This seems especially addressed to the Congregation.

(that is, is there any such?), (50) for him I pray for a thousand healings, for ten thousand healings.<sup>1</sup>

*A Gloria to Ahura.*

(51) At thy will, O Aūharmazd, and with (salvation) benefit (do thou reign, O Aūharmazd; that is) Thy sovereign authority do thou exercise (-āūd); that is to say, over thine own creatures and with a benefit, thus do thou exercise authority. . . . (and so on, as is written in Y. VIII, 10, as far as to the words 'the evil creation,' end of 18).

(52) Thus may it happen as we prayed<sup>2</sup> [as we have already said (at Y. XXXV, 4-6 (Sp.),<sup>3</sup> etc., which see) (53)]; (54) (you, do ye (O waters), grant me) what is the good gift which is beyond and what is the good and (venerating) reward here].

(55) And that (even) [of myself] do I say, and I will also declare it forth to others] (56) as regards (pavan) the bounteous<sup>4</sup> (ižā) (offerings); and I strive<sup>5</sup> (with holy effort), and with an āfrin I pray a vāj<sup>5</sup> (prayer); and so do I sacrifice: O ye who are good water(s), from you I pray<sup>6</sup> for us, [even to us<sup>6</sup>], do ye (now) grant our prayer, ye who are [good] sovereigns, do ye grant splendour<sup>7</sup> and glory.

[(Here intervene repetitions); the words from 'vañuhinān' to 'vā' are to be here thrice pronounced.]]

(57) O waters, do ye give us that boon which was that

<sup>1</sup> B. here gives us an interesting rubric: after the word 'thousand' water is to be put, or added, into the appropriate vessel; after the word 'healing' water is to be put into the Zaoθra, or added to it (saying again), 'a thousand healings, ten thousand healings.'

<sup>2</sup> Aside from the original, we might fancy a response of the Ahurāni here; 'so may it happen as the Zaoθar (has now) prayed us.'

<sup>3</sup> See the place in this Journal.

<sup>4</sup> Ižā = atzūnīg I rendered 'religious zeal.'

<sup>5</sup> Meant for the verbal form of the nominal yaoštayō, which I rendered 'capabilities'; there may be a closely similar, but not identical, form, meaning 'joint,' to 'yuj,' so of the Dragon.

<sup>6</sup> This looks as if he divided jaiðimnā = jaiðyamnā = 'zaidyam.' In this case he did not mean 'even to us' as gloss.

<sup>7</sup> Is raēšca (?: rayasča) = 'riches' here, while undoubtedly 'splendour' elsewhere?

benefit formerly gained<sup>1</sup> of yore by us from you ; [(I pray it) with a Yašt which is (now) pronounced<sup>1</sup> at the end of the Fire (Yašt), and which (is continued on and) spoken with a Yašt which (is) at the beginning of the Yašt (to) the waters.<sup>2</sup>]

*Praises to Ahura and His Leading Creatures.*

(Here in dialogue.)

(58) Praise be to Aūharmazd ; [Aūharmazd said : ‘Yeu (aēy) Praise (be offered) to me from him who is the most a furtherer of the good and the most a smiter of the evil’].<sup>3</sup>

(59) Praise to the Amēšaspenda. [The Amēšaspenda said : yeu (ae) praise to us. He has done this who eats<sup>3</sup> in regulated measure, (eating no unclean food ; hardly meaning ‘with moderation’) holding (his property) under regulated conditions (paying faithfully his religious dues, who is even carefully in order) as to both (or ‘as to all that he possesses’ ; for then) according to the exact standard (of frequency and generosity) he will continue on to sacrifice (to us) and will give to the good and the deserving.]

(60) Praise to Miθra of the wide pastures. [Miθra of the wide pastures said : ‘Praise to me !’ By him it is done (he has done it (om. av’)) ; see the other occurrences, whose own soul holds Miθra in good esteem. For when his own soul holds Miθra (in) good and fair (esteem), then by him, (the sincere worshipper), all the (higher) creatures of Aūharmazd are held in good esteem ; who thus esteems Miθra in his own soul).]<sup>4</sup> (Is it ‘Miθra’s own soul . . . ’ ?)

<sup>1</sup> ‘Vid.’ seen in it.

<sup>2</sup> Allusions to the order of some intervening texts in the ancient Yasna ; but this order need not have remained unchanged. Yasna LXII (Sp. LXI) might be the Fire Yašt, and LXV (Sp. LXIV), etc., would be a Water Yašt.

<sup>3</sup> Not so in the original. (Or ‘to that one, me, who am . . . ’ ?)

<sup>4</sup> One might be tempted to refer ‘his own soul,’ as often elsewhere, to some particular offerer then present, possibly to one more prominent in station. Then, again, we might regard it as an expression of individualism, meaning ‘not superficially,’ nor ‘perfunctorily,’ though we must always be on our guard against that ever threatening fault of beginners, viz., seeing too much, or too refined, a meaning in an ancient text. (‘Who of his own soul . . . ’ ? ; who, M., as his own soul . . . ’ ?, etc.)

[The natural course of the syntax would be: *Miθra* said: 'Praise to me for him.' '(For *Miθra*) it has been celebrated, as to whom *Miθra* holds his own (the offerer's) soul (as) being good and beneficial'; which hardly makes sense with the concluding words, which we should have to read as follows: 'For when *Miθra* holds the worshipper's own soul to be good, all the creatures of *Aūharmazd* are held to be good by him (*Miθra*).'

We must therefore suppose as follows: *Miθra* said: 'Praise to me'; by him, the righteous offerer, it has been done; the praise has been offered (by him individually, and not merely as one of a congregation in general, whose own soul holds *Miθra* to be good and propitious, for when with him his own soul (his sincere conscientiousness) has held *Miθra* to be good (then) by him (this true-hearted worshipper) all the creatures of *Aūharmazd* are considered to be good,<sup>1</sup> (as *Miθra* is, under *Aūharmazd* and the *Ameša-spendis*, Lord of all).]

(61) Praise be to the Sun of the swift horses! [The Sun of the swift horses said: 'Praise be offered to me'; (and) he has celebrated it (the sun-praise) who meets trouble<sup>2</sup> by doing duty and good works, and does not hold by trouble, for even I come and go in this manner (or 'in this path.' I do not hold for trouble<sup>2</sup>).]

(62) Praise to the eye<sup>3</sup> of *Aūharmazd* [the eye of *Aūharmazd* said: 'Yea, praise to me!' By him it is done (by him this praise is truly offered) who looks upon all the

<sup>1</sup> The dawning of the especial *Miθra* cult is here obvious, or else, a clear trace of it, as long since established.

<sup>2</sup> So the Parsi-Pers. MSS.; and this alone makes full sense, *rauj* = 'trouble,' not *rōz* = 'day' (same signs).

We cannot, however, refuse to see that *rōz* = *rōz* = *rūz* = 'day' is an idea well comporting with that of the Sun? So deciphering, we should have to make out some such advanced and improbable rendering as this: 'for him it is done who meets the day (sunrise) by doing duty and good works, and does not hold (back) in the day, for I also do not hold back in the day in this path, where I come and go.' ('He rushes on with his swift horses; so his worshipper should meet the rising day, and course on steadily in duty and good works.') Notice the great difference naturally resulting from differing decipherments.

<sup>3</sup> Singular for dual; notice the plural in the original rather than the dual (in some MSS.).

creatures of Aūharmazd<sup>1</sup> with a friendly, and on none of them with the evil eye.']

[(62) The other cast would be: 'for him (or 'it') it is done; i.e., for him the praise is offered, who looked (as the eye of Aūharmazd) upon all the creatures of Aūharmazd with a good eye (of good omen), and upon no single person with the evil eye.' This would be safer as being less interior and more objective, and less intelligent; but then 'valā' precedes man', and man' joins nigerēt (or -it) with no 'am,' which 'am' might be expected.

As so often, the meagreness of the diction leaves the *rice versé* everywhere possible. Certain it is, however, that the more rational ideas are at once suggested and adumbrated in the language.])

(63) Praise to the Kine, and praise to Gayomart [(C. adds and the Kine and Gayomart said: 'Praise (be to us)'; he the more accepts the great who knows how to choose the great among the little and the little among the great)]; and praise to the Fravaši of Zartūšt Spitāmān, the saint: (64) and praise to all the creation of the holy which is, and which has been, and which is becoming, (meaning 'which is to be').

(65) Increase the good mind Vohu Manah<sup>2</sup> to me (and) the Sovereign Power (χšaθra),<sup>2</sup> [that is, to make me more straightforward (and pious)] and him also who (is) Aša<sup>3</sup>; [that is to say, (increase or 'reward') the duty and good works which are done by me]; and the happiness<sup>3</sup> also do thou grant to me, to my own person.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here reference seems decidedly to be made to the worshipper rather than to the object of worship.

The 'eye looking favourably towards all creatures of Aūharmazd' is not so naturally the 'eye of Aūharmazd'; and this reference to the deserving beneficence of the offerer affects the other passages.

<sup>2</sup> The instrumental case of the original is missed throughout: a 'pavan' is needed. Notice the abstract ideas everywhere.

<sup>3</sup> We seem forced to supply 'increase' here from above, and in analogy with 'make me more straightforward.' Otherwise we should avoid all these interior suggestions as much as possible, rendering in the most superficial sense admissible: 'and what also are the duty and good works done by me (through) Aša, for these do thou give me a benefit, (to me) in person.'

<sup>4</sup> 65 is Y. XXXIII, 10, line c, which see, Gāthas, pp 124, 194.

(66) [And let them (-ēnd)<sup>1</sup> elevate] this [soul], (or 'let me exalt (-ēnī) this (my) soul') to what is the highest light,<sup>2</sup> [that is to say, let my soul attain to the sun track]. (67)<sup>3</sup> Through thy most August Spirit let the changing come on [from evil to good, the future body].

<sup>1</sup> Reading -ēnī, 1st conj ; -ēnd and -ēnī have the same signs.

<sup>2</sup> The wording here is founded upon a mere fragment taken out of its connection from Y. XXXVI, 15 ; which see in this Journal.

The 2nd sg. improp. conj. jasō apparently mistaken for a n.s.m. of the present participle jasō = jasas rendered by the 3rd sg. conj.

<sup>3</sup> 67 is a fragment from Y. XLIII, 6, taken out of its connection, see *Gāthas*, pp. 162, 512.

## XXIV.

## SULTAN KHUSRAU.

By H. BEVERIDGE.

**K**HUSRAU was the eldest son of Jahangīr, and was born at Lahore on August 4th, 1587. His mother was the daughter of Rajah Bhagwān Dās. Her original name does not seem to be known, but after Khusrau's birth Juhaugīr, or, as he then was, Prince Selim, gave her the name of Shāh Begam. She poisoned herself with opium on May 6th, 1605,<sup>1</sup> on account, her husband says, of the bad behaviour of Khusrau and of one of her brothers. But there was madness in the family, and her father once tried to kill himself.

There are three interesting points connected with Khusrau. First, was he blinded by his father? Secondly, was he murdered by his half-brother, Shāh Jahān? Thirdly, what is the date of his death?

As is well known, Khusrau rebelled against his father less than six months after the latter had become king. He stole<sup>2</sup> out of Agra on a Saturday night, under the pretext that he was going to visit the tomb of his grandfather Akbar at Sikandra—Sunday being the day of the week on which Akbar was born—and fled northwards towards the Panjab. He besieged Lahore, but failed to take it, and he was defeated and captured. His father, who had pursued him, received him as a prisoner at Lahore, and inflicted cruel punishments on his followers. Khusrau himself he

<sup>1</sup> This is the date given by Jahangīr. According to the continuation of the Akbarnāma and the chronogram in the *Khusrau Bāgh*, she died in 1012 = 1603-4.

<sup>2</sup> Though Jahangīr does not say so in the *Tūzūk*, it appears from Price's "*Jahangīr*," p. 15, that Khusrau really was a prisoner in the fort of Agra. His flight, therefore, is intelligible.

put into chains and carried with him as a prisoner when, shortly afterwards, he paid a visit to Cabul. He certainly did not blind him at this time, for he tells us that when he was in the city of Cabul he ordered the chains to be taken off Khusrau's legs, and that he should be taken to see the famous Shahr Ārā garden. Nor do the authorities say that Khusrau was blinded immediately after his capture. Apparently the blinding was inflicted as a punishment for Khusrau's share in a plot to kill his father while the latter was hunting in Afghanistan. Jahangīr tells us in his *Memoirs* that, though Khusrau had acted so as to deserve death, yet his fatherly affection would not allow him to inflict such punishment, and he had continued to treat him with great kindness. Now, however, it appeared that Khusrau had plotted against his father's life, and that some 500 persons had joined in the conspiracy. Among them was a son of Jahangīr's future father-in-law, I'tmādu-d-daula. The plot was revealed to Shāh Jahān at Surkh-Āb, and he at once informed his father. Nūru-d-dīn, Sharif, and others were executed, and though we are not told what was done to Khusrau it cannot be doubted that his confinement became more rigorous.

There are various accounts of the manner in which Khusrau was blinded. Du Jarrie, the historian of the Jesuit Missions, and who had access to the missionary reports, says that when Jahangīr came to the field of battle (on his way back from Cabul?) where Khusrau had been defeated, he caused Khusrau to be blinded by applying to his eyes the juices of certain milky plants (*Euphorbias*?). William Finch says, some say Khusrau's eyes were "burnt out with a glass, though others say he was only blindfolded by having a handkerchief tied over his eyes, to which Jahangīr attached his own seal." An anonymous author, quoted in Elliot & Dowson's *History of India*, vi, 448, says that a wire was applied to Khusrau's eyes and he was deprived of sight for a time, but that Jahangīr afterwards repented of his cruelty and had Khusrau's eyesight restored by means of a skilful physician. After this cure Khusrau had

the full sight of one eye, but the other remained less than its natural size and was defective. Jahangīr nowhere says in his Memoirs that Khusrāu was blinded, but a circumstance mentioned by him in the record of the fifth year of his reign seems to imply that something had been done to Khusrāu's eyes. Jahangīr there tells us that in the beginning of the fifth year an impostor came to the city of Patna and made a disturbance by claiming to be Sultan Khusrāu. In proof of his identity he showed marks round his eyes which he said had been caused by the application of a hot bowl to them. That this was an Eastern mode of blinding we know from a quotation by Mr. Whiteway, in his "History of the Rise of the Portuguese Power in India," where we are told, p. 165, that no less than fifteen relatives of the king of Ormuz were found to have been blinded by passing a red-hot bowl close to their eyes! At all events, the impostor's conduct shows that a report was current at an early period that Khusrāu's eyes had been tampered with. Whether this was done effectually or not is doubtful. Sir Thomas Roe saw Khusrāu and says nothing about his being blind, but then Roe could not speak the language, and so had no occasion to go close to Khusrāu so as to observe him minutely.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the second point—namely, was Khusrāu murdered by Shāh Jahān?—I think that there is no evidence worthy of the name that Khusrāu was poisoned or strangled. If we were to believe Indian gossip, or indeed gossip of any country in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, hardly any distinguished man of those times died a natural death. Khusrāu was a broken-hearted man who had been fifteen or sixteen years in confinement. Why should we not believe Shāh Jahān's report that he had died of colic? Elphinstone, who does not accept the story of a murder, dwells on the suspicion caused by the opportuneness

<sup>1</sup> There is a curious passage in Price's "Jahangīr," p. 123, where the emperor describes himself as pardoning Khusrāu at the request of Parvez, and allowing him to have hunting parties. This was in the sixteenth year, and the account implies that Khusrāu was not blind then. But Price's "Jahangīr" is full of misstatements, and cannot be relied upon as authentic.

of Khusrau's death. But this idea of opportuneness is partly due to a wrong chronology. Jahangīr's illness began in the fifteenth year of his reign at the time of the Dasahra, i.e. in October, 1620, when he was in Cashmere. He recovered, but after he had crossed the mountains the illness returned with increased severity. This was in the beginning of the sixteenth year. But Jahangīr made a second recovery, and Nūr Jahān gave a feast to celebrate his convalescence and also the occurrence of his 51st birthday. This was in Shawwāl, 1030, or September, 1621. Jahangīr's son Parvez heard of his father's illness, and came all the way from Bihar to visit him. But he did not arrive till the 14th Mihr or near the end of September and about three weeks after Nūr Jahān's banquet. I suppose Elphinstone had authority for the statement that Jahangīr was displeased with Parvez for coming, and sent him back with a reprimand. But the authority cannot, I think, be a good one, for it is contradictory to what Jahangīr himself says. Jahangīr, according to his own account, was pleased with Parvez's affection and solicitude, but he deprecated Parvez's taking the burden of the illness upon himself by pacing three times round his father. He did not send Parvez away at once, but kept him till he reached Mathura on his return journey to Agra. It was not till 26th Aban, or about 14th November, that Jahangīr sent Parvez back to Bihar. Elphinstone supposes that Khusrau suddenly died in Shāh Jahān's custody at the opportune time, viz. September, 1621, when Jahangīr was ill. But, as a fact, Khusrau did not die till the 29th January, 1622, or about the end of the sixteenth year of the reign. If Khusrau was blind, or of defective sight, there was little object in putting him out of the way, especially as he was completely in Shāh Jahān's power. It seems to be forgotten, too, that there was another barrier between Shāh Jahān and the throne—which also was not vacant—namely, Shah Parvez, who was older than Shāh Jahān, and had the advantage of being born of a Muhammadan mother!

It is true that in the Bib. Ind. edition of Khāfi Khān, vol. i, 325, Ghairat (wrongly printed 'Izzat) Khān, the

author of the *Jahāngīrnāma*, is quoted as stating that Khusrau was poisoned. If this were correct it would be strong evidence, for Ghairat Khān is the Kāmgār Husainī of Rieu's Catalogue, I, 257*a*, and his work, there called the *Maasir Jahāngīrī*, is a valuable contemporary record. But the reference to Ghairat Khān does not occur in all the manuscripts of Khāfi Khān. In two of those in the British Museum, Add. 26,223 and Add. 26,226, Ghairat Khān or the *Jahāngīrnāma* is not mentioned as the authority; and, moreover, no such statement as that attributed to Ghairat Khān appears to exist in his work. Khāfi Khān's remark occurs in his account of the sixteenth year of Jahangīr's reign, that being the year in which Khusrau died, and naturally Ghairat Khān's statement about the poisoning should occur in his narrative of the same year. But in two MSS. of his work which I have examined, viz., I.O. MS. 324 of Ethé's Catalogue and B.M. MS. Or. 171, Rieu, I, 257*a*, nothing is said about Khusrau's having been poisoned. All we have there is the same statement as in the *Tūzuk* and the *Iqbālūnāma*, viz., that Khusrau was reported to have died of colic. It is also most improbable that Ghairat Khān would make such a statement, for he was a favoured servant of Shāh Jahān, and got his title from him. I think, therefore, that if the passage was really written by Khāfi Khān, and is not the work of some copyst, it is only one of the many mistakes of a not very accurate historian.

As regards the third point, namely, the date of Khusrau's death, I think we must accept the statements of Mu'tamad Khān and Ghairat Khān that it took place on 20th Bahman, 1031, which corresponds to 29th January, 1622, o.s. Mu'tamad Khān, the author of the *Iqbālūnāma*, had excellent means of knowing, for he was the *Bakhshī*, or paymaster, of the army of the Deccan, and presumably was at Burhānpūr at the time of the death. It is true that Jahangīr says, according to Sayid Aḥmād's text, that the death occurred on the 8th of a month which is not specified, but which, according to the context, should be *Isfāndarmuz*, that is, the month following Bahman. But two India Office

MSS. of the Tūzuk have 20th instead of 8th, and if so the date must refer to the previous month (Bahman). for the news reached Jahangīr on or before the 19th Isfāndarmuz. Even if we accept the 8th Isfāndarmuz (Blochmann has the 18th!<sup>1</sup>) as the date, the period of eleven days would be too short for the news to reach Jahangīr. He was then on the Jhilam, at or near the borders of Cashmere, and the death occurred in the Deccan. When Jahangīr himself died, the news was sent off in hot haste to Shāh Jahān by a Hindu named Banārasī, famous for his celerity. He, too, started from the borders of Cashmere, and it was considered a marvellous feat when he reached Shāh Jahān at Junnar,<sup>2</sup> in the Deccan, in the course of twenty days. It is further south than Burhānpūr, but to a courier like Banārasī this part of the journey would not take more than three or four days. As showing that it would be impossible in those days for letters to arrive from Burhānpūr, at the borders of Cashmere, in eleven days, it may be mentioned that Jahangīr records, in his Memoirs of the second year of his reign, that an important piece of news was conveyed to him at Cabul from Kandahar in the course of twelve days. Evidently he considered this very rapid. Mr. Foster, the indefatigable editor of Indian correspondence, also informs me that there is a Burhānpūr letter dated February 5th, 1622, which speaks of the death of Khusrau as a recent event. It is therefore certain that Khusrau died in the end of January or beginning of February.

<sup>1</sup> Beale, in the *Miftāhu-l-tawārīkh*, gives the date as 9th Bahman or 13th Rabiul-awwal.

<sup>2</sup> There is, or at least was, a little uncertainty as to where Shāh Jahān was when Banārasī brought him the news of his father's death, for the authorities, or, at all events, the manuscript copies of their works, mention two places besides Junair. Mr. Blochmann, in his interesting article in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1869, apparently considers that Shāh Jahān was then at some place north of the Tapti, and between it and the Nerbada. It is, however, Junair (Junnar) in Kāngūr Husaini's book, B.M. MS. Or. 171 (Rieu, i, 257), and in a MS. of the *Majālisu-s-Salātin*, which was composed in the year after Jahangīr's death, it is stated that at the time of Jahangīr's death Shāh Jahān was at Junair, "a place three months' journey from the imperial camp" (see also Elliot, vii, 137). Manucci, too, as Mr. Irvine informs me, states that Shāh Jahān used to live at Junair. It seems, therefore, to be certain that Shāh Jahān was at Junair when the news reached him.

To many persons, perhaps, the most interesting circumstance associated with Khusrāu is that his rebellion led indirectly to the development of the Sikh religion. Arjūn Mal, the fifth Gūrū of the Sikhs, waited upon Khusrāu when the latter halted near his residence (Gobindwāl ?<sup>1</sup>) and placed a saffron finger-mark (*qashqa* = *tikā*) on his forehead, etc. Jahangīr was offended at this and arrested Arjūn, and according to his own account (*Tūzūk*, p. 34) caused him to be put to death. The Sikh tradition, however, is that Arjūn escaped by diving into the Ravi. His tomb is still to be seen in Lahore. Jahangīr's reference to Arjūn and his tenets is probably the earliest Persian notice of the Sikh religion. At all events it is considerably earlier than the *Dabistan*, which is so often quoted by Cunningham. To a pious Sikh, Jahangīr's contemptuous reference to Arjūn and his doctrines must appear to be just such a palmary passage as that which the Christian, and indeed all after-time, finds in the few words in which Tacitus describes the rise of the Christian religion and the ignominious death of its Founder.

I am indebted to Mr. Richard Burn, I.C.S., for the following inscriptions from the Khusrāu Bāgh near Allahabad. Almost all of them were published as long ago as 1849 by Thomas William Beale in his valuable work called the *Miftāḥ-u-t-tawāriḥ* ("The Key to Chronicles"), but his book was published at Agra and is in Persian, and has long been out of print. In Murray's *Handbook for Bengal*, etc., ed. 1882, pp. 363-4, there is a rhymed translation of the inscriptions by Eastwick. Very likely Eastwick, though he does not say so, took the inscriptions from Beale's book (see p. 334, etc., of Beale in the account of Khusrāu). The seventh line of Khusrāu's inscription is not given in Mr. Burn's copy, and I have supplied it from Beale. The language of the inscriptions is rather difficult, and I am not sure that my translation is always correct, although I have had the valuable assistance of Sir Charles Lyall.

<sup>1</sup> Called Gōindwāl by Cunningham.

## SHĀH BEGAM'S TOMB.

بیگم کہ ز عصمت رخ رحمت آراست - اقلیم عدم ز نور عزت آراست  
 سبحان اللہ زہے کمال عفت - نر حسنِ عمل چہرہ جت آراست

چون چرخ فلک ز گردش خود آشنست - در زیر زمین آئینہ مہر بنہفت  
 تاریخ وفات شاد بیگم جستم - از غیب ملک بخلد شد بیگم گفت  
 ۱۰۱۲ ہجری

## TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF SHĀH BEGAM, THE MOTHER OF KHUSRAU.

The Lady whose purity adorned the cheek of gentleness  
 Adorned Death's realm by the light of her honour.  
 God be praised! Hail to perfect purity,  
 Which by well-doing adorns the face of Paradise!

When the Sphere waxed indignant at its own turning  
 The Sun's mirror hid itself under ground.  
 I sought out the date of Shāh Begam's death:  
 An angel's voice said, *Ba khuld shud Begam.*

The translation is doubtful, especially in the second line of the last quatrain. 'Āyina mihr' is *āyina khūl* in Beale, p. 335. Perhaps the 'mirror' is in allusion to the fact that the representation of a mirror is generally carved on the tomb of a Muhammadan woman. The meaning may be that, as the sphere, or spheres, was grieved at the mutability of things, so the Begam who was, as it were, the sun's mirror, hid herself under the earth. The chronogram in the last line, *Ba khuld shud Begam*, 'The Begam went to Paradise,' yields, according to *ahjad*, 1012 A.H., thus agreeing with the Akbarnāma. Jahangīr gives, in his Memoirs, the date as the 26th of the last month of 1013, which corresponds to 6th May, 1605. Probably he, or his copyist, is wrong by a year, and the true date is 26th Zil-Hajja, 1012, or 16th May, 1604.

Khusrāu's Tomb.

آه و افسوس آسمان را سیرت بیداد شد -  
 آره آره کار چون بر ظلم آمد داد شد  
 زندگی زد خیمه بیرون از دیار خرّی -  
 دید چون بنیاد عالم را خراب آباد شد  
 اهل و اوباش اند آگاه از فلک کاحداث او -  
 هر کجا زد شعله خاکستر و بر باد شد  
 گلبنی هر جاکه بینی برگ ریز اندر پی است -  
 بلبل این باغ بودن مصلحت از یاد شد  
 گلزاره را طراوت چیست کاخر خاک مرگ -  
 از پئے چاک قباد سوزن فولاد شد  
 چون بلب رانم حدیثه را که میسوزد بآد -  
 مشکل است اما جهان تاهست این معتاد شد  
 آن گل رعنّا که بود آرائه گلشن عدد ریغ -  
 عندلیبان را برنگ و بوئے او دل شاد شد  
 چاک پیرا هن شد از خسار قضا در باغ عمر -  
 هم زمین بگریست و هم از آسمان فریاد شد  
 شد قبا بر قامت مردم قبادر ماتمش -  
 شاه خسرو را بسوئے خلد چون ارشاد شد  
 آن تن نازک که برو بود پیرا هن گران -  
 در ته خاک جفا افسوس استعداد شد

شد غریق رحمت حق چون ولسی پاک بود -  
 خاص درگاه خدا و همدم اوتادش  
 معلمی ارشد سال فوتش فیض لائق بيازگو -  
 صفه جنت زجان پاک او آبادشد

۱۰۳۱ هجری

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON KHUSRAU'S TOMB.

Alas and alas for the unjust ways of Heaven!  
 Woe, woe when Justice left and Tyranny arrived!  
 Life pitched her tent outside the land of Joy<sup>1</sup>  
 When she saw the world's foundation<sup>2</sup> made desolate.  
 Lord<sup>3</sup> and loon are familiar with Heaven's dealings.  
 Where'er the spark strikes, ashes and ruin follow.  
 Where'er you see a rose-tree, there are falling leaves.  
 The nightingale forgot that such was Life's garden (?).  
 What freshness has the rosy cheek if at last Death's thorn  
 Become the steel of a hundred needles on entering the slit of  
 the raiment?  
 When I bring the story on my lips and they burn with sighs  
 'T is hard; but while the world is, such things are usual.  
 Alas, alas for the beauteous flower, the pride of the parture,  
 In whose hue and scent the soul of the nightingale rejoiced!  
 Her garment was rent in Life's garden by the thorn of Fate.  
 Earth wept, and there was a lament from the Sky.  
 Men tore their garments in grief for him.  
 When Shāh Khusrau wended his way to eternity.  
 The delicate frame, to which the tunic was a burden,  
 Became rigid under the cruel earth, alas, alas!

<sup>1</sup> *Khurramī*. Mr. Burn thinks there may be an allusion here to Shāh Jahān, who was called *Khurram*.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this is an allusion to the word *Kh*usrau's meaning the Sun (it is the same word as Cyrus).

<sup>3</sup> Beale has *ahl-i-ūbāsh* instead of *ahl u ūbāsh*. If so, the meaning is 'people in general.'

When he, pure saint, sank in the ocean of God's mercy,  
 He became in the Divine Courts an associate of Archangels.<sup>1</sup>  
 O Salmā,<sup>2</sup> would you know the date of death, say "*Faiṣ Lāiq*,"  
 And "His pure soul has graced the terraces of Paradise."

THE TOMB OF KHUSRAU'S SISTER SULTANU-NISĀ BEGAM.

اوپر شمال کی طرف  
 روقطع تعلقی بسکن امروز کہہ فردا -  
 آسودہ ز اشلال وایمین زسلاسل  
 از خود گذرے یار و بدو رس کہ کی نیست -  
 خیر از تو میان تو و مقصود تو حائل  
 دکن دروازه پر  
 گرہمہ مملکت و مال جہان جمع کنیم -  
 مابجز پیرہنے ہیچ زدنیہ نبریم  
 بادشاہا تو کریمی ورحیمی وغفور -  
 دست ماگیر کہ درماندہ وبے بال وپریم  
 در شارع دین کوہ صفت سنگی وکاہل -  
 تن دہ برضا کانچہ قضا برتونوشت است -  
 از تو نشود دفع بہ تعویز وحمائل  
 حق را بشناس از نثر چشم و دل وگوش -  
 کاین کہ ہمہ بر قدرت حق اند دلائل

<sup>1</sup> *Autūd*, literally tent-pegs, or props.

<sup>2</sup> *Salmā* is a common name for a mistress, and seems to be so used here, though apparently Eastwick regarded it as meaning 'Ask'st thou.' The chronogram *faiṣ lāiq* yields 1031 = 1622, and so also does the last line. *Khusrāu* was born on 24th Amardād, 995, or 4th August, 1587, and as he died in the end of January, 1622, he was about 34½ years old at his death. His birth is recorded in the *Akbarnāma*, iii, 523.

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMB OF KHUSRAU'S  
SISTER.<sup>1</sup>

(*On the north side.*)

To-day remove thy face from the world, that to-morrow  
Thou mayst rest from entanglements and be freed from chains.  
Quit thyself, O friend, and draw nigh to Him, for  
Betwixt thee and thy goal nought intervenes but self.

(*On the south side.*)

If we gather all the possessions and wealth of the world,  
We'll take nought with us save a shroud.  
O King, thou art gracious, merciful, and the Pardoner;  
Take our hands, for we are awcary and wingless.

In expounding the Faith, I (?)<sup>2</sup> am ignorant and like a stone.

Resign thyself, for what Fate decrees for thee must happen.  
Do not take refuge in amulets and charms;  
Acknowledge God with eye, heart, and ear,  
For all of these are proofs of Divine power.

Beale's words, p. 335, are:—"The tomb, which is in the middle of the garden and opposite the great gate, is said to be that of Sultan Khusrāu's sister. She had built this tomb for herself in 1034, but, as she died elsewhere, the

<sup>1</sup> Her name was Sultan Nisā Begum, and she was the eldest of Jahangīr's children. She was Khusrāu's full sister, and was born about a year and a half before him. Her birth is recorded in the Akbar-nāma, iii, 493. She was born on the eve of the 16th Ardiabihišt, 991, corresponding to about 26th April, 1586. According to the chronogram, *Rauza pāk*, "The pure lawn (or cemetery)," she died in 1034 (1624-5). Her name, according to some authorities, was Sultan Nisār Begum. Her mother was a daughter of Rajah Bhagwān Dās, and so is regarded as a sister of Rajah Mān Singh, though it appears that the latter was only the adopted son of Rajah Bhagwān, and was originally his nephew. Beale does not give the verses which appear in Mr. Burn's copy of the inscriptions. Sultan Nisār predeceased her father, who died in 1037 (1627). It is said that two of Khusrāu's sons are also buried in the Khusrāu Bāgh.

<sup>2</sup> The second line of this stanza is missing. Beale states that there is a small tomb to the west of the others, and that it is not known whose it is. Some say it is the tomb of Bibi Tambūlin, while others say it is Jodh Bai's. Eastwick speaks of there being a cenotaph in the Khusrāu Bāgh of Nūr Jahān. According to Beale, Jahangir built the wall round the garden with the surplus of the materials for the Allahabad Fort.

tomb is empty. There are many verses inside the dome, but some of them have become defaced." The first line of the verses is :

خورم آنروز کرما رخت از ین خانه بریم

Happy the day when we move our goods from this house.

The chronogram is in front of the door of the tomb, but the first stanza has become effaced. The other two stanzas are :

برد ملایک رحمت اسمیشه نور نثار -

زهی نمونه خلد برین بمرکز خاک

خرد زمال بنایش بصفه فکرت -

نوشت باقلم اختراع روضه پاک

I am unable to translate the first line. Perhaps there is an allusion to the lady's name, which, according to some authorities, was Sultan Nişār. The translation of the other three lines is :

Hail to the model of Paradise upon the earth !

Wisdom wrote on Thought's terrace the year of building

With the pen of invention, (saying) " Rauṣa<sup>1</sup> pāk."

<sup>1</sup> The 'chaste tomb.' The words yield 1034, or 1625. I may here note that, though Mr. Keene translated and edited Beale's work, he omitted the chronograms. It seems a pity that Beale's work has not been reprinted. I presume that he was an Eurasian. He must have been a good Persian scholar. He died at Agra, says Mr. Keene, at a very advanced age, in the summer of 1875. He was only a clerk in the office of the Board of Revenue at Agra, but, like Taylor of Dacca, Christian of Bihar, and Haji Mustata, the translator of the *Siyar Mutākhherīn*, he has left more permanently useful work than many highly placed officials. Elliot's *History of India* fitly closes with a notice of Mr. Beale's work. It is to be hoped that his burial-place is known, and that it has a tombstone. Eastwick (*Murray's Handbook*, 292) notices the tomb of a Catherine Beale who died in August, 1857.



## XXV.

## THE MARRIAGE OF COUSINS IN INDIA.

By W. H. R. RIVERS.

**I**N many parts of the world there exist social relations between a man and his mother's brother which are in many ways closer than those between the man and his own father. Often these are associated with the condition of society best known as mother-right, in which the child belongs to the social division of his mother and her brother, to whom may fall the chief or sole direction of the life of the child. In other cases a similar close relation is found between maternal uncle and nephew when descent is no longer counted in the female line, and there is definite evidence<sup>1</sup> that in some cases this relation is a survival of a previously existing condition of matrilineal descent.

Evidence of a special bond between maternal uncle and nephew is to be found widely throughout India, especially in the part taken by the mother's brother in ceremonial connected with his nephew; and as the state of mother-right still exists in more than one district of India we might naturally suppose that the uncle-nephew relation is here, as elsewhere, a survival of this condition of society, and in some cases there can be little doubt that it has had this origin. The chief object of the present paper, however, is to show that in some parts of India the uncle-nephew relation may have had a different origin, and may have been derived from the custom that a man should marry the daughter of his mother's brother, so that his maternal uncle is at the same time his father-in-law, either actual or

<sup>1</sup> See Reports Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, Cambridge, 1904, vol. v, p. 151.

prospective. This regulation still exists in many parts of Southern India, among the Gonds of the Central Provinces, and sporadically in other parts of India, and I hope to show that traces of this form of marriage may remain in special rites performed by the maternal uncle at the wedding ceremonies of his nephew.

My attention was called to this possibility while I was working among the Todas. Among this people, who reckon descent in the male line, the orthodox marriage is between the children of brother and sister, so that a boy should marry the daughter either of his maternal uncle or of his paternal aunt. The mother's brother takes a leading place in much of the ceremonial connected with the chief events of childhood, and if I had been ignorant of the origin of the uncle-nephew relation elsewhere, and had sought for an explanation of the relation in the character of the social organisation of the people as it is at the present time, I should naturally have found it in the marriage regulation to which I have referred. It would have been a reasonable hypothesis that the uncle was performing services for his nephew as his prospective father-in-law, and the possibility was suggested that the uncle-nephew relation in other parts of India might be a survival of the marriage regulation which still exists among the Todas and the Gonds.

Among the Todas the marriage regulation which is to form the chief subject of this paper is that the children of brother and sister should marry, i.e. a man should marry the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister, while marriage with the child of the father's brother or mother's sister is absolutely prohibited, and this regulation is of frequent occurrence in Southern India and is found in other parts of the peninsula. In other cases marriage between the children of a brother and sister is only enjoined or allowed when the child of the brother is a girl and the child of the sister is a boy, i.e. a man may only marry the daughter of his mother's brother. Less frequently the only form of cousin-marriage which is allowed is that in which a man marries the daughter of his father's sister.

In the appendix to this paper I give all the Indian examples I have been able to find in which the marriage of cousins is either allowed or enforced.

In the appendix I also give a list of examples in which the mother's brother plays any active part in the life of his nephew, and I have added examples of duties or privileges pertaining to other relatives which may help to throw light on the marriage of cousins. I publish my material in this form in order not to confuse my argument by giving in the main text long lists of the illustrative cases on which the argument is based.

In studying the many examples in which the mother's brother has definite duties towards his nephew, the most striking fact is that these duties are most prominent in the wedding ceremonies, i.e. in those ceremonies in which we should expect them to be prominent if the uncle-nephew relation be a survival of the marriage regulation. Secondly, in many cases, especially in South India, we can trace distinct gradations between the survival and the fully developed custom of cousin-marriage. Two of the most frequent offices or privileges of the uncle in connection with the wedding ceremonies are that he arranges the marriage and receives money or other articles; and as intermediate conditions between this and the fully developed custom, we find that among the Kois<sup>1</sup> the maternal uncle has the right of bestowing the hand of his niece on any other suitable candidate if she does not marry one of his own sons, the father and mother of the girl having no voice in the matter, while among the Yerkalas,<sup>2</sup> where a man may claim two of his sister's daughters as brides for his sons, he has to pay for them, though at a smaller price than other people. Again, among the Paraiyans of Travancore,<sup>3</sup> where the cousin-marriage is usual, the bridegroom pays money to both father and uncle of his bride, the latter receiving the larger sum.

<sup>1</sup> Cain : *Ind. Ant.*, 1879, vol. viii, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Shortt : *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., vol. vii, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Mateer : *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1884, vol. xvi, p. 180.

In other cases, in which the cousin-marriage no longer exists, the sons of the maternal uncle of the bride receive compensation, as among the Tiyyans of Malabar,<sup>1</sup> where the bridegroom has to contest for the bride with the son of her maternal uncle and has his claim bought off by a money payment, and among the Idaiyans<sup>2</sup> there is a similar contest, which is brought to an end by the bridegroom presenting money and betel-nut to each of the bride's maternal uncle's sons, who are stated to have a natural right to marry her. When, as in these examples, we find that the uncle has the right to choose a husband for his niece if she does not marry one of his own sons, or that he or his sons receive compensation, a strong supposition is raised that other cases in which the uncle arranges the marriage or receives money may have had their origin in the marriage regulation.

Again, another frequent feature of Indian wedding ceremonies is that the bride and bridegroom are carried by their maternal uncles at some stage of the rites, and it is therefore interesting that among the Goundans of Coimbatore,<sup>3</sup> who still practise the cousin-marriage, the bride is carried by her maternal uncle to the village boundary, while among the Idaiyans, who have been already cited, one of the maternal uncles of the bride carries her in his arms to the marriage booth.

Though these cases are suggestive, they cannot, however, be regarded as conclusive, for, on the assumption that the rôle of the uncle is a survival of mother-right, it would be natural that he should receive some payment as a relic of the time when perhaps he received the whole of the bride-price, and his privilege of arranging the marriage might well be similarly explained.

Much more conclusive evidence in favour of the origin of the uncle-nephew relation in the cousin-marriage is to be found in the fact that duties of the same kind as those performed by the maternal uncle also fall to the lot of the

<sup>1</sup> Logan: *Malabar Manual*, vol. i, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Thurston: "Ethnographic Notes in Southern India," Madras, 1906, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Thurston: *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 82.

father's sister and the father's sister's husband. In the appendix I give several examples in which the father's sister carries out definite rites, not only at the wedding, but at other ceremonial connected with her nephew or niece. I also give several instances in which the husband of the father's sister arranges the marriage of his wife's brother's child, and performs duties of exactly the same kind as those performed elsewhere by the maternal uncle. In one of these cases, that of the 'Irāqīs of the North-Western Provinces,<sup>1</sup> this rôle of the father's sister's husband is combined with the custom that a man may marry the daughter of his mother's brother. It is true that the 'Irāqīs practise Muhammadanism, but according to Mr. Crooke they are Hindus (Kalwārs) who have been converted to Islam.

It is difficult to see how these duties of the father's sister and of her husband can be in any way survivals of mother-right. If the condition of mother-right excludes the father from active participation in the wedding ceremonies of his son, or reduces his position to one of small importance, it is difficult to see why his sister should come in, and still less why his sister's husband, unless there existed some marriage regulation that would make the father's sister's husband also the mother's brother.

If, on the other hand, I am right in my conjecture that the prominent place of the maternal uncle is a survival of the marriage regulation, it would follow as a natural consequence that the father's sister and the father's sister's husband would be as prominent as the maternal uncle. The marriage regulation in question is that a man must marry the daughter either of his maternal uncle or of his father's sister, and we should therefore expect, on this hypothesis, that the father's sister or her husband would have the same functions as the maternal uncle. A feature of society which is quite inexplicable as a survival of mother-right becomes perfectly natural if it is a survival of the marriage regulation which still exists in many parts of India.

<sup>1</sup> Crooke: "Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh," Calcutta, 1896, vol. iii, pp. 2, 3.

The foregoing evidence seems to make it certain that, in some cases, the rôle of the mother's brother at the wedding ceremonies is a survival of the cousin-marriage, but I am very far from wishing to advance the view that this has been its origin in all cases. There still exists in India, as in Malabar and among the Khasis and Garos of Assam, the condition of mother-right, and among the many examples I have given in the appendix there are some in which the duties of the uncle towards his nephew are almost certainly a survival of his old status as guardian of the child.

The matter is complicated by the fact that in Malabar there still exist both the institutions in which the uncle-nephew relation may have had its origin, thus the cousin-marriage is general in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, both among those who still practise matrilineal descent and those who now inherit from the father. Where, then, we find the uncle taking a prominent part in ceremonial connected with his nephew in neighbouring districts, we cannot be certain to which of the older institutions it is to be referred.

At the present time, however, as the examples collected in the appendix show, the cousin-marriage has a far wider distribution than has the condition of mother-right, and it is a legitimate assumption that, if the original organisation of society was like that now found in Malabar, the change from maternal to paternal descent took place much earlier than the disappearance of the cousin-marriage, and that the uncle-nephew relation is therefore more likely to be a survival of the latter than of the former condition. Further, as I hope I have shown, there are certain features of the uncle-nephew relation which bear evident traces of their origin in the cousin-marriage, while there are others which are only intelligible on the hypothesis that the relation is a survival of this form of marriage.

To my mind the evidence is conclusive that, in at any rate some cases in India, the prominent part taken by the maternal uncle in ceremonies connected with his nephew or niece is a survival of a state of society in which his child

was the natural spouse of the nephew or niece. At the same time we have clear evidence that in other parts of the world his prominent position is a survival of mother-right, and there can be little doubt that this mode of genesis of the custom has been in action in India as elsewhere. If these conclusions are granted, we have reached the position that a survival may have a twofold origin; that customs which seem to be identical may yet have arisen in different ways in different parts of the world or in different parts of the same ethnographic region. It may even be that in some cases both factors have been in play together, and that it may have become the custom for the uncle to assist in the ceremonial life of his nephew, partly because in the condition of mother-right he had been his natural guardian, partly because it had been his daughter that the nephew would naturally have married.

I should like here to point out that another frequent feature of Indian wedding ceremonies, viz. a mock conflict, may in some cases have its origin in the regulation which enjoins the marriage of cousins. Among the examples I have already cited there are two in which the sons of the maternal uncle definitely contest for the bride with the bridegroom and his friends. In the case of the Tiyyans or Izhuvans it would appear from a recent account by Anantha Krishna Iyer<sup>1</sup> that there is a definite mock combat, in which the groom is helped by two friends, and the mock character of the Idaiyan contest is shown clearly by the fact that the uncle's sons have shortly before been performing an important part of the wedding ceremony.<sup>2</sup> We have here two absolutely certain cases in which the mock conflict is a direct consequence of the cousin-marriage, and the question is raised whether this may possibly have been the origin of the conflict elsewhere in India.

The current opinion is that the mock conflict of wedding ceremonies is a survival of marriage by capture, and if this

<sup>1</sup> "The Izhuvas of Cochin," *Ernakulam*, 1905, p. 18 (*Ethnographic Survey of the Cochin State*, Monograph No. 10).

<sup>2</sup> Thurston : *op. cit.*, p. 55.

be so we have another example of a survival of double origin, though the possibility must be borne in mind that the mock conflict may often be, not a survival at all, but a custom dependent on ideas of dangers attendant upon entrance into the married state,<sup>1</sup> or an expression of the natural coyness of the female.<sup>2</sup>

I have so far considered two Indian customs which I believe to be examples of survivals of the wide prevalence throughout India of a marriage regulation which is still found in some parts of that ethnographic region. I should like here again to say that I do not believe that wherever the close uncle-nephew relation and the mock conflict at marriage are found we should infer the previous existence of the marriage regulation in question. On the contrary, I have little doubt that in some and perhaps in many cases the uncle-nephew relation is a survival of mother-right, and that the mimic conflict is only exceptionally a survival of the marriage regulation, and it must be a subject for future investigation which has been the origin in each case. My object has been rather to show that in some cases undoubtedly the customs in question have had an origin different from those usually accepted. In the case of the uncle-nephew relation it has been customary to assume at once that it is a survival of mother-right, and I hope to have shown that such an assumption is not justified till the possibility has been carefully weighed whether it may not have had the origin I have indicated in this article.

If I am right, however, in the conclusions I have so far advanced, we have evidence that the regulation which makes the orthodox marriage one between the children of brother and sister was at one time more widely diffused throughout India than it is at present, and a careful examination of the evidence would seem to show that the relation between uncle and nephew at marriage is especially a feature of Dravidian society. The communities in which the marriage regulation still exists are undoubtedly Dravidian, and the

<sup>1</sup> Crawley: "The Mysti: Rose," London, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> W. I. Thomas: "Sex and Society," London, 1907, p. 189.

communities in which the uncle-nephew relation persists are usually either Dravidian or of such low caste that they are probably wholly or partially of Dravidian origin; thus of sixteen Bombay castes in which the uncle is prominent, three are high, seven middle, and six low or early according to Campbell (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Bombay, 1885, vol. xviii, pt. 1, p. 544*), and the examples in which the uncle arranges the marriage or receives money occur among the lower castes only. Again, the majority of the tribes or castes reported by Crooke and Risley in which the uncle plays a part in the wedding ceremonies are either said to be definitely of Dravidian origin or to be non-Aryan. It is interesting that the custom of marrying the daughter of the maternal uncle or of the paternal aunt is given by Baudhāyana<sup>1</sup> as peculiar to the South, but he also states that there is a dispute regarding this among other practices both in the South and in the North, and it is possible that even at that time this kind of marriage was one of the disputed points raised by the conflict of the Aryan and Dravidian cultures.

Further evidence of the former prevalence of the marriage regulation is to be found in the terms denoting relationship found in some Indian languages. Widely different views have been held as to the value of terms of relationship as evidence of early forms of social organisation, and there are those who refuse to see in these terms anything of much importance to the comparative sociologist. The forms of kinship system found in India, and especially in South India, seem to show clearly that these systems may have great significance, and that in the terms applied to various relatives there may be preserved survivals of former social conditions, and especially of the marriage regulation which has formed the chief theme of this paper.

I will begin with the system which I know best, that of the Todas. Among this people the same term is applied to the father of the wife as to the mother's brother, while

<sup>1</sup> Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. 116.

the wife's mother and the mother's brother's wife also receive the same name. To these people the orthodox marriage regulation is that the children of brother and sister should marry, so that the mother's brother and the wife's father are one and the same person, and we have therefore a correspondence between a marriage regulation and the designations applied to certain kin. This orthodox marriage is now falling into disuse, but the gradual disappearance of the marriage regulation has not been accompanied by a corresponding disappearance of the common kinship designations. On the contrary, the people continue to give the same name to mother's brother and wife's father when they are no longer one and the same person.

If we now turn to the chief languages of Southern India we find exactly the same features of their kinship systems as that existing among the Todas; thus, in Tamil the wife's father receives the same name, *maman*, as the mother's brother; in Telugu the name for the wife's father is also *mama*, the mother's brother being called *menamama*; and in Canarese the name for both relatives is the same, viz. *mava*. Similarly, there is a close correspondence or identity in the names for wife's mother and mother's brother's wife in the three languages.

Another feature of the terms of relationship of the three languages points in the same direction. Wherever the cousin-marriage exists the mother's brother will be at the same time the father's sister's husband, and the father's sister will be at the same time the mother's brother's wife, and this community of relationship is shown among the Todas by a corresponding community of designation. The same feature is found in both Tamil and Telugu, the father's sister's husband being called *maman* or *mama* in the two languages, while the mother's brother's wife is called *atta* in Telugu, this being also the name of the father's sister.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This community of kinship terms may have a different origin in the practice of exchanging brothers and sisters, and is therefore of less importance than that considered in the preceding paragraph.

Further, in all three languages the mother's brother's son, the father's sister's son, and the brother-in-law receive the same name, *maittunan* in Tamil, *bāra* in Telugu, and *bhavamēida*, *bhava* or *meidana*, in Canarese.

According to the available evidence the cousin-marriage is only found at the present time in some castes of South India, while the common designations for mother's brother and wife's father, for mother's brother's wife and wife's mother, and for mother's brother's son, father's sister's son, and brother-in-law would appear to be universal. Where the cousin-marriage persists, these common designations are of course natural, for the different relationships are united in one and the same person, but where it no longer exists there can be little doubt that the common designations are survivals, and point to the former universal prevalence of the marriage regulation in the regions where these languages are spoken.

The kinship systems of Southern India thus provide abundant confirmation of the general prevalence of the cousin-marriage, and leave no doubt that this form of marriage must at one time have been universal in that part of India.

I have been able to find but little similar evidence from Central or Northern India. In the Hindī, Bengālī, Marāthī, and Gujārātī systems given by Morgan,<sup>1</sup> the common designations considered above are not to be found. If, however, I am right in supposing that the cousin-marriage is a Dravidian institution, this is not to be expected. Evidence must rather be sought from the systems of the aboriginal tribes or of those castes which show obvious signs of a Dravidian origin or intermixture, and even here it is hardly to be expected to any great extent, owing to the all-pervading influence of the orthodox Hinduism of Northern India. It is therefore interesting that, out of the very few kinship systems which have been recorded in Northern India, one, that of the Korwas,<sup>2</sup> shows a close similarity

<sup>1</sup> "Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," pp. 523-67.

<sup>2</sup> Crooke: *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 326-7.

of designation for mother's brother and father's sister's husband (*mamannu* and *māma*) on the one hand, and for father's sister and mother's brother's wife (*māmi* and *māmin*) on the other hand, and it is to be noted that this caste is one of those in which the mother's brother arranges the marriage.

It will not be possible here to go fully into the origin of the marriage regulation which has formed the main theme of this article. It is possible that it is connected with the change from maternal to paternal descent. In a community which practises mother-right marriage would be strictly prohibited with the mother's sister's daughter, for she would be of the same clan, but marriage might be allowed with the daughter of the mother's brother, the father's brother, and the father's sister, for none of these relatives would necessarily be of the same clan, and this seems to be the state of affairs in Malabar at the present time. When the change is made from maternal to paternal descent, it would become wrong to marry the daughter of the father's brother, who would now be of the same clan, and the old prohibition against marriage with the daughter of the mother's sister would probably still persist; but, so far as clan restrictions are concerned, there would be no necessary prohibition of marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother and the father's sister. The change in the method of counting descent would therefore explain why marriage should be allowed with these two relatives, but it will hardly explain why it should be enjoined, and should, as in many cases, be recognised either as the only lawful union or as the most suitable union. This direct prescription of the cousin-marriage has probably a different origin.

In some parts of Australia the marriage regulation that the children of brother and sister must marry is closely connected with another institution, viz. the dual organisation of society. In a society organised on this basis the children of a brother and sister must always belong to different divisions of the community and are thus appropriate mates, and there can be

little doubt that the cousin-marriage which is found in Fiji is the survival of a similar organisation of society. The question arises, therefore, whether this may not have been the case also among the Dravidian population of India. It is possible that the cousin-marriage and the features of the kinship systems to which I have drawn attention may themselves be survivals, vestiges of an old dual organisation of society which has now completely disappeared. The cousin-marriage bears every evidence of being a survival. It is very difficult to see how such a regulation could have had any direct psychological foundation—to conceive any motive which should make the marriage of the children of brother and sister desirable, while the marriage of the children of two brothers or of two sisters is so strictly forbidden.

It has been already pointed out that the present distribution of the cousin-marriage in India and the survivals of its existence in the past both point to its having been a general feature of Dravidian society, and it is of much interest that a similar institution should be found in Australia and Fiji. It is a familiar view that the Dravidian population of India is allied to that of Australia, and recent research is tending to link together not only these two peoples but also the ruder tribes of the interposed region of Malaysia, such as the Sakais,<sup>1</sup> together with the Melanesians.<sup>2</sup> The evidence I have brought forward in this paper adds another similarity to those which are already known to exist between these different peoples.<sup>3</sup>

In conclusion, I should like to call attention to two points of general anthropological interest which arise out of this paper. The first is that the customs I have recorded are

<sup>1</sup> Skent & Blagden : "Pagan Tribes of the Malay Peninsula," London, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> P. W. Schmidt : "Die Mon-Khmer Völker," Braunschweig, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> The importance of the South Indian kinship terms as evidence of cousin-marriage has been previously pointed out by Bernhöft (*Zeitsch. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, 1891, Bd. ix, S. 19) and by Kohler ("Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe," Stuttgart, 1897, S. 143), both, however, bringing the cousin-marriage into relation with polyandry and group-marriage, with which conditions it has no necessary connection. Kohler has also (*op. cit.*, S. 121) discussed the relation of cousin-marriage to a dual organisation of society.

clearly of the nature of survivals ; they are customs for which it would seem impossible to find any adequate direct psychological explanation in motives of any kind, whether religious, ethical, or magical. They seem to be meaningless except as the vestiges of an old social order, while, when considered from this point of view, they become at once intelligible and natural.

The other point is that survivals may have a twofold origin, that customs which in one part of the world have had one origin may elsewhere have had a different source. The evidence is, I think, conclusive that in many, and probably in most, parts of the world, the close relation between a man and his maternal uncle is a survival of mother-right, and this is probably also often the case in India, but I hope to have shown that in some Indian examples the custom has certainly had a different origin. Further, we have found that in two cases, but in those two cases beyond doubt, a mock conflict during the wedding ceremonies is a survival of a marriage regulation, although elsewhere it may be a survival of wife-capture, or may have a direct psychological foundation, whether of the kind worked out by Mr. Crawley or of that suggested by Professor Thomas.

The importance of the demonstration of such twofold or manifold origins as regards anthropological method is very great. If customs seemingly identical can have had very different origins in different parts of the world, or even in different parts of the same region, grave doubts must be cast on what may be called the current anthropological method of supporting hypotheses by the enumeration of examples from different parts of the world. The diverse origins of similar customs show that each example must be carefully considered in connection with the other features of the society in which it is found to exist.

It is now rapidly coming to be recognised that the great need of anthropology at the present time is the detailed study of special areas, a study much more minute than that we are accustomed to find in anthropological records. We

have seen how the chief argument of this paper has turned upon the detail that the person taking part in a ceremony is the husband of the father's sister, and if, as usually happens, the recorder had been content with the statement that the marriage is arranged by the uncle or by a near relative, the data for my most important argument would have been absent. For further progress we cannot have too detailed accounts of the social regulations of different people, accounts which will enable us to study the relation of different customs to one another, and to estimate the place of each in the social economy as a whole.

## APPENDIX.

In this appendix I propose to give the data on which the foregoing paper has been based. I shall only give facts dealing with customs existing at the present time, and shall not attempt to touch any evidence that may be found in ancient literature.<sup>1</sup> I will begin with an account of the present distribution of the marriage regulation that the children of brother and sister should or may marry, distinguishing between the cases in which a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, those in which the proper marriage is with the daughter of his father's sister, and those cases in which both kinds of marriage are ordained or allowed.

Marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother is general in the Telugu country,<sup>2</sup> where it is called *Mēnarikam*, being observed more strictly by the *Kōmatis* than by others,

<sup>1</sup> For references to the position of the maternal uncle in Indian literature, I may refer to a paper by E. W. Hopkins in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1889, vol. xiii, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Padfield: "The Hindu at Home," Madras, 1896.

and has been adopted by the Desasta and Ayyar Brahmans.<sup>1</sup> It is also general in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, where it has also recently been adopted by Brahmans,<sup>2</sup> and this kind of marriage also occurs among the Shivalli Brahmans of South Canara, and among the Halepaiks or toddy-drawers of that district.<sup>3</sup> Of other tribes or castes of the Madras Presidency it has been reported among the Konga Vellalas, the Kunnnavans of Madura and the Khonds,<sup>4</sup> and among the Kullans,<sup>5</sup> though in this caste marriage is also allowed with the daughter of the father's sister.

Marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother has been reported in Bengal among the Kaurs, a Dravidian caste of Chota Nagpur, and among the Karaus, an indigenous caste of Orissa.<sup>6</sup> In the North-Western Provinces it occurs among the Cheros, a Dravidian race of the hills near Mirzapur; the 'Irāqīs, a Muhammadan caste, and the Kunjras.<sup>7</sup> In the two last cases it is expressly stated that the marriage of a man with the daughter of the father's sister is prohibited.

Among the Yerkaḷas or Koravas of South India<sup>8</sup> the maternal uncle claims two nieces as wives for his sons. Twenty pagodas are paid for a wife, but the uncle's claim is valued at eight pagodas, so that he has only to pay twelve, and if he foregoes his claim he receives eight out of the twenty pagodas which are paid by the husband.

In some cases in which marriage is allowed with the daughter of both mother's brother and father's sister, there is a preference for the former, as appears to be the case among the Gonds<sup>9</sup> and the Goundans of Coimbatore.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thurston: "Ethnographic Notes in 'Southern India,'" p. 54. See also *Manual N. Arcot*, 1895, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Anantha Krishna Iyer: *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> South Canara Manual, 1894, pp. 151 and 173.

<sup>4</sup> Census of India, 1891, Madras, vol. xiii, p. 233.

<sup>5</sup> Padfield: *op. cit.*, p. 152.

<sup>6</sup> Risley: "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," vol. i, pp. 425, 436.

<sup>7</sup> Crooke: "Tribes and Castes of North-West Provinces and Oude," vol. ii, p. 217; vol. iii, pp. 2 and 345.

<sup>8</sup> *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, n.s., vol. vii, p. 186.

<sup>9</sup> "Gazetteer of the Central Provinces," Nagpur, 1870, 2nd ed., p. 276.

<sup>10</sup> Nicholson: *Manual of Coimbatore District*, 1887, p. 58.

Cases in which marriage with the daughter of the father's sister is especially ordained are less common. A Nattaman has the right to marry the daughter of his father's sister, and if she is given to another man the father's sister has to return to her father or brother the dowry which she received at the time of her marriage, and this is given to the man who had the claim upon the girl.<sup>1</sup> The same custom is found among the Kuravans.<sup>2</sup> Among the Anappans and Kappilyans<sup>3</sup> a man has the right of marrying his aunt's daughter (probably this means his paternal aunt's daughter), but he has also the right of marrying his sister's daughter. A Tungalai Paraiyan<sup>4</sup> promises his brother-in-law to give his daughter, if he should have one, to the son of the brother-in-law, so that in this case the son would marry the daughter of his father's sister.

Much more frequently marriage is allowed with the daughter either of the maternal uncle or of the paternal aunt, though, as we have seen, there is sometimes in these cases a preference for the former. Marriage with either kind of relative is found in the Madras Presidency among the Todas,<sup>5</sup> the Mālas<sup>6</sup> (Telugu Paraiyans), the Kaikōlans,<sup>7</sup> the Tottiyans,<sup>8</sup> and the Vallambans.<sup>9</sup>

One of the best known instances of this form of marriage is to be found among the Gonds<sup>10</sup> of the Central Provinces, and it has also been reported of the Mazhwār<sup>11</sup> or Gonds of the North-West Provinces and of the Jhoras<sup>12</sup> of Bengal, who are probably a sub-tribe of the Gonds.

<sup>1</sup> Census of India, 1901, vol. xv, pt. 1, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Thurston: *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Rivers: *Todas*, p. 512.

<sup>6</sup> Thurston: *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Census of India, 1901, vol. xv, pt. 1, p. 181.

<sup>9</sup> *Madura Manual* (quoted by Thurston).

<sup>10</sup> Grant: *Gazetteer of Central Provinces*, Nagpur, 2nd ed., 1870, p. 276. See also Scamlan, *Ind. Antiquary*, 1872, vol. i, p. 55; and Forsyth, "The Highlands of Central India," 1871, p. 186.

<sup>11</sup> Crooke: "Tribes and Castes of North-West Provinces," vol. iii, p. 417.

<sup>12</sup> Risley: *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 346.

This kind of marriage is also found among the Kulus of the Panjab,<sup>1</sup> the Mugh,<sup>2</sup> an Indo-Chinese tribe of Bengal, the Ghasyas,<sup>3</sup> a Dravidian caste of the North-West Provinces, and the Kāthis<sup>4</sup> of Bombay. Among the Nats<sup>5</sup> of the North-West Provinces marriage with first cousins is allowed, preferably on the mother's side, and this probably indicates a marriage of the kind with which we are concerned.

In the case of one tribe, the Kallans of the Madras Presidency, there is some discrepancy in the evidence. Padfield<sup>6</sup> states that a youth should marry his mother's brother's daughter; in the Census Report of 1901<sup>7</sup> it is stated that they have the same custom as the Nattamans (see above), while, according to Nelson,<sup>8</sup> the most proper marriage for a Kallan is with the daughter of his father's sister.

In some cases it has been reported that a man may marry his cousin or his maternal cousin, and these are probably examples of the marriage of children of brother and sister; thus, the Rajputs are said to marry their maternal cousins,<sup>9</sup> and the hill Arrians<sup>10</sup> (Arayans) of Travancore are said to marry their cousins.

In the following pages I give the evidence relating to the part taken in various forms of Indian ritual by the mother's brother, the sister's son, the father's sister, the father's sister's husband, and the mother's brother's child respectively, classifying the acts in each case according to their nature.

<sup>1</sup> Ibbetson: *Rep. Panjab Census*, 1881, vol. i, p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> Risley: *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Crooke: *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 412.

<sup>4</sup> *Census of India, 1901*, Eth. App., p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Crooke: *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 152.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. xv, pt. 1, p. 158.

<sup>8</sup> *Madura Manual*, pt. ii, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> *Rajputana Gazetteer*, 1879, vol. i, p. 69.

<sup>10</sup> *Painter: Journ. Anth. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii, p. 146.

## THE MATERNAL UNCLE.

The mother's brother plays a part in connection with marriage and betrothal, at naming and initiation ceremonies, and at funerals. It is in the marriage ceremonies that he appears most frequently, and I will begin with these.

*Arranges the marriage.*—The marriage is arranged by the mother's brother among the Kois and Komatis<sup>1</sup> of the Madras Presidency, but in the latter case, and probably also in the former, this is not a survival of the cousin-marriage, but is associated with the still existing practice. Among the Salihu or weavers of Nellore<sup>2</sup> the dower and the form of the marriage ceremony are settled between the uncles of the bride and bridegroom, and a sum of money given by the boy's maternal uncle is conveyed to the boy's father by the uncle of the bride. This again is possibly a case in which the Mēnarikam marriage still persists, though no reference is made to it in the account. My other examples are all taken from the North-Western Provinces, where the mother's brother either arranges the marriage or plays an important part in the negotiations among nine castes, the Agariyars, Ahīrs, Bhars, Chamārs, 'Irāqīs, Khairwas, Kharwārs, Korwas, and Byādha Nats.<sup>3</sup> Of these nine castes five are Dravidian and two are said to be of mixed blood. One caste, the 'Irāqīs, still maintains the practice of marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle. Among the Kharwārs it is also the etiquette that the maternal uncle should occupy a leading place among the five clansmen who accompany the boy's father on the occasion of the betrothal.

*Receives money or other gifts.*—In Travancore<sup>4</sup> the maternal uncle receives fourteen fanams from the bridegroom, while the father receives only ten, and among the Kānikars of

<sup>1</sup> Cain: Ind. Antiquary, 1879, vol. viii, p. 33; also Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., n.s., 1881, vol. xiii, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> Boswell: Manual of Nellore District, 1873, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Crooke: op. cit., vol. i, p. 3, 58; vol. ii, pp. 7, 179; vol. iii, pp. 3, 222, 236, 331; vol. iv, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Mateer: Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., 1884, vol. xvi, p. 180.

this State<sup>1</sup> the boy gives money to his uncle or father-in-law. At the *Mangalam* wedding of the Tiyyans of North Malabar<sup>2</sup> both the engagement- and the purchase-money are paid to the father or the uncle of the bride, and it is among these people that the marriage procession is obstructed by the maternal uncle's son, who claims the bride as his by right. Among the Chakalis or washermen of Nellore<sup>3</sup> the bride's uncle receives one rupee from the dower, and the uncle of a Yānādi bride also receives a fee.<sup>4</sup> Among the Majhwār<sup>5</sup> or Gonds of the North-West Provinces the boy's father presents the boy's maternal uncle with a calf or buffalo. In Bengal one Dravidian tribe, the Mal Pahāriās,<sup>6</sup> has the custom that the uncle of the bride keeps gifts made by the parents of the bridegroom till the wedding-day, and in another, the Savars,<sup>7</sup> the maternal uncle of the bride receives a bullock as part of the bride-price. Among the Kirantis<sup>8</sup> it is the custom in cases of elopement that the fine required in these cases should be demanded by the girl's maternal uncle.

In the Bombay Presidency<sup>9</sup> the Sanadi Korvis of Bijapur divide the sum paid by the bridegroom's father between the girl's father and her maternal uncle, and the Uchlas give the girl's maternal uncle fifty rupees. The latter caste are pickpockets of Poona, but are said to have Telugu ways, and have therefore probably come from the Madras Presidency.

*Makes gifts.*—The maternal uncle gives less frequently than he receives. Among the Sholagas of Coimbatore the uncle presents a new cloth to the bride, and among the Mādigas or Telugu Paraiyans the maternal uncle of the bride

<sup>1</sup> Indian Review, 1902 (quoted by Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 99).

<sup>2</sup> Census of India, 1891, Madras, vol. viii, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Boswell: *Manual of Nellore District*, 1873, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> T. Ranga Rao: *Bull. Madras Government Museum*, 1901, vol. iv, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Crooke: *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 421.

<sup>6</sup> Risley: *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>9</sup> Campbell: *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1885, vol. xviii, pt. 1, p. 545.

gives five betel leaves and nuts to the headman.<sup>1</sup> The maternal uncle of the Majhwār bride<sup>2</sup> presents her before marriage with a suit of clothes, and the uncle of the bridegroom presents him with some money.

*Performs ritual acts during the wedding ceremonies.*—Of various acts performed by the maternal uncle the most widely spread is that the bride and bridegroom are carried on the backs of their maternal uncles. The best known example of this is among the Khonds,<sup>3</sup> where both bride and bridegroom are carried on the backs or shoulders of their maternal uncles to the village of the husband. They are carried in a similar way to the bridegroom's house by the Raddis of Poona,<sup>4</sup> a Telugu people (? Reddis), while among the Brahmans of the Tamil country, the Govardhan or bastard Brahmans of Poona, and the Mochis of Ahmadnagar<sup>5</sup> the couple are carried on the shoulders of their uncles during the wedding ceremony, though nothing is said about their being carried to the home of the husband.

In other cases the bride is lifted or carried by her maternal uncle, as among the Chakalis of Nellore<sup>6</sup> in the Madras Presidency, where the uncle carries the bride three times round the bridegroom and then sets her down on his left side; among the Goundans,<sup>7</sup> where the bride is carried to the village boundary for the performance of a ceremony; and among the Maheswāris and Pancholis of Rajputana,<sup>8</sup> where she is carried seven times round the bridegroom when he first enters the bride's house. Among the Shenvis of the Bombay Presidency<sup>9</sup> the uncle lifts the bride from the marriage altar and sets her down on a heap of rice, the same

<sup>1</sup> Thurston: *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Crooke: *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 421.

<sup>3</sup> Macpherson's "Memorials of Service in India," London, 1865, p. 70; Ganjam Manual, 1882, p. 69; and Thurston, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>4</sup> Campbell: *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Boswell: Nellore Manual, p. 240.

<sup>7</sup> Manual Coimbatore District, 1887, p. 58.

<sup>8</sup> Rajputana Gazetteer, 1879, vol. ii, p. 251.

<sup>9</sup> Campbell: *loc. cit.*

custom being also followed by the Pātāna Prabhus, the Pāñch Kalshis, and the Sonārs.<sup>1</sup>

In some cases the uncle performs the most important act of the wedding ritual, as among the Mogers<sup>2</sup> or fishermen of South Canara, where the maternal uncle of the bride places rice, betel leaves, arcca-nut, and a lighted wick on the joined hands of the bride and bridegroom, and then formally makes over the bride to the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. Again, among the Kappiliyans of Canara<sup>3</sup> the binding portion of the wedding ceremony is the locking of the fingers of the couple, performed by their maternal uncles.

At the *Kanyādān* or bride-giving ceremony of the Rāmoshis,<sup>4</sup> a tribe of the South Bombay Deccan, the uncle formally gives his sister's daughter after sipping water which he has poured over the toes of the bridegroom. Among the Mādigas or Telugu Paraiyans<sup>5</sup> the maternal uncle of the bride ties the *bonthu*, a cotton thread, round the bride's neck. In Travancore<sup>6</sup> the bride's uncle covers her face with a cloth and delivers her to the elder brother of the bridegroom. A bride among the Badhois of Ganjam<sup>7</sup> is accompanied by her uncle to the marriage booth, and among the Kaikōlans of Coimbatore<sup>8</sup> the bride is carried to a plank and placed before the assembled guests by her uncle after he has tied a golden band on her forehead. Similarly, among the Sembudavans<sup>9</sup> or fishermen of the Tamil country, of various small gold and silver plates tied to the foreheads of the bride and bridegroom, the most conspicuous are those from the maternal uncles of the couple.

<sup>1</sup> Campbell : loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Sturrock : S. Canara Manual, p. 169. These people still follow the custom of Aliya Santana or inheritance by the sister's son.

<sup>3</sup> Thurston : op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Campbell : Bombay Gazetteer, vol. xviii, pt. 1, p. 545.

<sup>5</sup> Thurston : op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Mateer : Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., 1884, vol. xvi, p. 180.

<sup>7</sup> Thurston : Ethnographic Notes, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

The bride and bridegroom of the Urālis<sup>1</sup> are accompanied by their maternal uncles when they worship at a pond, and the uncles dance. If the bridegroom's party has to cross a stream on its way to the bride's village the boy must be carried across it on the back of his uncle. Among the Jōgis or Telugu mendicants<sup>2</sup> threads of human hair are tied on the wrists of the bride and bridegroom by their uncles, and among the Idigas<sup>3</sup> or toddy-drawers of the same country the uncle of the bride bathes and performs ritual with a Euphorbia plant. The Kamasalis<sup>4</sup> or smiths and carpenters of the Nellore district at their wedding ceremonies employ Brahmans, who send for the uncles of the couple and bless them. When a buffalo or pig is killed at a betrothal of the Khonds the head of the animal goes to the maternal uncle.<sup>5</sup>

Kearns<sup>6</sup> gives many examples of the rôle of the uncle in the wedding ceremonies of Southern India, as among the Vellalas, Maravans, Shanars, Pullars (? Pallans), Paraiyans, Vannans, Kicolars (? Kaikōlans), Koliar Pullars, and Chucklers (Chakkiliyans). Only in one instance does he state expressly that by the uncle he means the mother's brother, but this is probably so in all cases.

In other parts of India various ritual acts are performed at the wedding ceremonies. Among the Cheros,<sup>7</sup> a non-Aryan people of Bengal, the uncle pours water on mango leaves placed in the mouths of the bride and bridegroom by their mothers. Among the Dāngis,<sup>8</sup> a tribe possibly connected with the Gonds, the maternal uncle takes the bridegroom in his arms into the house of the bride and strikes the marriage-hut with a fan, whereupon he is beaten by the

<sup>1</sup> Thurston: *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Boswell: *Manual of Nellore District*, p. 240.

<sup>5</sup> Thurston: p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> "Kalyān'a Shat'anku, or the Marriage Ceremonies of the Hindus of South India," Madras, 1868, pp. 27-74.

<sup>7</sup> Risley: "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," vol. i, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Crooke: "Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces," vol. ii, p. 249.

women of the family. At a wedding of the Halepaik<sup>1</sup> in Dhārwar the uncle goes with the bride and bridegroom round the marriage-shed. The Bangars, a southern people of Poona, and the Jain Shimpis of Ahmadnagar<sup>2</sup> have the custom that the maternal uncles stand behind the couple while the marriage is going on. Among the Khandesh Kumbi the uncle clasps the hands of the bridegroom over those of the bride, and in Bijāpur the Pāngul maternal uncle draws ash-marks on the brows of the couple.<sup>3</sup> The Chitpāvan Brahmans of the Bombay Presidency call at the uncle's house on their way back from showing the child (? bride) to the village god.<sup>4</sup>

Among the Modhs of Cutch the maternal uncle of the bridegroom dresses in women's clothes from head to waist and in men's clothes below, and after rubbing his face with oil and daubing it with red paint, he accompanies the newly married couple to the place where two roads cross, and waits there while they make offerings to their goddess.<sup>5</sup>

*Divorce.*—The only instance I have found in which the maternal uncle takes a part in divorce proceedings is among the Mogers,<sup>6</sup> where the marriage is dissolved if the husband informs the uncle of his wife and pays him one rupee four annas, after striking three blows on a tree.

*Childhood ceremonies.*—The maternal uncle often takes a prominent place in the various Indian ceremonies of childhood and youth, and I add here a list of the instances I have been able to find, leaving entirely on one side the question whether they are survivals of mother-right or of the regulation which makes the maternal uncle of a child at the same time his prospective father-in-law.

*Naming.*—A Toda boy receives his name from the

<sup>1</sup> Campbell : Bombay Gazetteer, vol. xviii, pt. 1, p. 545.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, vol. v, p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Sturrock : Manual of South Canara District, 1894, p. 169.

maternal uncle,<sup>1</sup> while among the Nairs<sup>2</sup> the child is given rice by this relative at the weaning ceremony, when it is called by its name for the first time.

*Hair-cutting and shaving.*—At the *tersamptpini* ceremony of the Todas<sup>3</sup> a lock of hair is cut from the head of the child by its maternal uncle. Among the Yānādis<sup>4</sup> of North Arcot the maternal uncle of a child at the head-shaving ceremony cuts the first lock and ties it to an areca palm, receiving two annas and a cloth for doing so, while among the Irulas<sup>5</sup> of the same district the uncle cuts the first lock and ties it to some *rāgi*. In the Nellore district<sup>6</sup> the maternal uncle at the first hair-cutting cuts a few hairs three times, the cutting being often symbolic, when two blades of grass are used in the place of scissors. The Kilikāyats,<sup>7</sup> a wandering Telugu tribe, have the child's hair cut by its maternal uncle before it is three years old. When a child of the Havig Brahmans, the Ghisādis of Poona, or the Poona Velālis (who come from Madras) has its head shaved or its hair cut for the first time, it is set on its maternal uncle's knee, while the Halālkhors of Poona clip the maternal uncle's own hair and make him a present when they first cut the hair of a child.<sup>8</sup>

*Other childhood ceremonies.*—In the Nellore district<sup>9</sup> a cup of gold and silver is presented at the weaning of a child by the maternal uncle, who takes the child in his arms and touches its tongue with a gold ring, the parents then paying their respects to the uncle and presenting him with a new cloth, betel, sandal, etc. The rôle of the uncle at the weaning ceremony of the Nairs has already been mentioned. When a baby of the Lohar<sup>10</sup> is brought out of the house for

<sup>1</sup> Rivers : The Todas, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Census of India, 1891, Madras, vol. xiii, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> Cox & Stuart : Manual of North Arcot, 1895, vol. i, p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>6</sup> Boswell : Manual of Nellore District, p. 223.

<sup>7</sup> Campbell : op. cit., p. 544.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Boswell : Nellore Manual, p. 221.

<sup>10</sup> Crooke : op. cit., vol. iii, p. 377.

the first time, an arrow is held in its hand by its maternal uncle. At the ear-piercing ceremony of the Todas<sup>1</sup> one ear is pierced by the maternal uncle. At the circumcision of the Kallans<sup>2</sup> of Madura the youth is carried on the shoulder of his uncle to the place where the operation is to be performed. At the thread-girding ceremony the Chitpāvan boy is shaved sitting on his uncle's knee; among the Shenvis the boy is advised by his uncle to give up a recluse life; and among the Havig Brahmins the uncle becomes the guide and protector of the boy during his mock journey to Benares.<sup>3</sup>

In the Punjab, when a child first teethes from its upper jaw, it is considered unlucky for its maternal uncle, who performs certain ceremonies.<sup>4</sup>

At the pregnancy ceremony called *pulikuti* of the Ulladens of Cochin the woman drinks a sour mixture administered by her maternal uncle.<sup>5</sup>

*Funeral ceremonies.*—The maternal uncle acts as priest at the funeral of one of the Mangar,<sup>6</sup> a Mongoloid tribe of Nepal, and he also is the priest at the propitiatory ceremony performed after the death of one of the Juāng,<sup>7</sup> a non-Aryan tribe of Bengal. Among the Musahar<sup>8</sup> the chief mourner is shaved on the fifteenth day after death by the mother's brother or by his son or by some other relative. At the funeral of the Toreyas of Coimbatore<sup>9</sup> the uncle makes a hole in the watering-pot which is carried round the grave by the son of the deceased. Among the Todas<sup>10</sup> the maternal uncle assists in the funeral contributions.

Other examples of the belief in a close relationship

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Thurston: op. cit., p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Campbell: op. cit., p. 544.

<sup>4</sup> H. A. Rose: *Man*, 1902, p. 60 (No. 45), where a full description of the ceremonies will be found.

<sup>5</sup> A. K. Iyer: *Cochin Ethnographic Survey*, Monograph No. 9, pt. iv, p. 5, 1906.

<sup>6</sup> Risley: op. cit., vol. ii, p. 75.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., vol. i, p. 353.

<sup>8</sup> Crooke: op. cit., vol. iv, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> Thurston: op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>10</sup> Rivers: op. cit., p. 499.

between uncle and nephew are to be found in Chhattarpur,<sup>1</sup> where these relatives perform together a ceremony connected with rain, and in the Bilaspur district,<sup>2</sup> where the presence of uncle and nephew together in the same house renders it liable to damage by lightning.

### THE SISTER'S SON.

In the examples given so far there have been described duties or privileges of the maternal uncle in relation to his nephew. There have now to be given instances in which the sister's son has duties towards his uncle. The duties of the sister's son which are met with most frequently are those he is called upon to fulfil after death. In several cases, as among the Dōms,<sup>3</sup> the Dharkars,<sup>4</sup> the Bhangis,<sup>5</sup> and the Haris,<sup>6</sup> he acts as priest either at the actual funeral ceremonies or at the sacrifices which are made after death, and it is significant that in two of these cases, the Dōms and the Bhangis, the duty may be undertaken by him or by the son-in-law. In some Malabar castes the nephew takes the chief place at the funeral.<sup>7</sup> Among the Gurvas of Bengal<sup>8</sup> the sister's son acts as chief mourner, while among the Khandesh Dang and the Akrami Bhils<sup>9</sup> he receives the chief mourner's turban. Among the Todas the sister's son has to make certain contributions at the funeral of his uncle.<sup>10</sup>

Less frequently the sister's son plays a part at weddings, as among the Dōms<sup>11</sup> and the more primitive Kols,<sup>12</sup> pouring water in the latter case on the hands of the bridegroom.

<sup>1</sup> Crooke: "Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India," vol. i, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon: Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1902, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Risley: op. cit., vol. i, p. 245. Crooke, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> Crooke: op. cit., vol. ii, p. 285.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., vol. i, p. 288.

<sup>6</sup> Risley: op. cit., vol. i, p. 316.

<sup>7</sup> A. K. Iyer: Cochin Ethnographic Survey, Monograph No. 6, p. 28, and No. 9, pt. ii, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Campbell: loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup> Campbell: loc. cit.

<sup>10</sup> Op. cit., pp. 395-7.

<sup>11</sup> Risley: loc. cit.

<sup>12</sup> Crooke: op. cit., vol. iii, p. 308.

## THE FATHER'S SISTER.

Several cases have been recorded in which the father's sister plays a part at marriage. In some parts of North Malabar the *tali* is tied by the uncle's wife or the father's sister.<sup>1</sup> At the *talikettu* marriage of the Tiyyans the girl is dressed with new clothes by the uncle's wife, the father's sister, or the future mother-in-law, and the *tali* is tied by one of the two latter relatives.<sup>2</sup> At the maturity ceremony of the Hill Arrians the girl stands on a plank of jackwood while the *tali* is tied on her neck by her father's sister.<sup>3</sup> At the wedding ceremonies of the Kāyasths<sup>4</sup> the father's sister of the boy or girl has her head oiled and the parting marked with red lead, and she then parches paddy in a new earthen pot. The aunt of the bridegroom also moves mustard and salt over her nephew's head, lights a lamp before him, and marks his eyelids with lamp-black. At the *matmangara* ceremony of the Khatiks the paternal aunt brings out the bride,<sup>5</sup> and among the Bhar the bride's father's sister plays jokes on the bridegroom till she receives a present.<sup>6</sup> Among the Musahar<sup>7</sup> the father's sister acts as midwife, and when a Gurchha child is six months old the paternal aunt is expected to make it a present of clothes.<sup>8</sup> Among the Todas the father's sister probably gives a female child its name,<sup>9</sup> and among the Ulladers of Cochin the ears of a girl are generally bored by her aunt.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. K. Iyer : op. cit., Monograph 10, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Census of India, 1891, Madras, vol. xiii, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Painter : Journ. Anth. Soc. Bombay, 1890, vol. ii, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Crooke : op. cit., vol. iii, p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., vol. ii, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., vol. iv, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., vol. ii, p. 467.

<sup>9</sup> Rivers : op. cit., p. 332.

<sup>10</sup> A. K. Iyer : Ethnographic Survey of Cochin State, Monograph No. 9, pt. iv, p. 5.

## THE HUSBAND OF THE FATHER'S SISTER.

All the recorded instances of duties on the part of this relative come from the North-Western Provinces.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Dōms and two of their sub-castes, the Basors and the Dharkārs, and among the Chamārs, the Khatiks and the Sānsiyas, the father's sister's husband of the bridegroom arranges the marriage or issues the wedding invitations. Among the Basors also earth is dug at the *matmangara* ceremony by the brother-in-law of the boy's father, who would probably be the father's sister's husband of the boy; and among the Chamārs the father's sister's husband or *phupha* and the brother-in-law carry through the whole business of the wedding. Among the Kāyasths the father's sister's husband performs a wedding rite in which he walks seven times round the bridegroom and pounds rice, for which he receives a present. After a confinement among the Mārwaris the sister's husband of the father of the child touches the place where the cord was buried and receives a present, and at a circumcision of a Dafali or low-caste Muhammadan the same relative takes the boy to the mosque and places him in position for the operation.

## THE MOTHER'S BROTHER'S CHILD.

Among the Tiyyans of North Malabar<sup>2</sup> the bridegroom has to contest with the *machhun* or uncle's son, whose claims are bought off by a payment of two fanams, and a similar custom is found among the Izhuvans or Tiyyans of Cochin.<sup>3</sup> The Idaiyan bridegroom<sup>4</sup> presents four annas and betel to each of the bride's maternal uncle's sons, who tie together the wrists of the newly married couple. When

<sup>1</sup> Crooke : op. cit., vol. i, p. 225; vol. ii, pp. 180, 241, 283, 321; vol. iii, pp. 211, 260, 479; vol. iv, p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Logan : Malabar Manual, vol. i, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> A. K. Iyer : op. cit., Monograph 10, p. 18; see also p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Thurston : op. cit., p. 55.

the bride and bridegroom retire to the bride's house, the bride is carried by the bridegroom's brother and the party is stopped by the maternal uncle's sons, who may beat the groom's brother. The bride among the Chakalis<sup>1</sup> and the Vannans<sup>2</sup> is dressed by her mother's brother's daughter. At a Toda funeral important ceremonies are performed by the *matchuni* (child of mother's brother or of father's sister).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Boswell: Manual of Nellore District, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Kearns: *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Rivers: *op. cit.*, pp. 360, 381, 392.

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

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### DIMENSIONS OF INDIAN CITIES AND COUNTRIES.

We are familiar with the fact that Hiuen-tsiang has usually, if not quite always, indicated the dimensions of the various countries described by him. He has done so by stating sometimes the length and breadth, sometimes the circuit. For instance, he has told us that Kan-t'ò-lo, Gandhāra,— the capital of which was Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo, Purushapura, Peshāwar,— measured about 1000 *li* = 121·21 miles from east to west, and 800 *li* = 96·96 miles from south to north (Julien, *Mémoires*, 1. 104). So, again, he has told us that the Chch-ka, 'Tukka, country,— the old capital of which was She-ka-lo, Śākala, Siālkōt,<sup>1</sup>— had a circuit of about 10,000 *li* = 1212·12 miles (*ibid.*, 189). And he has usually indicated in a similar manner the dimensions of the capital cities; thus, he has told us that Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo and She-ka-lo had circumferences of about 40 *li* and 20 *li*, = 4·84 and 2·42 miles, respectively.

Whence did Hiuen-tsiang obtain these details? Was it from official records, or from the Buddhist books, or from what other source? And to what extent, in respect of the countries in particular, may we— making allowance for the fact that the statements in this class would obviously give only approximations, in round numbers— accept these details as authentic? : they might well indicate the number of days occupied in traversing the diameters or the perimeters, as

<sup>1</sup> See my article "Sāgala, Śākala, the City of Milinda and Mihirakula" in the *Transactions of the Fourteenth Oriental Congress, Algiers, 1905*; Indian Section, page 164 ff.

the case may be, and be based on the marches of frontier-guards relieving each other, or on the tours of inspecting officers; or a very punctilious ruler might even have his boundaries actually paced, just as Baber caused one of his mounted party to count the paces of his horse from the bank of the Sōn to the camp at Arrah on the return-march from Munir, with the result that the distance was reported to be 23,100 paces of a horse = 46,200 "ordinary paces" (steps of a man) =  $11\frac{1}{2}$  *kōs* (of that time).<sup>1</sup> Or must we regard them as merely traditional or even conventional, and of no real specific value?

An answer to these questions can hardly be made off-hand. But a sidelight can perhaps be thrown on the matter. And it seems worth while to start an inquiry into a topic which has apparently not received as yet any close attention.

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I have had occasion to quote, on page 523 above, a statement made in the Jātaka No. 406 (ed. Fausböll, 3. 365) that the Vidēha country measured 300 *yōjanas*, and its capital, Mithilā, measured 7 *yōjanas*. The same statement is made, in other words, in the Jātaka No. 489: Suruchi, king of Mithilā, on hearing that the king of Bārāṇasī had objected to give his daughter Sumēdhā in marriage to Suruchi's son, to be simply one in a great harem, and had resolved to wed her only to some husband who would take her and no other wife, there says (ed. Fausböll, 4. 316):—*Amhākaṃ mahantaṃ rajjaṃ sattayōjanikaṃ Mithilānagarāṃ tīṇi yōjana-satāṇi rajja - parichehābhōdō heṭṭhimantēṇa sōḷasa itthi - sahaṣṣāni laddhuṃ vaṭṭati*; "Our kingdom is a great one; the city Mithilā measures 7 *yōjanas*; the exact definition, specification, of the kingdom is 300 *yōjanas*: (*Our son*) should have 16,000 women at the very least!"

There is nothing in these statements to explain in what way the Vidēha country measured 300 *yōjanas* and the city Mithilā measured 7 *yōjanas*. There, is, however, in certain quarters, an understanding that these and other similar

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Baber*, trans. by Leyden and Erskine, 413; trans. by De Courteille, 2. 413 f.

statements all denote circuits. And there are certainly two passages which might be cited in support of that view. One is found in the *Jātaka* No. 5, where it is said (ed. Fausböll, l. 125):—*Tadā pana Bārāṇasīyā pākāra-parikkhēpō dvādasayōjanikō hōti idam assā antarabāhiram pana tiyōjanasatika-ratṭham*; “now, at that time the perimeter of the ramparts of Bārāṇasī measured 12 *yōjanas*, and this her extent inside and outside (*that*) was a country measuring 300 *yōjanas*.” The other is the passage in Buddhaghōṣha’s *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, in which we are told that, when Ajātasattu was making his arrangements for conveying his share of the corporeal relics of Buddha from Kusinārā to Rājagaha (see this *Journal*, 1906. 907):—*Attanō vijitō pañchasata-yōjana-parimaṇḍalē manussē sannipātāpēsi*; “he assembled all the men in his realm, which had a circuit of 500 *yōjanas*.” This latter statement, however, is not exactly analogous to those which we have under examination. Moreover, it is somewhat difficult to reconcile it with another statement made by the same writer in the same work; commenting on the words *mahachcha rājānubhārēna* occurring in a story about Ajātasattu in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, 2. 9, he has there said (op. cit., ed. Davids and Carpenter, l. 148):—*Kā pan=assa rājiddhi tiyōjanasatānam dvinnam mahārājjanam issariya-siri*; “now, what was his sovereign power?; the splendour of the lordship of two great kingdoms consisting of 300 *yōjanas*.”<sup>1</sup> The other statement, about Bārāṇasī, certainly says that the measure of the circuit of the walls of the city was 12 *yōjanas*. But it does not necessarily follow that we are to supply the word *parikkhēpa*, ‘perimeter,’ in connexion with the statement about the territory.<sup>2</sup> There is, of course,

<sup>1</sup> The names of the two kingdoms are not given there. But we know well that one of them was Magadha. And we infer that the other was Aṅga, from a passage in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, 4. 1 (ed. Davids and Carpenter, l. 111): we are there told that Buddha, in the course of his wanderings in the Aṅga country, came on a certain occasion to Champā, and that the Brāhman Sopaṇḍa was then dwelling at Champā in a *brahmadeyya*, a grant to Brāhmins, which was a *rājadāya*, a royal allotment, that had been given by the Māgadha king Bimbisāra (father of Ajātasattu); and Bimbisāra could hardly have made such an allotment there, unless the Aṅga country belonged to him.

<sup>2</sup> The translator has taken the text in that way, and has said (*The Jātaka*, l. 22):—“And that though the walls of Benares were 12 leagues round by

also the statement about the Majjhimadēsa or Middle Country :<sup>1</sup>— Sō āyamatō tīṇi yojana-satāni vitthāratō adḍhatiyāni parikkhēpatō nava yojana-satāni; “it is 300 *yojanas* in length, 250 in breadth, and 900 in perimeter.” But this is still less analogous to the statement which we have under consideration. Moreover, its details are, from any point of view, impossible.<sup>2</sup>

However, there does exist an understanding that all such statements denote circuits. So we must at least examine the matter, as regards Vidēha and Mithilā, from that point of view. And it will be convenient to take first the question of the territory.

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*

Vidēha was a country on the north of the Ganges, situated roughly opposite the present district of Patna. The southern boundary of Vidēha was, no doubt, the Ganges itself. Its northern and eastern boundaries are more or less a matter of conjecture. But we know that its western boundary was a river named Sadānīrā, ‘that in which there is always water.’ This river has been identified by some writers with the Gaṇḍak; but it certainly was not that river. Another writer has proposed, with better reasons, to identify it with the Rāptī;<sup>3</sup> to that, however, there is the objection that part, at least, of the country of Kōsala lay on the east of the Rāptī. My own opinion is that the Sadānīrā is the Little Gaṇḍak.

The learned author of a work, dealing with Buddhist India, which is so well known that we need not specify it,

themselves, while the city and suburbs together were 300 leagues round !” But there is no reference in the text to “suburbs” at all; the word *raṭṭha*, ‘country,’ precludes the idea of any such intention; and the text further on (p. 126, line 3) distinctly specifies *Bārāṇasī-rājjanī*, “the kingdom of Bārāṇasī.” Another writer has taken over the idea of “city and suburbs,” but has treated both the city and its suburbs as included in the 12 *yojanas*: see more fully pages 647-8 below.

<sup>1</sup> See the commentary on the Nidānakathā, in the Jātaka, ed. Fausbøll, 1. 49. Compare the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, ed. Davids and Carpenter, 1. 173 :— Āyamatō ti-yojana-satē vitthāratō adḍhatiya(v.l. °teyya)-yojana-satē parikkhēpatō nava-yojana-satē Majjhimapadesē.

<sup>2</sup> See, fully, note 3 on page 653 below.

<sup>3</sup> Pargiter, in JASB, 66, 1897. 86 ff.; with a full statement of details, authorities, and previous views.

has therein treated the statement with which we are concerned, and similar ones, as all referring to circuits; and, coupling with that his estimate of the value of the *yōjana*, called by him, as by some other writers, the "league," at about 7.5 miles, he has told us (op. ind., 26) that the statements in the *Jātakas*, cited above, mean that Vidēha was "300 leagues (about 2300 miles) in circumference." In that there is, perhaps, nothing intrinsically remarkable or *primâ facie* suspicious. The case, however, becomes different when we apply a practical test to the given result.

We will not, indeed, test that result by applying the fanciful value of 1 *yōjana* = 7.5 miles; the consequences would be altogether too overwhelming. We will use the more moderate value of 4.54 miles, which (see this Journal, 1906. 1011 ff.) the Indian books give for what may be called the Māgadha *yōjana* or the Buddhist *yōjana*. With this value, the result is (on the given understanding) that the Vidēha country had a circuit of  $4.54 \times 300 = 1363.63$  miles. In this, still less, perhaps, is there anything intrinsically remarkable. If, however, we take it as the perimeter of a square with 340 miles on each side,<sup>1</sup> then Vidēha extended on the north across Nēpāl and over the Himmālayas and far into Tibet! While, if we take it as the circuit of a rectangle lying between the Ganges and Nēpāl, with 80 miles along each end of it and 600 miles along the north and south sides, Vidēha stretched on the east across Chāmpāran and Muzaffarpūr, Darbhāṅgah, Bhāgalpūr, Purniah, Dinajpūr, and Raṅgpūr, and over the Brahmaputra, and up to the Nāga Hills in Assam!

We can scarcely accept such results as either of these. If that should be the way in which we are to understand such statements about the countries of ancient India, there can be no doubt that the details are purely imaginative; a very limited number of such territories would more than fill the whole of Northern India. There is, however, the

<sup>1</sup> It would obviously be unpractical to consider the ancient divisions of India as circles. They might be treated as hexagons or as triangles; but squares and rectangles will suffice for the purposes of a tentative note.

possibility of looking at the matter from another point of view.

Let us understand the meaning of the Jātakas to be that the area of Vidēha was 300 square *yōjanas*. Then, if we take this area as a square,—(probably Vidēha was really more like a rhombus or even a rhomboid, but a square will serve for present purposes),—each side of it will be the square-root of 300, or say  $17\frac{1}{3}$  *yōjanas*, that is, 78·78 miles. A territory of these dimensions, with sides of 78·78 miles and a circuit of  $78\cdot78 \times 4 = 315\cdot15$  miles and an area of  $(4\cdot54)^2 \times 300 = 6198\cdot347$  square miles, will exactly fit in to the given position.

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*                      \*

Thus, by understanding the statements regarding territories as denoting areas, we can obtain satisfactory results. The case, however, is otherwise as regards the cities; even apart from the indication given by the statement regarding Bārāṇasī quoted on page 643 above.

If we should understand that the Jātakas mean, by the statements which I have quoted, that the area of the city Mithilā was 7 square *yōjanas*, and if we assume that the city was a square, then each side of it measured the square-root of 7, or say  $2\frac{2}{3}$  *yōjanas* = 12·12 miles, and its circuit was  $2\frac{2}{3} \times 4 = 10\frac{2}{3}$  *yōjanas* = 48·48 miles, and its area was more than 144 square miles. This would give us a city rivalling, if not surpassing, ‘Babylon the great, that mighty city, the glory of kingdoms, the hammer of the whole earth, she that was great among the nations and princess among the provinces,’ in respect of whom Herodotus says (1. 178) that she was an exact square, ‘120 *stadia* = 13·789 miles in length along each side,—which gives a circuit of over 55 miles and an area of more than 190 square miles; while even Ctesias, with the historians of Alexander the Great in near agreement with him, indicates<sup>1</sup> that her dimensions were 90 *stadia* = 10·342 miles along each side,—which gives a circuit of over 41 miles and an area of more than

<sup>1</sup> See Rawlinson’s translation of Herodotus (1875), 1. 298, notes.

106 square miles. And, if we may offer a more easily appreciable illustration, a square area of the same size with Mithilā (if those were its dimensions), and with Charing Cross as its central point, would include the Alexandra Palace on the north, the Crystal Palace on the south, Blackwall and Poplar on the east, and a great part of Acton on the west.

Such dimensions as these would be somewhat unpractical, if we had to attribute them to many of the cities of ancient India. However, we have the possibility of a general indication in another direction, in the particular statement about Bārāṇasī which has been quoted on page 643 above. We will now examine the case from that point of view.

If we take the 7 *yōjanas* of Mithilā as denoting the perimeter of the city, and assume that the city was a square, we have a circuit of 7 *yōjanas* = 31·81 miles, with sides of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  *yōjanas* = 7·95·1 miles and an area of  $3\frac{1}{16}$  square *yōjanas* = 63·274 square miles. But we give the statement a better chance, if, following certain indications that are forthcoming as to the general shapes of some at least of the greater cities of ancient India,<sup>1</sup> we assume a rectangle with sides of  $\frac{1}{2}$  *yōjana* = 2·27 miles and a length of 3 *yōjanas* = 13·63 miles: we then have, with the same circuit, an area of only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  square *yōjanas* = 30·991 square miles.

We have thus reduced the dimensions of the city Mithilā to somewhat more reasonable proportions. But can we accept even these measures as probable ones?

The author of the work, dealing with Buddhist India, to which allusion has been made in a preceding page, has ignored the distinct statement of the Jātaka (page 643 above) that 12 *yōjanas* was the measure of the perimeter of the walls of Bārāṇasī, and has treated the matter as if the 12

<sup>1</sup> We have, for instance, the case of Pāṭaliputra, cited further on. In its case, indeed, there was the important river frontage along the Ganges, with its facilities not only for traffic but also for water-supply, to account for a great length of city having been laid out or having grown up. But Taxila also, where there seems to have been nothing in the shape of a real river to account for such a feature, seems to have been of much greater length than width. And Vaiśālī, otherwise called Viśālā, "the spacious, broad, or wide," may be another case to the point.

*yōjanas* included "suburbs" also; and, taking the 12 *yōjanas* as equal to "about 85 miles," he has observed (op. ind., 35):—"This tradition as to the size of the city, or rather county, Benares at the height of its prosperity seems by no means devoid of credit." We certainly cannot endorse that proposition, which gives to the city *Bārāṇasī* sides of 21·25 miles (if we assume a square) and an area of 451·5625 square miles or 289,000 acres (more than 81,000 acres in excess of the area of Huntingdonshire). We cannot, in fact, accept the spirit of it, even if, substituting the real value of the *yōjana*, 4·54 miles, we reduce the walled circuit of the city *Bārāṇasī* to 54·54 miles, with (if we again assume a square) sides of 13·63 miles and an area of more than 185 square miles, or (if we give the statement its best general chance by assuming a rectangle of 1 by 5 *yōjanas*) with sides of 4·54 miles and a length of 22·72 miles and an area of more than 103 square miles.

Nor can we really accept even the more reasonable result for the city *Mithilā*,—a rectangle measuring 2·27 by 13·63 miles, with a circuit of 31·81 miles and an area of 30·991 square miles,—in view of what Megasthenēs, as reported by Arrian,<sup>1</sup> has told us about *Palibothra*, *Palimbothra*, i.e. *Pāṭaliputra*, *Patna*, which was reputed to be (and we may well believe the report) "the greatest city in India." Megasthenēs must himself have resided there, as the ambassador of Seleucus I. to Chandragupta. Yet, describing the city as a parallelogram, he has limited its dimensions to 15 by 80 *stadia* = 1·723 by 9·193 miles in width and length, which gives a circuit of 21·833 miles and (if we assume a rectangular parallelogram) an area of 15·846 square miles. And these measures, it may be added, are closely borne out by modern conditions: it appears that Buchanan found *Patna* to measure 2½ by 9 miles, and to have an area of 20 square miles;<sup>2</sup> and the Imperial Gazetteer of India (1886), 11. 108, states that its extent is nearly 9 miles in length with an

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g. I.A., 6. 131; McCrindle's *Ancient India*, 42.

<sup>2</sup> See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, 452.

average width of about 2 miles, and that its area is about 18 square miles.

In the face of all this, we must, I think, reluctantly come to the conclusion that, while we can obtain satisfactory results from the statements about countries in the Buddhist books if we interpret those statements as denoting areas, the statements in the same works about the cities are gross exaggerations if not absolutely imaginative. Is it possible that they are really imaginative, like (of course) the assignment of 16,000 villages to the Vidāha country, and that they were made in rivalry of tales about Babylon itself, which seems to have been well known to the ancient Hindūs under the name of Bāveru?

\* \* \* \* \*

It has been suggested, by various writers, that Hiuen-tsiang's circuits of countries are generally exaggerated: in fact, they have sometimes been characterized as "greatly exaggerated." Being stated in round-numbers, they are of course only approximations. And, as they usually run in thousands of *li*s, not hundreds, any one of them may easily be about 50 miles too great,—or too little,—on even a small perimeter. But re-entering angles may increase a perimeter very considerably, while reducing the area inside it. And, before we condemn Hiuen-tsiang's details of this kind in any general terms, we must consider how they have been and may be applied.

Take, for example, the case of the Cheh-ka, Takka, country, with Shc-ka-lo, Śākala, Siālkōt, as its capital. Hiuen-tsiang has told us (see page 641 above) that the circuit of this country was about 10,000 *li*. And he has described the country as 'leaning' or 'resting,' i.e. bordering, on the east on the river P'i-po-she, = Vipāsā, the Biās, and on the west on the river Sin-tu, = Sindhu, the Indus.

If the *li* is taken, as by Watters, at about 100 *li* = 20 miles, the 10,000 *li* would represent about 2000 miles. But, unless we should include at least Kashmīr, Rajaurī, Punach, Taxila, and Sēng-ha-pu-lo,—which, however, were certainly not parts of Cheh-ka,—it is impossible to place

between the Biās and the Indus any territory with so large a perimeter as that.

The case is quite different with my value,  $100 \text{ li} = 12.12$  miles (see this Journal, 1906. 1013). This reduces the circuit of Cheh-ka to  $1212.12$  miles. Now, starting from the confluence of the Indus and the Panjūd (the united stream of the five rivers of the Panjāb), run a course along first the Satlaj and then the Biās up to the point, near Dinānagar in Gurdāspūr, where the Biās approaches closely to the Chināb. From that point, strike north to the hills of Jammū and Kashmīr. Follow, to the west, the southern limits of the hills to about twenty miles beyond Bhimbhar. Then strike off down the Jēhlam for a short distance, and then to the west, along the south of the Salt Range and up to Marī, opposite to Kūlabāgh, in Bannū, on the Indus. And then turn down the Indus, back to its confluence with the Panjūd. This gives us, from point to point, a perimeter of about 950 miles, which we may easily raise, by allowing for windings, to at least 1050; with a result which brings us to a very fair approach to Hsien-tsiang's  $10,000 \text{ li} = 1212.12$  miles.

It is true that we have to place in the area thus indicated two other countries, mentioned by Hsien-tsiang (Julien, *Mémoires*, 2. 173, 174) as Mou-lo-san-pu-lu and Po-fa-to or Po-fa-ta-lo (supposed to be for Po-lo-fa-to), with circuits of 4000 *li* and 5000 *li* respectively. There can be no doubt that in Mou-lo-san-pu-lu, whatever the Sanskrit equivalent of this name may be,<sup>1</sup> we must recognize the country of which the capital was Mūlasthāna, Multān. And the capital of Po-fa-to was  $700 \text{ li} = 84.84$  miles north-east from the capital of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu, and might (by the way) be very well located at Harappa in the Montgomery District.

But there is no difficulty about that. Hsien-tsiang tells us that these two countries were "dependencies" of Cheh-ka. We therefore place them inside the area included within the

<sup>1</sup> Julien proposed, doubtfully, Mūlasambhuru; *Mémoires*, 2. 173. Watters has said that the word must be more like Morasampuru or Molasampul, and need not be pure Sanskrit; *On Yuan Chwang*, 2. 255.

perimeter of Cheh-ka, and in the south-western part of that area. We have, then, not to add their circuits to the 10,000-*li* circuit of Cheh-ka; nor have we to deduct them, and so to reduce to 1000 *li* the circuit of what we may call the She-ka-lo division of Cheh-ka: the western part of the circuit of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu, and the southern parts of the circuits of that country and Po-fa-to, become component parts of the western and southern parts of the circuit of Cheh-ka.<sup>1</sup> And the location in this manner of these two territories, with circuits of 484·8½ and 606·06 miles, still leaves an area of at least 20,000 square miles for the She-ka-lo division in the north-west, north, and north-east parts of Cheh-ka.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have sought to indicate in the preceding remarks some of the considerations to which attention must be paid, if we apply ourselves to an examination of Hiuen-tsiang's statements about the dimensions of Indian countries and cities; especially, if we do so with any desire to find bases for them in the Buddhist works.

It does not seem likely, indeed, that his statements about the cities can be traced to that source. In this line he has given for the most part quite small figures, which may easily have been based upon actual circumambulations by himself. Even to Pāṭaliputra, mentioned by him as P'o-ta-li-pu (P fu) and P'o-ta-li-tzū, and as Ku-su-mo-pu-lo = Kusumapura, he has assigned a circuit of only about 70 *li* (Julien, *Mémoires*, 1. 410) = 8·18 miles: perhaps, however, he there saw remnants of the walls of only the citadel, or of some inner fortification within the outer wall of the entire city. And to the city P'o-lo-na-se, Bārāṇasī, he has assigned (ibid., 353) only a length of 18 or 19 *li* and a width of 5 or 6 *li*, or (say) a little less than 2½ by about ¾ miles, which, taken as a rectangle, would give a circuit of something under 6 miles.

<sup>1</sup> The other parts of the circuits of M. and P. of course lay in the area of Cheh-ka; and the eastern boundary of M. coincided more or less with the western boundary of P.

So, again, it would be somewhat difficult to trace back even Hiuen-tsiang's statements about the countries to such a source. To the territory of Bārāṇasī he has assigned (loc. cit.) a circuit of about 4000 *li* = 484·84 miles; an estimate which is at least a reasonable one, though perhaps even it is not altogether easily adaptable to all the surroundings that would have to be considered. But that statement cannot have been based on the specification of Bārāṇasī in the Jātaka No. 5 (page 643 above) as a 300-*yōjanu* country, if we are to understand that as meaning a territory with a perimeter of 300 *yōjanas* = 1363·63 miles, — a measure which is as impossible in respect of Bārāṇasī as in the case of Vidēha, — unless we may assume that Hiuen-tsiang knew something too much about the Buddhist books, and quietly adjusted their assertions in such matters by dividing them by three. If, on the other hand, he knew that the statement in the Jātaka meant an area of 300 square *yōjanas*, how did he obtain a circuit from that area as a preliminary to expressing the result in his own measure of the *li*? We can, indeed, suggest a means. As we have seen, an area of 300 square *yōjanas* means an area of 6198·347 square miles. Bearing in mind that the statements on both sides are obviously only statements in round-numbers, we can adjust them, with a sufficiently close approximation, by assuming that the territory of Bārāṇasī was a rectangle measuring 30 by 200 miles, which gives an area of 6000 square miles, with a circuit of 460 miles. But it remains difficult to locate a territory of such a shape anywhere in the neighbourhood of Benares.

To enable us to pursue this matter, we need some instruction as to the shapes of the various territories as described to Hiuen-tsiang, or imagined by him: with such a light on the subject, we should understand his statements more clearly, and might perhaps see our way towards constructing a map of ancient India from his details. Of course, in many cases the actual shapes of the divisions of India must have been determined by natural boundaries, such as rivers and hills, and must have been more or less

irregular. But there were, plainly, conventional ideas in this line; and some of them may have influenced his statements. This is illustrated by a story in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, 19. 36 (ed. Davids and Carpenter, part 2. 235 ff.).<sup>1</sup> The tale is there told of how king Rēṇu divided the earth with six Khattiya princes,—the companions of his boyhood,—Sattabhū, Brahmādātta, Vessabhū, Bharata, and the two Dhataratthas, in pursuance of a promise which he had made to them, contingent upon the ‘king-makers’ (*rājakattārō*) anointing him to the sovereignty on the death of his father Disanipati. The actual partition was made by a Brāhmaṇ named Mahā-Gōvinda. The earth was divided into seven territories, which are named, with their capitals, as follows: Kāliṅga, with Dantapura; Assaka, with Potana; Avanti, with Māhissatī; Sōvīra, with Rōruka; Vidēha, with Mithilā; Aṅga, with Champā; and Kāśī, with Bārāṇasī. The territory reserved for king Rēṇu lay in the centre of the others.<sup>2</sup> The whole area thus divided is described as:—*uttarēṇa āyatā dukkhinēṇa sakaṭamukhā*; “wide on the north, and shaped like the forepart of a cart, i.e. wedge-shaped, on the south;” and the seven divisions themselves were *sakaṭamukha*. So, also (it would seem), the person who invented the impossible measures of the Majjhima-dēsa or Middle Country of the Buddhists (see page 644 above) must have figured that, again, as being *sakaṭamukha*, ‘wedge-shaped,’ and no doubt, in similar fashion, with the thin edge of the wedge to the south, though he did not actually describe it as such.<sup>3</sup> Thus: lay out an isosceles triangle (inverted), with

<sup>1</sup> Compare the *Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart, 3. 204 ff.; where, however, the end of the story is not so full.

<sup>2</sup> Neither version of the story, however, indicates which was his territory. The *Dīpavamsa*, 3. 40, mentions both Disanipati and Rēṇu, and places them among the kings either of Barāṇasī or of Kapilavatthu according as we take the context. The *Lalitavistara* presents a confused reminiscence of Disanipati, in describing Rēṇu as Rēṇu-bhūdisānpati, “Rēṇu, lord of the earth and of the cardinal points thereof” (ed. Lefmann, 171, line 1); it represents him as a previous incarnation of Buddha; and perhaps the verse, taken as a whole, would mark him as a king of Kāśī (Bārāṇasī).

<sup>3</sup> The article entitled “Note on the Middle Country of Ancient India,” published in this Journal, 1904. 83 ff., can hardly be regarded as particularly useful. The writer of it has started by placing the eastern limit of the country, the town Kajaṅgala, which he would locate about 65 to 70 miles on the east of

a base (breadth) of 250 units and a height (length) of 300 units: then each side will measure the square-root of

Champā, Bhāgalpūr, in lat.  $25^{\circ}$ , long.  $98^{\circ}$  (pages 88, line 2; 90, line 5 f.). Here, the  $98^{\circ}$  is of course, by origin, only a careless mistake for  $88^{\circ}$ : Bhāgalpūr being in  $87^{\circ} 2'$ . But it is no misprint: it is adopted as a fundamental error throughout the article; and, after locating the western limit of the country in lat.  $31^{\circ}$ , long.  $73^{\circ}$  (page 89, line 21), the writer has expressly told us (page 91, line 8 ff.) that "the extreme points in the east in long.  $98^{\circ}$ , and in the west in long.  $73^{\circ}$ , are 25 degrees apart" (by mistake for 15). The immediately following statement, that these 25 degrees of longitude = about 1750 miles, discloses another fundamental error: namely, an assumption that each of them represents about 70 statute miles (the real value in those latitudes, even on the assumed slant, being only about 64 miles, and the difference, about 150 miles on the 25 degrees, being a very appreciable amount). Alongside of that, the writer has told us (page 91, line 21 f.) that he had determined the value of the *yājñas* at "about 7 to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles" in a previous writing (where, however, the result actually propounded by him is "between 7 and 8 miles"). Having fixed the position of Kajaṅgala, the writer has sketched out a boundary of the country, starting from that place and returning to it, which, he says (page 91), measures in straight lines about 3500 miles: we need not try to check this; the result would be unimportant. Then (apparently realizing, in connexion with what was to follow, that 3500 miles, if applied as a perimeter to 1750 miles, could only enclose 1750 miles of 'length without breadth'), he has proceeded to say that, "as the boundary, both on the north and the south, follows the very irregular contour of the mountains, a traveller along the route would probably have to go twice that distance." The perimeter is thus raised to about 7000 miles. There is then announced the dénouement, that 25 degrees (taken at about 70 miles each) = "about 1750 miles in a straight line" = "exactly" 250 *yājñas* (taken at about 7 miles each). And we are finally told that the given circumference is "in practical accord" with the perimeter of about 7000 miles, obtained as shown above: because the 900 *yājñas*, taken at about 7 to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles, would = from 6300 to 6500 miles. It need only be added that, taken at 7 miles each, the 250 *yājñas*, = 1750 miles, would make the breadth of the Middle Country reach—(following a slanting line, as desiderated by the writer of the article)—from the selected point in lat.  $31^{\circ}$ , long.  $73^{\circ}$ , just Bhāgalpūr, on to some 200 miles beyond Mandalay. While the 300 *yājñas*, = 2100 miles, would make the length of the country reach from Śrinagar in Kashmir to a point out at sea some 280 miles south of Cape Comorin.

The points given in the Vinaya-Piṭaka, Mahāvagga, 5. 13, 12 (ed. Oldenberg, 1. 197), as marking the limits of the Buddhist Middle Country, are, no doubt, authentic and reliable: namely, Kajaṅgala and Mahāsālā on the east; the river Sallavatī on the south-east; Setakannika on the south; Thūna on the west; and the mountain Uśiraddhaja on the north. And Uśiraddhaja is, no doubt, Uśinaragiri, a mountain on the north of Kankhal, which is just below Hardwār: see Hultzsch in I.A., 1905. 179. But the details about the length, breadth, and perimeter, added in the Sumaṅgalavilāsini and the Commentary on the Nidānakathā, are plainly imaginative and preposterous. Even with the true value, 1 *yājña* = 4.54 miles, the 250 *yājñas*, = 1136.36 miles, would make the Middle Country reach from Multān through Hardwār almost to Iḥasa; and the 300 *yājñas*, = 1363.63 miles, would make it reach from Hardwār to Pudukattai below Tanjore. We may, however, perhaps infer that the inventor of those details had a fairly good idea of the general shape of India.

Still more extravagant than the above are the measures reported by I-tsing (see this Journal, 1904. 538, and Takakusu's translation of I-tsing, introd., 33); namely, about 300 *yājñas* from east to west, and 400 from north to south.

$125^2 + 300^2$ , that is, 325; and the perimeter will be  $325 \times 2 = 650 + 250 = 900$ .

\* \* \* \* \*

A remark may be added in connexion with a detail to which we have had occasion to allude in the course of this note. The tree of error, when once it has fairly taken root, is apt to flourish, and to send forth ramifications which it is difficult to follow. But that tree of error which is the belief that there was a *yōjana* of the value of about 7·5 miles, has recently thrown out another new branch—(regarding its predecessor, see note 3 on page 653 above)—which is sufficiently conspicuous and somewhat noteworthy.

A compatriot and ardent admirer of the Indian astronomer Āryabhaṭa has issued a booklet, entitled “Āryabhaṭa or the Newton of Indian Astronomy,” in which he has, amongst other points, adduced the fact that Āryabhaṭa says (Daśagītikasūtra, verse 5) that the diameter of the earth is 1050 *yōjanas*. The author of the booklet, citing 7·5 miles as the established value of the *yōjana*, has presented 7832 (by mistake for 7875) miles as the resulting diameter. And, quoting 7912 miles as the measure of the earth’s diameter according to modern astronomy,<sup>1</sup> he has proudly observed of Āryabhaṭa (op. cit., 45):—“With the means of calculation at his disposal, the marvel is that he came so near accuracy.”

The position is indeed a startling one; Āryabhaṭa, writing (it would seem) in A.D. 499–500, when he was twenty-three years old (Kālakriyāpāda, verse 10), has given, as the result of his own work, the mean diameter of the earth with an error of only 37 miles as compared with the result reached with all the refinements of modern science! But, while we have no desire to decry the merits of Āryabhaṭa,—(that is, at any rate, far from my thoughts),—the following observation must be made.

Āryabhaṭa has said (Daśagītikasūtra, verse 5) that 1 *yōjana* = 8000 *nṛi* (*puruṣa*), ‘men,’ and (verse 6) that 1 *nṛi* = 4 *hasta*, ‘cubits,’ = 96 *aṅgula*, ‘fingers.’ If the

<sup>1</sup> This is the mean diameter, from 7899·37 miles for the polar diameter and 7925·82 for the equatorial; see, e.g., Bonney’s *Story of Our Planet*, 9.

author of the booklet had put his result to a practical test, by examining these details, which were actually cited by him in the same paragraph, he would have found that, from the point of view advanced by him, the standard height of a normal Indian man in the time of Āryabhaṭa was only  $7.5 \times 5280 \div 8000 = 4$  feet 11.4 inches! We could scarcely credit that, even if we had not ample evidence very much to the contrary. But the whole case, of course, is very different. Āryabhaṭa has shewn, by those details, that he used the general Indian *yōjana* of 9.09 miles (see this Journal, 1906. 1012). And his value of the earth's diameter comes in reality to 9545.45 miles, and differs from the actual fact, not by only 37 miles in deficiency, but by 1633 miles in excess.

J. F. FLEET.

#### SCENERY, CITIES AND PEOPLE OF WESTERN TURKESTAN.

Geographically and historically the interest of Western Turkestan centres in the Zarafshan valley. Though the Oxus is a mightier stream and therefore better known, it has played no such part in the destiny of nations as the Zarafshan has done. From time immemorial this river has been the lifeblood of the great plain of Samarkand, causing what would otherwise have been a desert to blossom as the rose. To its life-giving waters Bokhara and Samarkand owe their continued existence from a period lost in the mists of antiquity to the present time when astute politicians have made an ally of the river for the furtherance of their schemes.

It was to the exploration of this stream that we determined to devote at least part of our time when we left Samarkand on the 19th of July, 1906. Our party consisted of my husband, Fräulein von Ficker, and myself, our interpreter Makandaroff, Albert Lorenz, a Tyrolese guide, and five natives hired to look after the twenty horses which made up our caravan. Starting from Samarkand we rode up the Zarafshan valley as far as Varziminar, where we

made a detour to the south for the exploration of the Fan and Pasrud rivers and Lake Iskander. Returning to the point at which we had left the Zarafshan, we explored it to its source in the glaciers below the Matcha Pass. Retracing our steps as far as the hamlet of Paldorak, we crossed the Pakshif Pass into Bokhara, which brought us into the mountainous and little-known province of Karateghin. Here we spent a few days climbing some of the peaks in the mountain range called Peter the Great. Descending into another mountainous province—that of Darwaz—we made our way up the Khingau valley and again crossed into Karateghin by the Gardani Kaftar Pass to the plateau of Tupchek, where we spent a fortnight enjoying the hospitality of the Kirghiz and exploring the glaciers and moraines of the district, as well as climbing one peak of 20,000 feet in height—Achik Tash. Our next move was southwards to Kalai Khumb, where only the Panj river separated us from the frowning frontiers of Afghanistan. From there we began the homeward march. After a visit to the Conglomerates of East Bokhara we travelled by way of Baljuan, Dushambe Karatagh, Baisun, Guzar, and Shahrshaus back to Samarkand. Our journey took us just over three months. It was performed chiefly on horseback, and we slept in eighty different places during its course. When not too cold we were glad to dispense with a roof, but at high altitudes and when making a longer stay at places we had recourse to our tents.

The lower reaches of the Zarafshan are scenes of desolate grandeur and gloom; tremendous blocks of conglomerate sculptured into grotesque and bizarre forms, gigantic strata of slate upheaved by some convulsion of nature, tower high out of the river—bare, solitary rock for the most part with hardly a sign of life about it. Here and there, where some tributary stream can be utilised, are hamlets “bosomed high in tufted trees,” whose vivid green makes a bright patch of colour against the sober grey of the background. In the lower course of the river such hamlets occur pretty frequently, but they diminish in number as one advances

higher. Their character is everywhere the same, clay houses in the lower valley, where mud is the natural building material, nestling amid gardens of mulberry, willow, and apricot—stone hovels in the higher regions, reminding one of crofters' cottages in Scotland. The patches of cultivated ground surrounding these are not insignificant. Here, as elsewhere, the peasant mounts high to sow his fields, and one often sees patches of corn and millet far up the mountain-side. The course of the Zarafshan varies considerably, the river flowing at times in deep gorges between hills bare and arid beyond description, while at times its banks recede and the stream widens out into a network of channels of varying depth and intensity of flow. Sometimes the path skirts the heights, sometimes it descends to the water's edge, at times it winds at a dizzy angle along a precipitous cliff-face, being composed in such cases of loose shale resting on branches of trees placed at right angles to the rock—a species of road common to all the river valleys of Bokhara, and of which the most awe-inspiring examples are to be found in the valley of the Fan.

If the possession of a cathedral constitutes a city in the West, that of a bazaar may be said to do so in the East. Judged by this standard the Zarafshan has no cities after Penjakent, about forty miles distant from Samarkand, so it was not until we entered Bokhara that we can be said to have touched 'civilization' again, at least in an Eastern sense. Garm, the capital of Karateghin, is little better than a large hamlet, though its Beg, or governor, receives his visitors with all the pomp and dignity of a ruler who has great traditions behind him. Darwaz, which faces the gloomy hills of Badakhshan, from which it is only separated by the breadth of the Panj, has its little army of native soldiers which add lustre to its miniature bazaar. But these two mountain capitals cannot compete in size and importance with towns like Baljuan, Baisun, or Guzar, where a motley crowd throngs the bazaar from morning till night, and where influences from the outside world—so long held at bay—are beginning to penetrate, however slowly. In the

larger towns of the Khanate, such as Bokhara, Shahrshaus (Shakhrisiabs) and Karshi one has many an interesting glimpse into the 'world' of the Muhammadan. The *Feast* or *Fast* of Ramazan, for it is both, affords excellent opportunities for observing 'life' in an Oriental city. It is a curious picture this of a civilization where one half of humanity is entirely excluded from any participation in the social enjoyments of the other, for women are never seen in public in the larger towns save as formless bundles of peripatetic clothing. Judging from what we saw, most of the labour of the household is relegated to them. We often saw them hard at work in the fields, or on the roofs of their houses, while their lords and masters were idling their time away, lolling in lazy fashion under the trees, and only showing a languid interest in the latest bit of gossip.

Apathy is the distinguishing characteristic of the 'Sart,' or native of Bokhara. Sometimes Tajik or Persian by origin, sometimes Uzbeg, more often a mixture of both, his apathy is but little affected by the particular strain in his blood. Centuries of oppression, political and social, have made the Sart what he is, a creature incapable of action save under tremendous outside pressure. Of combined social action for a common end he has not the most rudimentary idea, save in cases where his very existence obviously depends on it. On the other hand, he is not the slave of an industrial system which rouses discontent by creating wants incapable of satisfaction except by the few. The Sart is a man of few wants and few possessions, and intensely practical in turning these few to good account. We Westerners might take a lesson from him in this respect, while careful not to adopt his ideas of hygiene, which it is needless to say are of the most primitive kind.

The "glamour of the East" is a term almost hackneyed, and yet it best describes that nameless something with which the atmosphere of these lands is saturated. For despite the monotony inevitably associated with great dryness of climate, involving, as it does, pitiless sun-glare and arid landscape, there is rarely wanting some scene to minister

to the love of beauty within us. For whether it be at sunrise, when the land is steeped in colours whose vivid hue are the despair of the artist, or at sunset, when the west is a vast ocean of resplendent light; whether one seeks it in the market-place among the gaily clad groups in their rainbow-hued garments and snowy turbans, or lingers by some fruit-stall, where the garish glare of the sun falls on the white roadway through the trembling lacework of willow and poplar, and plays fantastically on the golden melons and crimson pomegranates, everywhere there is beauty of colour—rich, generous beauty, given as the East gives—prodigally.

And so it is that when this land of the sun has once laid its spell on the traveller, his one prayer is, "Whatever the hardships, whatever the difficulties, let me, O Allah, return thither again!"

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

[*Abstract of a lecture delivered before the Society on the 26th of March, 1907.*]

#### ON THE MEANING OF THE LAQAB 'AL-SAFFĀH' AS APPLIED TO THE FIRST ABBASID CALIPH.

The statement on p. 19 *ante* that the MS. B.M. Add. 7,320—presumably a work by Ibn al-Jauzi—explained the origin of this 'Laqab,' drew from Professor de Goeje the enquiry what that explanation was, as he considered the commonly received meaning of 'bloodthirsty' to be utterly absurd. Such, nevertheless, is the explanation in the MS.,<sup>1</sup> but further discussion has led to two Professors giving considered opinions on the question, which readers of the Journal will be glad to possess.

At what period of his life the Caliph acquired the 'laqab' is uncertain. There are grounds for holding that he may have borne it throughout his life, but Professor de Goeje

<sup>1</sup> قيل انما لُقِبَ بالسَّفَّاهِ لما سَفَّهَ مِرَّةً دَمًا المَبْطَلِيَّ.

considers that he acquired it by reason of having applied it to himself in the speech he delivered to the people of Kūfa immediately on his accession (Ṭabari, iii, 29-30), and that the term impressed his hearers as poetical—an impression heightened by the fact that after uttering it he fell into a faint.

Turning, then, to the context for the suggestion of a meaning which shall be compatible with the general sense of the term 'Saffāh,' we find that a promise by the Caliph to the Kūfans of an increased stipend as a reward for their loyalty is followed by the words "make ready, therefore, to fight, for I am the Saffāh," etc.<sup>1</sup> The preamble is a fitting prelude to a claim of credit for bounty; the question is whether the 'laqab' will bear this meaning, and the Professor holds that it will.

On the meanings attributed to the term in the *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol. iii, p. 315, the Professor points out that that of 'broad-shouldered,' given on the last line and following immediately on the statement that it was the Caliph's 'laqab,' does not refer to the Caliph, but is the beginning of a fresh sentence; that among the meanings previously given is that of معطال (in the preceding line), i.e. 'liberal,' 'a free giver'; that of the epithets applied by the Caliph to himself the first pair refer to the increased stipend, and the last, 'the relentless blood avenger,' to the anticipated fighting; and that of the first pair the second word, al-Mubīh, means 'he who allows his guests to partake of what they like,' so that the other, 'al-Saffāh,' must bear the cognate meaning of 'generous.' He considers this meaning to be derivable either from the idea of a 'copiously flowing spring' or of a 'man who slaughters much,' and preferably from the latter, inasmuch as the Arab Shaikhs gloried in slaughtering many camels for their guests, and in allowing them to partake of the flesh freely. To do this presupposes wealth and power, but nevertheless the term has not acquired the signification of 'wealthy.' And he refers to

<sup>1</sup> فاستعدوا فانا السفاح المبيع والثائر المبير.

the paragraph on "Minhār"—Lane, 2775—to show that the above explanation of 'Saffāḥ' is in no way far-fetched or improbable.

The name had been already borne by many persons: e.g., by the pre-Islamic Salāmah b. Khālīd (Ibn Duraid, 203), so called because he emptied the contents of the water-skins (see *infra*), and his name will be found, the Professor says, in the "Naqā'id," now being edited by Professor Bevan, on p. 454, l. 7; again, by a member of the Taghlib tribe, Agh. xx, 134; and by the poet al-Saffāḥ b. Bukair (Yāqūt, iv, 877), who is mentioned also in Wright's Opusc., p. 116, and in the note thereto on p. xvii.

The question has also been considered by Professor D. S. Margoliouth. His absence from England has prevented my informing him of Professor de Goeje's view, but he thought the meaning 'liberal' likely to be correct, and sent the following note of his opinion:—

"Ibn Duraid (Ishtikāk, p. 277) gives 'Saffāḥ' as an ordinary Arabic name, which he derives from a word meaning 'to pour out water,' and compares it with the names Sufāḥ and Musāḥ. The same author (p. 203) tells us of a pre-Islamic personage, Salāmah b. Khālīd, called Saffāḥ, because he spilt water intended for the use of his troops, in order to make them fight for the possession of the springs. This story, whether historically true or not, suggests that the word would naturally convey the notion of 'purer of water'; that it might also convey that of 'purer of blood' appears from Quran, vi, 146, where the verb is used of blood poured out. In this sense it would probably not have the odious notion connected with the word 'saffāk,' which is, of course, common in the sense of 'bloodthirsty.' Grammatically, too, I should think there would be no objection to its signifying a maker or seller of the sort of bag called 'safiḥ.'

"The objection to supposing that the first Abbasid Caliph earned the name in the sense of shedder of blood by his conduct lies, I apprehend, in the fact that the historians seem to assume that he had the laqab before he earned it

in this way. And I should regard it as likely that he received it for some unknown reason (and in some unknown sense) at an early period of his life, and that its interpretation in the traditional sense was an afterthought, which may indeed go back to his own time."

H. F. AMEDROZ.

### THE NEPALESE NAVA DHARMAS AND THEIR CHINESE TRANSLATIONS.

With the exception of some Sūtras, the corresponding Chinese translations of the Nepalese Nava Dharmas may be easily found in Nanjio's Catalogue.

Among these exceptions, the *Samādhirāja* was identified to be No. 191 in the above-named Catalogue by Dr. Wogihara, who contributed many useful notes for the lamented editor of the Śikṣūsamuccaya, the late Professor Bendall. He had compared several passages from that Sūtra quoted in the book with its Chinese version.

Of the *Gaṇḍarvyaḥ*, I have had a fortunate opportunity, through the generosity of the libraries of the Cambridge University and the Royal Asiatic Society, of copying the whole Sanskrit text and comparing it with its three Chinese translations, viz., Nos. 87 (chap. xxxix), 88 (chap. xxxiv), and 89 in the Catalogue. It is my intention to publish it in the "Bibliotheca Buddhica," Professor Takakusu having encouraged me to undertake the work of publication to which Professor S. d'Oldenburg had invited him.

The *Daśabhūmīśvara* was translated five times in China. Besides the four described by Nanjio (Nos. 105, 110, 88, chap. xxvi, and 89, chap. xxii), there is yet one more version by Śīladharma, who arrived at Chān Ān 789 A.D., which is preserved only in the Corean Tripiṭaka. Two Indian commentaries (Nos. 1180, 1194) are also existing. In one of them (No. 1194) the whole text of the Sūtra is cited. I was happy in being able to collate this Sanskrit text from the two Cambridge MSS., and to find it in complete agreement with the Chinese translations. Thus, only one Sūtra,

the *Tathāgata-guhyaka*, in the whole nine holy writings, remained for a long time without the corresponding Chinese text being discovered. But I have at last found it in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. And it is No. 1027 in Nanjio, where the Sūtra is rendered to the Śrī-guhyasamaja-tantrarāja (rightly, °samāja°), from the transcribed Sanskrit title in the C'-yuen-lu, fasc. 5, 室利一孤手牙三摩札一單特囉一阿囉札, which is another name of that Sūtra. Some parts of the original text which are not fit for publication, as Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra indicates in his "Nepalese Buddhist Literature," pp. 261-263, are omitted in the Chinese. As it is not possible to give here a more detailed comparison of the original with the translation of this curious mystic writing, I shall be glad to send a further communication later on.

K. WATANABE.

Strassburg, April 5th, 1907.

#### AŚVAGHOŚA AND THE GREAT EPICS.

In the fasc. 5 of the Sūtrālamkāra-Śāstra (Nanjio, No. 1182), a collection of didactic stories translated by Kumārajīva about 405 A.D., there is a passage concerning both the great epics of India. It runs:—

"Once I have heard that, in the ancient time, a native of Po-ka-li, 婆迦利 (this may be much the same as the Fo-ko-la, 縛渴羅, of Yuan-Chang and I-shing, viz. modern Bokhara; see Watters, 'On Yuan Chang,' i, p 109), came to Central India. The king of India appointed him as the headman of a village where many Brahmins lived. Some of these Brahmins soon became familiar with him, and expounded to him a book called the Rāmāyaṇa, 羅摩延. They also interpreted to him another book, the Bhārata, 婆羅他. In those books it is taught that if a man fall on the battlefield he will go to heaven; that he who killed himself by leaping into fire will enjoy heavenly bliss. They describe, then, delights and pleasures in heaven. As all these were written in skilful and excellent

style, they moved the mind of the headman to great wonder and made him believe the truth of what was described."

The author of the Śāstra was by no means unacquainted with both epics. He enumerates, in a verse of fasc. 3, several names of mighty kings, among which we read of such Bhārata heroes as Yayāti, 耶耶帝, and Nahuṣa, 那候沙. He knew also the famous episode of the building of a bridge by Hanumān in the Rāmāyaṇa. We meet with a stanza in the same fascicule which runs as follows:—

"Rāma constructed a temporary bridge and succeeded in arriving at the city of Lanka" (羅摩造草橋, 得至楞迦城).

It is noticeable that some foreign lands are mentioned by the author. A Chinese prince visits Takṣasilā to find a remedy for his ophthalmia (fasc. 8). A native of Takṣasilā travels to Syria, Ta-Tshin, 大秦, to make his fortune (fasc. 15).

The authorship of the Śāstra, as Nanjio mentions, is ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa. This seems to be right, because the style of the text and the example given in the stories have some analogies in the Buddhacarita, but on the other hand a story of the king Kaniska in fasc. 6 contradicts the tradition, generally accepted by the Buddhists, that the greatest Buddhist poet was a contemporary of that king.

K. WATANABE.

*Strassburg, April 5th, 1907.*

#### MORE ABOUT THE MODIFICATIONS OF KARMA DOCTRINE.

I was surprised to find, on reading the communication of the Maharajah of Bobbili, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April, 1907, how closely in agreement were our apparently divergent views. At first it seemed impossible that an article entitled "There is no Modification in the Karma Doctrine" could admit that modification actually existed (which is what I had affirmed); but on a second reading it became clear enough that the admission merely reflected the different points of view of the Maharajah

and myself. The Maharajah first categorically denies that there is any modification, and then cites illustrations, drawn from my previous article, which show that modification exists. Whence this seeming lack of logic on the part of the Maharajah, I asked myself; but I found the answer on turning back to the beginning of his argument, where he says, "On matters like Karma, the authorities must be taken only from"—a circumscribed literature, selected by the Maharajah himself. I cheerfully grant that with this proviso it should be easy to prove the desired point. My interest lay rather in showing that the Hindu, as portrayed in popular literature, had modified the doctrine of Karma. But the Maharajah is not satisfied with this attack on a misunderstood position. He goes farther, and asserts that I "mix up God and Vidhi as if they were one." I must respectfully decline to assent to this statement. I made clear, I think, that fate was originally conceived as the act of a supernatural power; that it then became a blind Power and was reckoned as the equivalent of Karma. Further, I gave instances in which *daiva* is synonymous with Karma. The Maharajah's error here lies in his again failing to distinguish between the dogmatic and the historical point of view. Not so easy is it, however, to understand how anyone could be led to assert that "*Sila* or *Ihava* has nothing to do with Karma." Character and natural disposition are the outer expression of the inner working of Karma, and as such have everything "to do with Karma."

The Maharajah does not seem to see that in admitting transfer of merit he is admitting exactly what I claimed, nor that the relations between husband and wife, king and subject, God and man, stand in no logical connection with the theory that no one is at all affected by the acts of anyone except himself. What the Maharajah imputes to me as misunderstanding appears to be due to his misconception of what I was expounding. He seeks unanimity and finds it by ignoring disagreements; I sought disagreements and found them by ignoring a set scheme in favour of beliefs held by the people. But now I am glad

to have this opportunity of adding a few words to my former paper on points not fully treated.

One of the most striking modifications of the Karma doctrine is found in the relation between father and son. Going to hell is the first effect of evil acts, and the Karma doctrine has to do the best it can with so awkward a modification as was introduced into its logical system by the admission of hell, along with low births, as a fruit of evil. Of course, historically, two systems have here united. But it is quite another matter when evil is set aside altogether, or, in other words, when the course of Karma is obstructed by such an external accident as the birth of a son. Compare *Putra mā 'ritha* in Kāuṣ. Up. ii, 11 (7); BAU. i, 5, 17; and the better known passage in Manu, ix, 138. According to the earliest of these authorities, the son has even more to do with his father's fate hereafter, for he is expressly said to take upon himself the Karma of his father. The son, again, "releases his father from the wrong he has done." In one case the mere birth saves from hell, but in the other it is not till the father's death that the son formally "receives his father's Karma," when the latter lies at the point of dissolution, as is carefully told in Kāuṣ. Up. ii, 15 (10).

A still more curious modification is effected by the act of those devouring supernatural creatures who "destroy the good works" of a man. A man's merit, according to this view, is destroyed because he has not been properly buried. One thinks of Greece, but no, it is in India that certain of the dead fathers, called Śmaśas, are devourers, and "in yonder world they destroy the good works of a man who has not had a (square) tumulus made" over his remains, that is, of one who has been improperly buried. Śat. Brāh. xiii, 8, 1, 1, *śmaśā u hāi 'ra nāma pītṛṇām attāras, te hā 'muṣmiṇi loke 'kṛtāśmaśānasya sādhuḥkṛtyām upadambhayanī*.

According to another view, one who has died carries his works with him, but after passing the Ageless River, which is crossed with the mind alone (and thereafter "he will never grow old"), he mounts toward Brahma and leaves his Karma behind him. What now becomes of the Karma

thus dropped like a bundle? "His relations who are dear to him receive his good deeds, and those who are not dear receive his evil deeds," *tasya priyā jñātayaḥ sukṛtam upayanti apriyā duṣkṛtam*, Kāuś. Up. i, 4. This passage continues with a description of the exalted soul, thus freed, gazing upon pairs of opposites, as one stands above and looks down upon the wheels of a chariot, a simile which connects the passage with Śat. Brāh. ii, 3, 3, 11-12, where it is said that though day and night destroy man's righteousness, *sukṛtam*, in yonder world, yet, as one looks down upon revolving chariot wheels, so the freed soul looks down upon day and night, which, being below, do not destroy the reward of one who knows this release. With ordinary people, however, it results that the righteousness of men is destroyed by time (as is their evil), not shifted off upon their relatives, or devoured or handed over to an heir. These pretty tales are clearly contradictory, though perhaps only meant as poetical attempts to explain eschatological phenomena. Nevertheless, they represent to a certain extent the more or less real belief of a day when Karma was already recognized.

It is a cardinal tenet in Karma that it affects all creatures "even down to grass," and the formal systems describe in detail the fate of the smallest creatures. But in the Chānd. Up. v, 10, 1 ff., "some creatures are only born to die," without having any share in the path of the good or the path of the wicked, clearly inconsistent with the usual belief.

As to nature being the result of Karma, action repeated becomes in the next life inherited nature, *sātmībhāva*, *sātmīkṛta*, Jātakamāla, xv, 1; xxix, 6; and though the evil desire of children may be due to the fault of their mother, as in Jātakamāla, xxxi, yet usually the view is that expressed in the same work, xxix, 11, namely, that habits acquired in previous existences cause the difference between the *śīla* of children and the *bhāva* of parents. As I said above, these are exponents of Karma. Not so simple is the relation between good luck and Karma. To what I have already said in my former article, I would add this: Propitious fortune," personified, Lakṣmīs, and good luck, *bhāgya*,

may leave a "remnant" expressed as happiness, *Jātakamāla*, xxx, 7. It is luck (destiny) as well as sin, *aparādha*, that causes one to be treated with disrespect, *ib.* xxviii, 38. But *Lakṣmī* is falsely regarded as some power apart from oneself, for luck and ill-luck are "self-made" (*Jātaka*, No. 382, p. 263):

*Attanā kurute lakkhiṃ alakkhiṃ kurut' attanā,  
na hi lakkhiṃ alakkhiṃ va añño aññassa kāraṇo.*<sup>1</sup>

The view in regard to the memory of former births seems at first to be not altogether consistent with itself, but on the whole, so far as my data go, the statements are fairly coherent, the point being that former births are remembered in accordance with the general intellectual clarity produced by greater enlightenment. The Bodhisat's brother remembers only one previous existence, the Bodhisat himself his whole previous life, *Jātaka*, No. 498. In No. 415, however, the wife of the Bodhisat remembers as much as he does of the *jātissara*. On this point, the precise rule will be found in the thirteenth chapter of the *Visuddhi Magga*, Warren, HOS., vol. iii, p. 315.

As to the theory of *pattilāna*, transfer of merit, it is clearly repudiated by the Bodhisat in *Jātaka* No. 494, p. 358:

*Na cā 'ham etaṃ icchāmi yam parato dānapaccayā,  
sayanikatanī puññāni tam me āveṇiyāni dhaṇḍiṃ.*

Acceptance of merit is here likened to the acceptance of worldly property, *yācitakam yānam*, etc., for which one has begged, and as something beneath the dignity of a good Buddhist.

Prayer also is beneath the dignity of a consistent Buddhist, as it is quite illogical. Yet it is admitted that prayer may result in the birth of a son, *patthanaṃ katvā puttam labhi*, *Jātaka* No. 432, p. 512, and this view leads direct to the later perversion of Buddhism, which ends in the prayers of

<sup>1</sup> The theory of fate "written on the forehead" (referred to in my last paper) is found in *Jātaka*, No. 501, p. 417, *nalāṭṭena maccuṃ ādāya* (cf. modern Nuklo for Lucknow).

the sinner for salvation, as among the Hindu sects it leads to the substitution of election, grace, and prayer for so professedly a Karma system as that of the Gītā and the modern sects sprung from it. We are apt to impute this more to the Mahāyāna than to the Hīnayāna, yet, if the Jātakas represent the latter school, it must be admitted that the same weakness is to be found there also. Thus in Jātaka No. 522, p. 150 (*karomi okāsam*, etc.), we have a parallel to the prasāda idea. Here the kings say :

*Karohi okāsam anuggahāya  
yathā gatiṃ te abhisambhavema,*

and the Bodhisat grants them the grace, *karomi okāsam* . . . . *yathā gatiṃ me abhisambhavetha*, "I grant that ye attain my state of happiness." Here felicity is granted the more easily because the recipients are pure; yet to bestow felicity is looked upon as a favour, *anuggaha*, and is accepted as such. This is contrary to the whole spirit of the Karma doctrine, as represented either in early Buddhism or in early Brahmanism ('election' first appears in the later Upanishads).

The fruit of the act is not necessarily in a subsequent existence. This is one of the points where the dogmatic teaching of the Maharajah stands in sharp contrast to the teaching of Karma in the literature. My kind critic says that I have "taken a somewhat wrong meaning" of the rule in regard to "inheriting the good and evil act of another man," and adds as his own the "real meaning," namely, that "no man inherits the good or evil act of another man (done in his previous existence, but not in the present life)." As I had said, before stating that no man reaps the evil act of another man, that a man reaps the fruit of "action performed in antecedent existences," it is difficult to see why the one explanation is better than, or how it differs from, the other. But the Maharajah's following remarks seem to imply that his point lies in insisting on a future existence as the field of the fruit. If this be so, his view is as defective here as it is at the end of the paper, where he gives as sufficient "three classes of Karma."

Karma blossoms and bears fruit. The fruit ripens in this life in the case of superlatively bad or good acts within four days, *tribhir dinais . . . ihāi 'ra phalam āsnute*, Hit. i, 3. The Buddhists (perhaps the Brahmans also) allow the fruit to ripen not only according to the act, but also according to the actor. In the case of some people, the fruit ripens the very day of the act, *tañ dirasam*, while others, who have performed exactly the same act, are not rewarded till a future existence, Jātaka No. 415, introd. There is another point here. A good act, giving alms, for example, may be rewarded in this life by the attainment of wealth, but if the "thought back of the act," *apararetaṇa*, be not quite pure, then the wealth thus obtained cannot be enjoyed, Jātaka No. 390. Sometimes it seems as if the rule and exception were reversed; for it is the general rule that fruit appears in a future life; the exception, when it ripens in this life. But in Jātakamāla, xxvi, 18, 19, it is given as a general rule that if there is no counterbalancing good, one's acts come immediately to fulfilment, *karmāṇi sadyaḥ phalatāṇi vrajanti*, where the illustration is that a sinner's hand falls off "at once" in consequence of an evil deed done in this life. So, too, a king is swallowed up by the earth at once, *sadyas*, on account of his cruelty, *ib.* xxviii, 58, and similarly, in the Jātakas, a king who puts out other kings' eyes, has his own eyes put out at once, because, "as one sows so he reaps": *Īḍisaṇ vāpate bījaṇ tādisaṇ harate phalaṇ* (No. 353, p. 158). Seed and fruit are here both in one existence. But the deed may bud without bearing fruit till later. This is one of those neat little refinements which always seem so amusing to the onlooker at the struggle to know something beyond the knowable. One would think it enough to declare *ex cathedra* what is to be the general fate of the sinner hereafter, but the Hindu theologian, like his European brother, knows much more than this. A man has leprosy. Is this the fruit of evil Karma? No. It is only the bud, *puṣpa*, of an evil act done in this life; but the fruit will come in a future existence, and be much worse than this:

*idaṃ puṣpaṃ tāvad upasthitam  
ataḥ kaṣṭatarāṃ vyaktam phalam anyad bhaviṣyati,*

Jātakamāla, xxiv, 38; cf. 40, *ihāi 'va*.

Sometimes it takes several years for a fault to ripen into its fruit. In Jātaka No. 491, p. 336, we read of a fault that had lain quiescent for seven thousand years, when it suddenly started up "like a cobra spreading its head at a blow" (compare the personification referred to in my former article, Jātaka No. 522). I hasten to add that I do not regard this as a modification of the true doctrine.

These random notes on Karma are not intended as an attack on a system which, for aught I know to the contrary, may hold the correct solution of the great conundrum of man's after-life. All I wish to show is how the Hindu people handled the doctrine. May I add that the orthodox explanation, so clearly set forth by the Maharajah of Bobbili in his illuminating reply to my former paper, is not entirely unknown to me, as he seems to think? It was not my intent to discuss the whole subject, and I took a good deal for granted, not supposing that the enlightened reader would also take for granted that I did not know the difference between popular beliefs and systematized doctrine.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

CAPTAIN THOMAS BOWREY.

In compiling his notice of the life of Thomas Bowrey, printed in the introduction to his *Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679* (see Journal for April, 1906, p. 465), Sir Richard Temple made good use of the Fort St. George Factory Records, but, strangely enough, seems to have overlooked the volumes of the *Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent, Governor, and Council of Fort St. George* for 1682-5, as edited by the late Mr. A. T. Pringle, and published at Madras in 1894-5. In three of these volumes are printed the passages cited by Sir Richard, in which Bowrey and his ship, the *Borneo*

*Merchant*, are spoken of; but there are other passages which have escaped the notice of Sir Richard or of his correspondent, Mr. G. S. Forbes, of the Madras Civil Service, and which render necessary some modification of one or two of the statements made regarding Bowrey.

On p. xxvii of his introduction Sir Richard Temple says: "In 1682 he [Bowrey] was at Madapollam, where he drew his chart of the coast of Tenasserim." I can find no mention of Bowrey in the *Diary*, etc., for 1682; but possibly he commanded the sloop *Madapollam*, which left Madras for Bengal on 24th March of that year (see *Diary*, etc., 1682, pp. 21, 22, 24). This, however, is mere conjecture; and I can discover no further reference to this sloop.

"In July, 1683," says Sir Richard, "'Mr. Bouree with his sloop' sailed for Madapollam, and on the 4th December of the same year 'a sloop from Madapollam, Thomas Bowrey Master, arrived here [Fort St. George].'" For the latter statement Sir Richard refers in a footnote to the Fort St. George Factory Records, No. 3: it is also printed on p. 111 of the *Diary*, etc., 1683. As regards the first quotation, which is from the *Madras Press List*, I would mention that on p. 61 of the *Diary*, etc., 1683, we read that on 11th July "The sloop *Adventure* belonging to Madapollam, which came from Bantam, sailed out of this road for Madapollam." This would seem to be the same sloop as that referred to by the *Madras Press List*, and, if so, we learn that Bowrey had been to Bantam, and that his vessel was called the *Adventure* (not to be confused with a ship of the same name).

Sir Richard Temple then proceeds:—

"In 1684 Thomas Bowrey went to Batavia on a vessel belonging to Mr. James Wheeler,<sup>1</sup> of Madapollam. He returned to Fort St. George in August of the same year. The Council there was desirous of buying the 'Burneo Pepper' brought by Bowrey, 'if Procurable at a reasonable price.' They offered 20 pagodas per candy, but Bowrey would take nothing less than 'the supposed prices in Bengall,' viz. 23 pagodas per candy.' He set sail for

<sup>1</sup> Regarding whom see Pringle's note 51 in *Diary*, etc., 1684.—D. F.

Bengal on the *Borneo Merchant*, but lost his passage, and after putting in at Vizagapatam, returned to Fort St. George on the 13th September. He was then ready to sell his pepper at a lower price, but now the Council would only offer him 17 pagodas per candy. We are not told whether he agreed to sell at such reduced rates."

The above statements (except the last) are made on the authority of the Fort St. George Factory Records, No. 3; and I would refer to pp. 89, 92-3, 104, 110, of the *Diary*, etc., 1684, where details are given of the events and transactions referred to. (See also p. 150.) But the last statement is incorrect; for on p. 5 of the *Diary*, etc., 1685, under date 5th January, is an entry which proves that the two parties had agreed to split the difference, it being ordered that Bowrey's parcel of pepper (50 candies) be bought for the Company at 19 $\frac{3}{4}$  pagodas per candy.

For 1685 Sir Richard Temple relies chiefly on the Madapollam Factory Records for his information, which is almost entirely concerned with the negotiations for the sale to Bowrey by the Madapollam Council of the Company's sloop *Conimeer*. The only reference to this matter in the *Diary*, etc., 1685, is on p. 41, where, under date 24th February, is recorded the receipt of a general letter of the 14th from Madapollam, in which it was stated "tha' they had sold sloop *Conimeer*." Sir Richard says:—"After this purchase Bowrey went to Achin, and thence to Balasor, where he arrived on the 28th July. After a six weeks' stay, he set out for Fort St. George on the 11th September, 1685. His arrival is noted in December." These facts, it would appear from a footnote, are (excepting the last) given on the authority of the Balasor Factory Records. But there is an inaccuracy as regards the last statement; for on p. 135 of the *Diary*, etc., 1685, under date 27th September, is an entry stating that "The *Borneo Merchant*, Thomas Bowrey Master, arrived from B[e]ngall" (the marginal note says "from A[ch]een and Bengall"), and that she brought a general letter from Hugly dated 29th August, one from Balasor dated 7th September, and one from Achin road dated 8th

July. Then on p. 137, under date 30th September, we read; "*Borneo Merchant* [sailed] for Portonovo." The next reference to the vessel occurs on p. 164, where, under date 17th December, is the entry:—"This evening the *Borneo Merchant*, Thomas Bowrey Master, arrived here, laden with Paddy, having near Acheen lost his main mast in a storm, so returned to Madapollam to fitt his ship, from whence he came hither." From this it would appear that from Porto Novo Bowrey started on a *second* voyage to Achin, whence he had to put back to refit at Madapollam, returning thence (and not from Balasor) to Madras in December. Where the paddy came from does not appear.

Mr. Pringle's notes to the volumes I have cited contain a large amount of valuable information; and it is much to be deplored that, chiefly owing to the untimely death of this able scholar, the publication of the Madras Diaries came to an end. Cannot the Madras Government be induced to resuscitate the scheme?

DONALD FERGUSON.

#### THE IDENTITY OF THE SOK WITH THE SAKAS.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, 35, 1906. 33 ff., there has been given an abstract translation of some passages relating to the Sök and Kaniska selected from my article on 'the Turks and Scythians of Central Asia,—"*Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntniss der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*,"—published as an Appendix to the Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, 1904. My chief argument for identifying the Sök of the Chinese with the people called in Sanskrit the Śakas (loc. cit., p. 46 f.) has been omitted by the translator, with the result that the editor intimated some doubt as to whether the point is fully established. I offer here a translation of what I wrote on this point, to which I would add that the Chinese accounts would be quite compatible with the fact (if proved) that there was a settlement of the Śakas in Seistān long before the second century B.C. :—

When the Yüe-chi, in 174 B.C., pressed by their cruel enemies the Hiung nu, fled to the west, they met on the slopes of the T'ien shan, south-east from the Issi kul, a people which is called by the Chinese authors 塞, i.e., as pronounced to-day, *Sai*. They (the Yüe-chi) took possession of its land, and compelled it to emigrate. The statements of the Chinese annals are very poor as to the circumstances of this event, which took place before the journey of the great Chinese explorer Chang K'ien (126 B.C.). In the biography of the latter (Ts'ien Han shu, chap. 61, fol. 4 v<sup>o</sup>) it is said:—"The Yüe-chi had been conquered by the Hiung nu, and had attacked the Sai-wang (i.e., the prince or princes? of the Sai) in the west. The Sai-wang went south and wandered far off; but the Yüe-chi dwelled in his (or their?) land." Where the Sai-wang went, we learn from another chapter of the Han annals (loc. cit., ch. 96a, fol. 10 v<sup>o</sup>):—"In olden times, when the Hiung nu had conquered the Ta Yüe-chi, the Ta Yüe-chi went west and made themselves masters of Ta-hia (Bactria); but the Sai-wang went south and made himself (or themselves?) master(s) of Ki-pin (Cashmere)." By the older sinologues, who transcribe the name variously as Szu (Klaproth), Su (De Guignes), Sai (Rémusat), Sse (Julien), and Se (Schott), this tribe of the Sai was considered to be identical with the Σάκαι and Sacae of the Greco-Roman and the Śaka of the Indian authors. Two non-sinologues, however (Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, vol. ii<sup>2</sup>, p. 377; and V. de St. Martin, *Sur les Huns Blancs*, p. 263), took exception to this identification, chiefly on account of the discrepancy between the forms of the name (i.e., Sai, Szu, etc., on the one side, and Sakai, Sacae, Śaka, etc., on the other). Misleading as it must be, generally speaking, to draw conclusions merely from the European transliterating sounds of a language which has no alphabet and which the writer himself does not know, it must be admitted that, in the present case, the doubts as to the entirely different forms of the name are perfectly appreciable. But, as might have been learnt from the Chinese commentaries (even apart from other considerations), not one of the transliterations given

above represents even approximately the old pronunciation of the character 塞. On the two passages from the Han annals quoted above, Yen Shi Ku (the commentator) remarks that the pronunciation of the character 塞 is given by the fan-ts'ie 先, i.e. s(ien), and 得, i.e. Cantonese (t)êk. or (t)ök (Japanese toku), that is to say, the pronunciation is Sêk or Sök (ê or ö is to represent a sound, which lies between *a* and *o*). Should there, however, still remain any doubt as to the right pronunciation, this is completely removed by a most interesting mistake of Yen Shi Ku. In further explaining the name Sök, he goes on to say (loc. cit., ch. 61, fol. 4 v°):—“It (Sök) is the name of a country in the western regions, and is the same with what is called in the Buddhist Sūtras 釋種, Shik- or Sik-chung. The sounds Sök and Sik are very close to each other. It is originally the name of a family or clan.” Now Shik or Sik is the first part of the Chinese transliteration of Buddha's clan-name Śākya, whilst chung means ‘tribe or race’: Shik- or Sik-chung, therefore, is ‘the tribe or race (or clan) of the Śākya.’ In other words: *Yen Shi Ku has confused the Śaka (Sök) with the Śākya (Sik)*. Here, one of the etymological blunders of the learned commentator has proved to be of undesigned utility, for he could not possibly have stated more clearly the pronunciation of the character 塞. *There cannot be, therefore, the slightest doubt about the identity of the names Sök and Sakai, Sacae, or Śaka.*

O. FRANKÉ.

*Halensee.*

#### EPIGRAPHIC SUGGESTIONS.

The following notes are suggested by the perusal of part 1 of vol. ix of *Epigraphia Indica*, which I have just received.

##### I. *Grants of the time of Mahendrapāla.*

The conclusion that, towards the end of the ninth century, the kingdom of Kanauj included the province of Kathiāvād, is in complete agreement with the statement of Abu Zaid

that Kanauj was a large country forming the empire of Jurz (Gurjara), and that of Al-Masudi, that the southern army of the king of Kanauj fought against the Balhará king (Rāshtrakūṭa) of Mánkir (Malkhed), and also with the views expressed by Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar's paper on the Gurjaras in J.B.B.R.A.S., xxi, p. 413 ff.

Mahīpāla, king of the Gurjaras, who is named by the Kanarese poet Pampa (J.R.A.S., xiv, p. 19 ff.), was identified with the Mahīpāla of Dharanivarāha's grant (I.A. xii, p. 190, and xviii, p. 91) as far back as 1896 (*Bomb. Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. 1, app. iii, p. 466).

Possibly the Vajrāyudha mentioned in Rājaśekhara's Karpūramañjarī is to be identified with the Vajraṭa named in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of Dantidurga (I.A. xi, p. 108) along with Harsha, in a way that suggests he was a paramount king of the north. Dr. Fleet proposed with great probability to identify Vajraṭa with such a king of Northern India who was defeated by Vinayāditya some time between 680 and 696 A.D. ("Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts," p. 368).

## II. *Inscription of Pūrṇapāla.*

It is tempting to identify Vaṭa with the modern Vaḍnagar, the home of the Nāgar Brāhmins, and at one time, it seems, the capital of the province of Ānartta (Bhagwanlal's Gujarat, *Bomb. Gaz.*, i, pt. 1, p. 6). But the wording of the inscription seems to show that Vaṭa was Vasantgaḍ itself, which lies 60 miles or more to the northward of Vaḍnagar.

## III. *Ālupa Inscriptions.*

The Āluvakheda, or Ālvakheda, which gave its name to the six-thousand district round the modern Humcha, seems to be identical with the Ὀλοχοῖρα, which Ptolemy names as one of the two inland cities of the pirate coast. Two of their ports were *Βυζαντιον* and *Νιτριάς*, which have been respectively identified with Vanavāsī (Fleet) and Mangalor (Yule). Ptolemy's other inland city of the Pirates, *Μουσοπαλλη μητροπολις*, is most likely to be connected with the

Mūshaka country which was conquered by *Kirtivarma* I about 580 A.D. (*Mahākūṭa* pillar inscription, I.A. xix, p. 7), and which is identified by Dr. Fleet with the Mushika of the dictionaries and the Malabar Coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin ("Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts," p. 281), which, however, seems to lie too far to the south.

A. M. T. JACKSON, I.C.S.

### A VERSE FROM THE *Bhaktamāla*.

The following is, as nearly as I can make it, the correct text of a verse in the *Bhaktamāla* :—

उत्कर्ष सुनत संतन को      अचरज कोऊ जनि करौ ॥  
 दुर्वासा प्रति श्याम-दास बसता हरि भाखी ।  
 ध्रुव गज पुनि प्रह्लाद राम सबरी फल साखी ॥  
 राजसूय यदुनाथ चरन धोय जूँठ उठारै ।  
 पांडव-विपति निवारि दियो विष विषया पारै ॥  
 कलि विशेष परचौ परगट      आस्तिक द्वे कै चित धरौ ।  
 उत्कर्ष सुनत संतन को      अचरज कोऊ जनि करौ ॥ २०४ ॥

### *Tentative Translation.*

Let no one be astonished at hearing of the eminence of *santas* (i.e. *bhuktas*).

To Durvāsas did Viṣṇu explain his submissive dependence upon the servants of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>1</sup>

Dhruva, the elephant, Prahlāda, and the Śabarī (who offered) fruit to Rāma are witnesses.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *basatā* = *vaśatva*. The reference is to Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix, 4, 63, where Viṣṇu says to Durvāsas :—

*aham bhaktu-parādhinō hy asvatantra iva, Dvija |*  
*sādhubhir grastahṛdayō bhaktair bhakta-jana-priyaḥ ||*

<sup>2</sup> The stories of Dhruva and Prahlāda are well known. For the elephant, see Bhāg. Purāṇa, viii, 2-4. For the Śabarī, see Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, iii, 75.

At the Royal Sacrifice Kṛṣṇa washed their feet,<sup>1</sup> and gathered up the waste food.

He warded off calamity from the Pāṇḍavas, and (Candrahāsa) got Viṣayā (instead of) poison (*viṣa*).<sup>2</sup>

The Kali age is specially showing its influence, therefore become a believer, and bear this in mind, viz., "Let no one be astonished at hearing of the eminence of *santas*."

I have already referred to this passage of the *Bhaktamāla* in a footnote to p. 322 of the April number of the Journal. It is difficult, and parts of it (like many other parts of the poem) are most obscure; but the general purport is manifest. The incarnate God devotes Himself to helping *bhaktas*—those who are devoted to Him, who possess *bhakti*—when they are in any great danger. Moreover, He is their servant, *parādhīna*, *ascatantra*. In the passage in the Journal, I pointed out how the Mahābhārata legend of Kṛṣṇa washing Brāhmaṇas' feet had been altered by Nābhājī (the author of the *Bhaktamāla*) to a reference to his washing his *bhaktās*', or disciples', feet; and how the story had thus been changed to agree with our Gospel narrative (John xiii, 5).

The reference to Kṛṣṇa gathering up waste food is very obscure. I have searched in many places, but can find no

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhārata, ii, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Read **विषया**, not **विषिया**, as in the Lucknow edition. The reference is to the story of Candrahāsa, which is given at length by Priyāḍasa in the Commentary to *Bhaktamāla*, 9. The part of the story here referred to is as follows:—Durbuddhi sends Candrahāsa (who was a great *bhakta*) with a letter to his son. The letter instructed the son to "give poison (*viṣa*) at once to the bearer of this letter." Before delivering the letter he lies down to sleep in a garden, and is seen by Viṣayā, Durbuddhi's daughter. She falls in love with him, sees the letter in his waistband, takes it out, and reads it. She then inserts the syllable *yā* after *viṣa*, so that the letter now reads "Give Viṣayā at once to the bearer of this letter," and puts it back into his waistband. He awakes, delivers the letter to Durbuddhi's son, and is at once married to Viṣayā. Regarding this story, Mr. Blumhardt writes to me—"The legend is given in Wheeler's 'History of India,' vol. i, p. 525, reproduced in Garrett's 'Classical Dictionary.' There are two anonymous versions of the legend in English in the I.O. Library, one called 'Chandrahāsa, an ancient Indian monarch,' Madras, 1881; and the other 'Chandrahāsa, or the Lord of the fair torger,' Mangalore, 1882."

such legend in Sanskrit literature. Friends in this country and in India have also failed to give me any reference to it. Perhaps some reader of these lines may be able to do so; but in the meantime may I suggest that it is a distorted remembrance of John vi, 12, "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost." It is hardly necessary to point out the extraordinary condescension suggested to an Indian mind by such an action on the part of Kṛṣṇa.

G. A. GRIERSON.

Camberley.

May 30th, 1907.

#### DENARIUS AND THE DATE OF THE *Harivaṃśa*.

Mr. Mazumdar is no doubt right in pointing out in his note (*supra*, pp. 408, 409) that the mention of the Denarius in the *Harivaṃśa* does nothing but show that the work in its present form cannot be dated earlier than the period of the introduction of that coin into India, since the name occurs as the description of a coin in books as late as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. But it is hardly accurate to attribute to Mr. Hopkins a view so unscientific. It is clear from his general line of argument that he would place the *Harivaṃśa* much later than A.D. 200, probably in the latter part of the fourth century, a still later date being rendered improbable by the fact of the evidence of the inscriptions. What Mr. Hopkins does argue<sup>1</sup> is that the main part of Books xii and xiii of the *Mahābhārata* cannot be well later than A.D. 200, since the Denarius is not mentioned in them.

Both Mr. Mazumdar and Mr. Hopkins agree, however, in taking the date of the introduction of the Denarius into India as belonging to the time A.D. 100–200. But it is now clear from Mr. Sewell's article<sup>2</sup> on Roman Coins found in India that these limits are too late by a century, and that the dates should rather be A.D. 0–100. Even the scanty

<sup>1</sup> *Great Epic of India*, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 591–638.

evidence available shows Roman Consular coins found in one of the Manikyāla stūpas and in the Hazāra District of the Panjāb, and in view of the undoubted trade between India and Greece and the activity of Roman merchants in Greece and Asia Minor it would be indeed surprising if Roman coins had not found their way to India, even before the conquest of Alexandria in B.C. 47 brought Rome into more direct touch with the Eastern trade. The word *dināra*, then, probably was known in India before the beginning of the Christian era, but it seems only to have become popular through the widening of the trade under the early empire. The extent of this trade is conclusively proved by the evidence of Pliny and the large number of coins of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero found in Southern India. The traffic greatly diminished with the social reform of Rome consequent on the accession of the Flavii, but its extent in its best days may be judged by the calculation accepted by Mommsen<sup>1</sup> that half a million sterling mainly in specie went annually to India in the first half of the first century. Nor must it be forgotten that we have satisfactory evidence of diplomatic visits of Indian envoys to Augustus,<sup>2</sup> a fact which he proudly records in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, and of that emperor's anxiety for the development of the Indian trade.<sup>3</sup> The conclusion appears to be legitimate that the absence of any mention of the Denarius in the late books, xii and xiii, of the *Mahābhārata* is fair proof that they date from not later than the first years of the Christian era, a result on other grounds probable. It is of special significance that, as Mr. Hopkins points out, the Romans are hardly known to the Epic.

<sup>1</sup> *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii, 300. Cf. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, viii, 352.

<sup>2</sup> The visit of envoys to Augustus at Tarrago in B.C. 27 is only reported by Orosius, vi, 21, and is not usually accepted (Merivale, iv, 118). But the visit at Samos in B.C. 19 is referred to by Dio, liv, 9, and Strabo, xv, i, p. 720, and is accepted by all modern authorities, e.g. Shuckburgh, *Augustus*, p. 179. The *Monumentum* refers to several visits, c. 31, where see Mommsen's note. This must mean more than one petty embassy, as suggested in Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> He tried to create a direct route between India and Egypt instead of *via Arabia* (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, ii, 290 seq.).

One possible objection to this view ought to be mentioned. The finds of Roman coins are mainly, though not exclusively, confined to the Coimbatore District and Madura, and Mr. Sewell argues with some force that most of the luxuries required by the Romans, spices, perfumes, precious stones, etc., came from the South. It might therefore be thought that the absence of mention in the books in question of the Denarius proved only that they were written, as is indeed most probable, in Northern India, and established nothing as to their date. But probably this argument cannot be pressed. Mr. Sewell, while adducing reasons for holding that the trade in the North was smaller than in the South, shows that there was a Northern trade, as might be expected from the early importance of Broach as a port for the Western trade<sup>1</sup>; and when the paucity of the actual finds, even in the South, is compared with the enormous imports of specie vouched for by Pliny, much stress cannot be laid on the comparative rarity of Roman coins in the North. Indeed, there seems good reason to accept as conclusive proof of their being well known there at an early date the fact that the Kuṣaṇas based their coinage on the Roman weights.<sup>2</sup>

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

#### THE SOHGAURA INSCRIPTION.

I do not think there can be much doubt about the general correctness of Dr. Fleet's explanation (p. 509 ff. above) of the contents of this puzzling little inscription, although, as he himself states, some points of detail still remain open to discussion.

With regard to a point raised when the paper was read, I would say that it is something like thirteen years since I had the original plate in my hands; but, though my memory may possibly be at fault, it is clearly to the effect that the plate was cast, and was not cut or stamped.

<sup>1</sup> It was thence that Sarmanochegus came with the embassy to Augustus. Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, i, 1, 536.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sewell, p. 596. The Homerites of Arabia modelled their coins on silver coins of Augustus, but on a Babylonian basis (Mommson, ii, 288).

In districts in which rent is paid in kind, as, for instance, in Gayā, there are still landlords' granaries in every large village, and very often, for the sake of ventilation, they have a double roof exactly like the buildings depicted on the plate. I would suggest that the four posts apparently in the front of each of these buildings are an attempt at perspective, the two centre ones representing corner posts behind the two front ones.

Dr. Fleet identifies Tiyavani, which he takes as meaning Tryavani, "the three-land," with Tribēnī Ghāṭ in Nēpāl. I agree with him that a derivation of Tiyavani from the Sanskrit Trivēṇī, or *rice versā*, offers difficulties, but they are not insuperable. At any rate, I think that for the present it is a good working hypothesis to identify Tiyavani with some place now called (possibly by folk-etymology) Tribēnī. At the same time, this is not necessarily the Tribēnī Ghāṭ of Nēpāl. Manifestly, it is not likely to be the well-known Tribēnī at Allahabad—that is in the wrong direction. But there are other places where three rivers meet which are also called by that name. In addition to one in Bengal, mentioned by Dr. Fleet, another is the meeting of the Ganges, the Gogra, and the Sōn (as it flows at present), which is still commonly referred to by the Patna people as "the Tribēnī." We do not know when the Sōn took its present course, but if the three rivers met in the same neighbourhood in those days<sup>1</sup> the place might then also have been called by the same name. At the junction of the Ganges and the Gogra there is a notable trading mart of great antiquity, said to have been the abode of the Rishi Gautama, and now called Revelganj. Here the water-borne goods from and to the district of Gōrakhpur are transshipped. Those that come from the Ganges go up thence to Gōrakhpur by road, while the down-stream traffic is carried by boat down the Gogra, and there transferred to the larger Ganges shipping. There is thus an old route of considerable importance from this

<sup>1</sup> Or the third stream may, in those days, have been that erratic river, the Gandak, or, more probably, the Little Gandak.

Tribēnī into the Gōrakhpur district, which was, I suggest, one of the three roads mentioned in the inscription.

The map, I may add, shows a high road, from Gōrakhpur, passing close to Sohgaura, and running due south to Ghāzīpur, which Dr. Fleet, following Sir A. Cunningham and others, identifies as being the site, or near the site, of the ancient Chañchu. This, of course, tends to support Dr. Fleet's view regarding the existence of a road from the junction of the three roads to Chañchu.

G. A. GRIERSON.

### THE QUESTION OF THE KASSITE LANGUAGE.

Besides comparing the Sanskrit Sūrya with the Kassite Šuriaš,<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Lyall also pointed out that Buriaš resembled the Greek Boreas, and Dr. C. F. Oldham has suggested that another name of the Sun-god, Saḥ, finds its counterpart in the Sanskrit Sahi.

Since the publication of my paper I notice that Professor Hommel, in his *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*,<sup>2</sup> had already made the comparisons so acutely suggested by Sir Charles Lyall, and also seen, in the Kassite divine name Šumalia ("the lady of the snow-mountain," cf. the Eranian *zima*, 'snow'), the Indian Himālaya. To this, on p. 219, he adds Maruttaš, comparing the Indian Maruts, Indra's heroes, and pointing out that Muruttaš, variants Marudaš, Murudiš, was the Babylonian Ninip (Nirig), the hero of the god Bēl.

Such likenesses as these can hardly be the result of chance, and it is not surprising that Kassite, if it be an Aryan language, should turn out to be a dialect of the Hattu-tongue—the language of the tablet said to have come from Yuzgūt.

T. G. PINCHES.

<sup>1</sup> See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January last, p. 159, footnote 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbuch der Klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, edited by Dr. Iwan von Müller (Beck'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, Munich, 1904), dritter Band, 1. Abtheilung, 1. Hälfte, Ss. 30, footnote 1, and 219, footnote 2. See also C. F. Oldham's interesting book, "The Sun and the Serpent," p. 186.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

VOLKSPRACHE UND SCHRIFTSPRACHE IM ALTER ARABIEN,  
 von KARL VOLLERS. 227 pp. (Strassburg: Trübner,  
 1906.)

This book marks a new departure in the comprehension of ancient Arabic, and will without doubt divide students into two camps. As intimated in the title, it endeavours to elucidate whether the oldest Arabic prose, especially the language of the Qorān, shows elements of popular speech—in other words, forms which are out of harmony with the orthodox rules of the national grammarians—and if so, to what extent. The very first page of the book contains the startling assertion, “The Qorān must have been re-fashioned on the lines of ancient poetry.” This implies that the language of the Qorān, as handed down to us, does not represent the living speech of Mohammed, but was grammatically trimmed by the editors. It will be somewhat difficult to get the majority of the present students of Arabic to accept this theory, although it has undoubtedly much in its favour. There is no necessity for saying much concerning the difference between what Professor Nöldeke calls ‘classical’ Arabic and our author’s *Schriftsprache*.<sup>1</sup> Either term will serve its purpose as long as the limitations of both are clearly defined. The divergence in the opinions of both scholars is much greater in the question of the *I’rāb*. “It is incorrect to assume,” says Nöldeke,<sup>2</sup> “that the living language at the time of Mohammed had the *I’rāb* no longer.” Compare with this the dictum of our

<sup>1</sup> See also Vollers’ remarks on the subject in *Z. f. Ass.*, vii, p. 125 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Zur Grammatik des classisch Arabischen*, p. 10.

author (p. 169): "Far from being a self-evident obligation, following the general usage of the language, the *I'rāb*, at the time of the Prophet, was perhaps still the property of certain tribes. In other respects it was only the characteristic of educated language and, strictly speaking, of metrical poetry" (cf. p. 174). As may be seen, Vollers does not absolutely deny the employment of the *I'rāb* even in prose speech. The question at issue is therefore, in reality, narrowed down to the ways of urban speech, and principally the language of the Qorān. In support of his theory Vollers has taken the trouble to give a compilation of all rhymes which occur in the Qorān, with a view to showing that it was impossible for Mohammed to maintain at the same time both the *I'rāb* and the rhyme. In this respect he is undoubtedly right. It is unlikely that, even in the oldest address (Qor. xcvi, 1-5), the verses had originally any other ending than *aq*, or in Sūra cxii any other than *ad*, etc. It might be objected that instances of this kind would only prove the omission of the *I'rāb* in the rhymes, but would not touch the question as regards other parts of the sentences. Here, however, another factor appears which renders the omission of the *I'rāb* probable for a different reason. One should not lose sight of the fact that Mohammed's speech was studied rather than the outburst of self-forgetting enthusiasm. The forms of poetry were so familiar to him that he could not discard the rhyme, and there are numberless passages which are metrically built.<sup>1</sup> The omission of the *I'rāb* was, therefore, the best means of arriving at that dissimilarity to the forms of poetry which was the object of Mohammed's keen desire. This endeavour is clearly visible in one of the earliest speeches, which repudiates the charge of being a poet (Sūra lxix, 40-43). The whole group of verses gains in effect if recited without the *I'rāb*.

I cannot find that the contrast between the views of both scholars is so great as appears in the first moment, since

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the instances collected in Wright's Arabic Grammar, 3rd ed., ii, p. 359.

Nöldeke admits that the dropping off of the *I'rāb* began among several tribes at an early epoch. He is, however, not inclined to allow the application of this to the Qorān, the text of which has, in his opinion, come down to us with perfect authenticity (p. 1). In view of various undoubted interpolations this theory is no longer tenable. It would have been nothing short of a miracle if even all that is genuine in the Qorūn had come down to us in exactly the same shape as it left the mouth of Mohammed. The process of re-fashioning the language of the revelations must have begun very early, and was in all likelihood initiated by the contemporary poets. Their verses contain a large number of specifically Qorānic words and phrases which, of course, show full *I'rāb*. In the first place there should be mentioned the poems of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Amr b. Kolthūm, and others, in which there occur the following phrases and single words:—  
 إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ (Qor. i, 14, H. b. Th., ed. Tun., p. 33, l. 10);  
 فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ (ibid., p. 46, l. 10); دِينَ قَيِّمٍ (ibid., p. 88, l. 12).  
 The word قَيِّمٍ, which, in this verse, has no *I'rāb* on account of the rhyme, was probably pronounced in the same fashion in Qor. xxx, 29, 42. Other Qorānic expressions used in these poems are الرَّحْمَنُ, رَسُولُ اللَّهِ, رُوحُ الْقُدُسِ, ذُو الْعَرْشِ, الْقُرْآنُ, جَبْرِيلُ, مُحَمَّدٌ, etc. It is not at all likely that Biblical names or foreign words like سَكِينَةٌ were spoken by Mohammed with the *I'rāb*, but he repeated them just as he heard or misheard them. These instances could be multiplied.

Another circumstance which must have promoted the subsequent addition of the *I'rāb* was the recitation during public worship. There is a difference between the first delivery of a speech and the repetition of the same on solemn occasions. This alone might account for the change of the colloquial language into a correct one, especially if we bear in mind that prior to Islām the public recitation of poetry had introduced rules for oratorical feats. The

main responsibility for the introduction probably rests with the earliest Imāms, and it seems that they attributed much less importance to the difference of pronunciation than appears to us. This also follows from an interesting tradition, already alluded to by Vollers (p. 181), which states that "they provided the Qorān with the *I'rāb*" (al-Sūyūti's *Itqān*, p. 266). This remark is made as casually as if it concerned a matter of no great significance. I cannot, therefore, share Vollers' fear that, historically speaking, the change in the *extérieur* of the language must be regarded as forgery. Those who were responsible for the alteration had probably not the slightest consciousness of an unwarrantable action.

Professor Vollers deals with the matter in all the thoroughness it deserves, and brings his wide and profound knowledge of ancient and colloquial Arabic to bear upon it. There are, indeed, few Arabists so competent to pronounce judgment on it as he. Whatever be the attitude of the reader towards the main theory of the book, he must admit that it contains many valuable contributions to the study of the Arabic language. He gives a lucid description, illustrated by many phonological details, of the characteristics of the two principal dialects in the area of what he styles the *Arabiyya*, i.e. that part of the peninsula which formed the home of the 'classical' language.

Many of the phenomena recorded by him also apply to other Semitic languages. The interchange between Hamza and Ayn in Aramaic is also, though disapprovingly, mentioned in the Talmud (Berakh., fol. 32 *ro.*). As to the interchange of ث and ف (to which also other languages offer parallels), there is to be mentioned a tradition preserved by Ibn Ishāq (p. 152) to the effect that Mohammed used the word *تَحْت* when describing the condition in which he found himself on Mount Hīrā. Ibn Hishām adds *تقول* *العرب تَحْت وتحتف* (see my "Researches into the . . . . Qorān," p. 19, rem. 94). The interchange of ض with ظ is quite common in Jewish Arabic texts. In many of these

ظ has disappeared almost entirely. The Jewish Arabic dialect of the Maghreb offers numerous phenomena which agree with Vollers' observations, and their value is all the greater as the phonetic spelling of the words in Hebrew characters faithfully renders their pronunciation. Forms like  $\text{וכיל}$  (*ukal*) =  $\text{وأكل}$ , (see this Journal, 1891, p. 301) not only furnish an example for the linguistic rule concerning the pronunciation of  $\text{و}$  in certain cases as expounded by Vollers (p. 43), but also of the disappearance of the *Hamza* and the dropping of the *I'rāb* and of the *Imāla*.

Any doubt concerning the early use of the termination *in* for the nominative plur. *san*, masc., is removed by the recent publication of the Schott-Reinhardt Papyri by Dr. Becker (p. 30). These documents, which are government dispatches, date from the year 91 H. As to the spelling Aliy b. *Abū Tālib*, see also Jew. Quart. Rev., vol. xv, p. 173, and the first page of the facsimiles annexed. It is interesting to note that the same spelling has been retained in the abstract from the document in question preserved by al-Belāḍori (ed. de Goeje, p. 59).

Concerning the various etymologies of the name of the Qoreish, there should be mentioned one to be found in one of the unpublished works of al-Jāhiz, to which I called attention on a previous occasion ("Researches," p. 4). Al-Jāhiz explains this name from "trading and profiting" ( $\text{من التجارة والتعريض}$ ), adding the Qoreish were also the owners of the market of 'Ukāz.

Full indices assist in the study of this interesting book, which, in spite of the opposition with which it probably will meet on the part of many scholars, means an important step forward in the rational conception of Arab philology.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

EIN PRODROMUS ZU EINEM VERGLEICHENDEN WÖRTERBUCH  
DER MALAIO-POLYNESISCHEN SPRACHEN FÜR SPRACH-  
FORSCHER UND ETHNOGRAPHEN. Von Prof. Dr. RENWARD  
BRANDSTETTER. (Luzern: E. Haag, 1906.)

When Dr. Brandstetter takes up any department of Malayan research his readers are assured beforehand that he will offer them something worthy of their attention. This time he has chosen to give them *pars pro toto*, a sample in illustration of a great project, viz. a comparative vocabulary of the Malayo-Polynesian languages. It must be conceded that it would be a great gain if the compilation of such a work could be put in hand without further delay. Malayo-Polynesian research has reached a stage at which it has become highly desirable to collate its scattered results and throw them into a synoptic and manageable form, to serve as a guide to further investigations. The work of compiling the comparative vocabulary, which would be an essential part of such a scheme, would, however, be enormous, and in this respect it is to be feared that the sample that lies before me is rather likely to conceal its difficulties by ignoring the extent of its range. For where is one to stop? The languages of the Malay Archipelago are legion (consider for a moment the innumerable varieties of the dialects of Borneo and Celebes), and if we would do justice to them in a comparative vocabulary we must either take them all in, or, more terrible alternative still, study each one in turn sufficiently closely to be able to pick out those that are in every respect the most adequately typical representatives of their respective subgroups. But when we have done that much, we are really only at the beginning of our labours; for if the Indonesian tongues are legion, those of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia taken together are as the sand of the seashore in number. Yet they would have a good claim, on logical and also on practical grounds, to be included in our comparative vocabulary; but it is to be feared that their inclusion would delay its completion by decades and swell its bulk to many volumes. I refrain

from harrowing the feelings of those who may be interested in these subjects by following out this line of thought to its ultimate conclusion: if Professor W. Schmidt is right in claiming for the Mon-Annam and Munḍa languages a distant relationship with the Malayo-Polynesian ones, one might have to include in the comparative vocabulary a score or more of the languages and dialects of Indo-China, and perhaps another dozen or so from Central India. Dr. Brandstetter contemplates this prospect with an equanimity which I confess I cannot share.

The project is an excellent one, but must, I think, have some limits assigned to it: let us pass on to the sample and see to what extent it can be considered to be representative of the whole scheme. Dr. Brandstetter has taken as his specimen languages the twelve following:—Tagalog, Bisaya, Bugis, Macassar, Javanese, Madurese, Malay (i.e. the 'standard' Malay of the textbooks), Menangkabau Malay, a Dayak dialect (probably Ngaju, but the author does not specify it), Batak, Achehnese, and Malagasy. This is a well-selected list, but a purely Indonesian one. (Were it not for Dr. Brandstetter's express statement that the eventual comparative vocabulary ought to include all available Malayo-Polynesian languages, one might have inferred that it should, in his opinion, be confined to the languages of the western division of the Malayo-Polynesian family. That is what, in my view, will probably have to be done, in order to keep it within manageable bounds.) One may perhaps, without being captious, regret the absence from the author's preliminary survey of one or two languages which might have been included, e.g. Lampong, or Balinese, or some more or less typical dialect of northern Borneo or northern Celebes. But perhaps it might be answered that these regions are hardly as yet sufficiently well represented in the dictionaries, and that one cannot have everything. It must in fairness be said that when the circumstances seem to require it the author often steps outside his somewhat limited circle of specimen languages, and adduces the necessary illustrations from the allied tongues that he has refrained from including

in his preliminary survey. Dr. Brandstetter's acquaintance with the Indonesian languages is really within hailing distance of Sam Weller's knowledge of London, and he seems hardly ever at a loss for parallels, drawn in some cases from very out-of-the-way quarters, and evidencing an exceptionally wide reading and a wonderful talent for recalling details at the appropriate moment.

The specimen work, instead of running to two thousand words (why should Dr. Brandstetter limit the eventual vocabulary thus?), confines itself to twenty typical everyday names of portions of the human and animal body. There is a certain advantage in this selection; such words may usually be assumed to be very ancient elements in any language; and when they agree, as they often do, in several allied tongues that have had a divergent development in areas widely distant from one another, we are entitled to feel confident that the common element goes far back into the prehistoric past.

In the first part of his work Dr. Brandstetter propounds the theoretical requirements with which a comparative vocabulary of the kind he has in view should comply. This part formulates, as it were, the structural idea underlying the whole work, and is full of valuable hints for students of any family of languages. He proposes to deal with the available materials in a strictly comparative and thoroughly systematic way, pointing out in every case anything that is specially deserving of notice. In particular, archaic words, loan words, peculiarities of comparative phonology, the original monosyllabic roots (when it is possible to detect them in the mostly dissyllabic stem-words of the Indonesian languages), the part of speech to which each word properly belongs, the more important derivatives to which it has given rise, its meaning, whether original or secondary, and the geographical distribution of the different forms—all these are to be dealt with in their order whenever there is anything to be said under these heads. It needs no argument to show that a comparative vocabulary built up on these lines would be a most valuable acquisition.

In the second, or practical, part of the work the author endeavours to carry out these principles. I think it will be found that in the ultimate form of the work, if it is ever executed, there will be a technical advantage in separating the material under each heading into paragraphs, each containing the variant forms of one word only, instead of throwing a number of distinct synonyms into a single paragraph. There is a pretty close relationship between all the twelve tongues that are given here as specimens, but it is by no means unusual to find them splitting up into groups, one of several synonyms being preferred by one such group, another by a second, and so on. Occasionally these groups are regional, neighbouring languages sometimes agreeing together and differing from the rest. But there is no stability in the grouping, so that one must not assume that it will serve as a constant basis for classification; much less may one use it as an argument against the essential unity of the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages. For instance, to take two contrasted cases, the word *mata*, 'eye,' runs in substantial identity through all the twelve languages, as well as scores of others, save only that Malagasy (under the influence of a Suaheli word *masho*, as Dr. Brandstetter explains) has evolved a Hobson-Jobson form *maso*. Here there can be no inconvenience in having all the minor variants, such as *matā* and *mato*, which are merely secondary forms derived by recognised phonetic processes from the primary form *mata*, gathered together in the same paragraph. On the other hand, in the words for 'chin' the several languages diverge very widely, there being no less than nine distinct equivalents. Even here, so long as one is only dealing with a small number of languages, as in Dr. Brandstetter's sample, it may not matter very much that these nine distinct words are mixed up in one paragraph: multiply the number of the languages by ten and the result would be chaos. There is another point, arising out of the same considerations, that seems to call for a slight modification in the grouping. Among the words meaning 'chin' there are several which in one or more of the allied

languages turn up again under the headings 'mouth' and 'beard.' In the ideal comparative vocabulary it would, however, be objectionable to have the variant forms of the same word scattered about among several distinct headings: this would make comparison difficult instead of facilitating it. I should therefore prefer to see such forms collected together under their principal or most usual signification, leaving mere references in the other headings where the less usual meanings would otherwise have appeared.

In his treatment of the comparative phonology of these languages Dr. Brandstetter is as illuminating as ever. His table (on pp. 12-15) of the principal laws of phonetic correspondence in the Indonesian languages has only the one fault that it is too much of an abstract; but it makes one look forward with eager anticipation to the more detailed working out of these laws which he promises to give in the next number of his "*Malayo-Polynesische Forschungen*." Whenever under the separate headings of his specimen vocabulary further elucidation of the phonetic phenomena is necessary, he supplies it, and often illustrates the particular case by means of well-selected parallel instances.

The question of the extraction of the original monosyllabic roots that underlie the words in actual use in the Malayo-Polynesian languages is one of great difficulty. That there are such roots seems, at any rate in a certain number of cases, to be clearly established. But although there is much reason to assume *a priori* that all Malayo-Polynesian words have been built up from such monosyllabic roots, it can hardly as yet be said that this view has been put beyond all possibility of doubt. One difficulty lies in the large number and as yet unexplained meanings and functions of the formative syllables which, on this theory, we must assume to have become inseparably joined to the primary roots in order to produce the normally dissyllabic stem-words that in fact now play the part of irreducible atoms in the Indonesian languages. These 'serviles,' as they would have been styled half a century ago, are sometimes suffixes,

occasionally infixes, more usually, I think, prefixes; the doubt which surrounds their nature in any individual case makes it all the more difficult to discover any general principles underlying their application. Dr. Brandstetter finds in the termination *-a*, which frequently occurs at the end of names of parts of the body, a fossilised suffix.

Apart from this there is, however, another and perhaps still obscurer matter connected with this question of word-formation. The roots themselves sometimes appear in variant forms; and the cause of such variation, which is not at present explicable on any purely phonetic basis, remains entirely mysterious. For instance, Dr. Brandstetter gives *inter alia* the forms *bu*, *buk*, *but*, and *bul* as variants of a root meaning 'hair,' and of these it appears (rather exceptionally) that all except the first still exist in one language or another as actual living words. What is their relation to one another? We cannot suppose that resemblances in form like these are due to accidental coincidence: the cases are far too numerous to allow of such a facile explanation. Dr. Brandstetter frankly admits that he has no explanation to give that would cover this whole range of phenomena, which he calls root-variation ('Wurzelvariation'). But he throws out a suggestion, eminently reasonable on the face of it, which may eventually lead the way to more precise understanding of it, viz. that we have in this unknown factor not one single phenomenon, but rather the results of a number of quite distinct processes, some purely phonetic, others of a morphological character, etc., which probably occurred in a far distant prehistoric past. While therefore not quarrelling with him for giving a name to this most obscure matter, one must not delude oneself into the idea that the name explains it: it will remain a complex of unknowns until such time as further comparative research shall have disentangled the various elements which may enter into it.

I must pass by the other points of view dealt with in this most scholarly little work, merely observing that the sections devoted to derivative words and secondary meanings might, unless severely pruned, swell the projected larger vocabulary

to an enormous size. These languages are very rich in such material. It is rather surprising that under the headings 'eye,' 'hand,' and 'head' Dr. Brandstetter has not given the typical Malay official designations *mutamata*, *pěnglima*, and *pěnghulu*, which are derived from the names of these three parts of the body respectively. (Classical scholars will recollect the parallel case of the Persian official, who rejoices in the title of the 'King's Eye,' in the Greek play, not to speak of other more or less analogous instances.)

In the third and last part of the work the author deals with a peculiar department of speech, namely, the words which are substituted for the ordinary every-day ones when for one reason or another these are intentionally avoided. Many of the Malayo-Polynesian languages have a series of polite, or even courtly, expressions for use in relation to the higher powers, chiefs, elderly relatives, gods and spirits, or else in connection with particular pursuits, such as hunting and fishing, or on other occasions when, in deference to immemorial custom founded on a traditional sense of reverence, the common forms of speech are literally tabooed. On the other hand, there are, especially in the case of certain parts of the body, words which are distinctly coarse and are used coarsely, sometimes with intent to annoy, while others again are merely jocular. No doubt it would be highly desirable to have such terms dealt with in the projected comparative vocabulary: they would often throw a curious light on the mentality of the races that have fashioned them. But it is to be feared that the material collected under these heads is as yet very far from being complete, or perhaps even representative. Dr. Brandstetter intimates as much when he throws this part of his preliminary specimen into an appendix, and treats it as if it were an afterthought. It may, at any rate, serve as a useful hint to future collectors and lexicographers to pay more attention to this subject hereafter.

It seems hardly necessary to say more in commendation of this little book, except to add that it would not be easy to put a greater wealth of learning into a smaller space;

the work only extends to some seventy pages octavo. It should be studied by all students of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, and indeed by everyone who is interested in the science of comparative philology in general. While echoing the author's regret that philologists of this latter type have hitherto passed by the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages with very scant attention, it must be added that a work like this is eminently qualified to put an end to such neglect and to gain new recruits for a singularly fascinating branch of research. Perchance it may thus, indirectly, render possible the publication of the larger work which it fore-shadows.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

RERUM ÆTHIOPICARUM SCRIPTORES OCCIDENTALES INEDITI  
A SECCULO XVI AD XIX curante C. BECCARI, S.J.  
Vol. ii. P. PETRI PAEZ, S.J. *Historia Æthiopie,*  
*i et ii.* (Rome: Luigi, 1905.)

This volume, in which Paez' famous work is printed for the first time, worthily heads this series of hitherto unpublished documents relative to Abyssinian or Ethiopic history, and to European exploration and Catholic mission activity in that part of Africa. Among all these documents none, perhaps, has the value and interest of Paez' record, so long misrepresented, doubted, and even denied, but now given us from the original autograph manuscript in Portuguese, the discovery of Father Beccari. For above its other merits, this record gives us the first detailed account of the sources of the Blue Nile, and that from one who had carefully examined them for himself.

Father Beccari has redressed a flagrant wrong, due apparently to the jealousy of a British traveller. James Bruce, anxious above all to claim the discovery of the Abyssinian Nile-head, would have us believe that Paez "neither made such a journey nor ever pretended it"; he laughs at Athanasius Kircher's description of Paez' journey; and he supports his position by the statement that "no

relation of this kind was to be found" in three manuscripts of Paez' original work which he examined in Milan, Bologna, and Rome—"none of them contained one syllable of the discovery of the source." Nothing more is known of these three Brucean texts; the manuscript just brought to light is the only one which has ever been noticed by any one but Bruce, as it is the only one of whose existence any proof has ever been given; and in this manuscript we find a complete account of the Blue Nile springs, and an outburst of the explorer's delight at his achievement. Is it strange that Father Beccari should see in Bruce's treatment of Paez a wilful misrepresentation, dictated by an ungenerous spirit, determined to belittle the exploits of earlier pioneers?

**THE KHASIS.** By Major P. R. T. GURDON, I.A., Deputy Commissioner Eastern Bengal and Assam Commission, and Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam. With an Introduction by Sir CHARLES LYALL, K.C.S.I., etc. Illustrated. 8vo; pp. xxviii and 227. Published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. (London, 1907.)

The volume under review is the first of a series of monographs now being published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, in which it is proposed to describe the more important tribes and castes of that Province. Major Gurdon, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam, is the editor of the series, and has himself undertaken the volume dealing with the Khasis. He could hardly have embarked upon a more fascinating task. This interesting race, a relic of perhaps the oldest ethnic element in India, jetsam washed up and abandoned to itself upon the island of hill country in the centre of the Province and surrounded by a sea of alien peoples, has preserved its own customs and language through centuries of isolation, and offers rich treasure trove to the student of primitive civilization.

Almost simultaneously with the publication of this book there appeared Pater Schmidt's work, in which was developed that scholar's now well-known 'Austrie' theory,<sup>1</sup> and it is difficult to say whether we should regret that the latter did not appear before the former, or that Major Gurdon's treatise was not available for supplying to Pater Schmidt materials that might have further elucidated his arguments. Not that either work in any way supersedes or invalidates the other. On the contrary, it is remarkable how the two studies, written in entire independence, agree and are mutually supplementary. In a paper lately read before the Society Major Gurdon has shown how far his own researches dovetail in with those of Pater Schmidt.

In the last few months the question of the origin of the Mon-Khmer people has raised large issues, and its discussion has thrown a flood of light upon the ethnic history of Northern India. We find undoubted traces of the existence in ages dimmed by great antiquity of Proto-Mons (if I may coin the expression) widely spread over both borders of the Gangetic Valley. On the north side, stretching along the southern face of the Himālaya, from the Panjāb to Sikhim, there are tribes, now classed as Tibeto-Burman, whose languages<sup>2</sup> still retain the typical features of Proto-Mon grammar, while on the south there is the nation of Muṇḍās extending through the hills of Central India, from Berar to the Santal Parganas. Then in Assam we have the Khasis, and in Further India the Palaungs, Was, Mons, Khmers, and many others. From these, in our search for related tribes, we go west across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar, and east to Formosa; to Fiji, whither Indian coolies, perchance distant cousins of the Fijians, are emigrating; to Stevenson's Samoa, and even to far away Easter Island, with its undeciphered inscriptions and its memorial pillars. In India proper these tribes are now confined to the hills, but, at least in the Ganges valley, the Muṇḍās once inhabited

<sup>1</sup> Reviewed *ante*, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> Kanāwari, Kanāshi, and others in the Panjāb: Limbu, Vayu, and many others in Nēpāl.

the plains. In my old district of Gayā, the "Kolrajji" or period of Muṇḍā rule is still remembered, and over and over again I have come across groups of those curious memorial stones which Mr. Bradley Birt has noticed in Chota Nāgpur, and which Major Gurdon has described with great fulness in the book now under notice. Dr. Konow has given strong reasons for believing that the complex character of the grammar of the Maithilī dialect spoken in Tirhut, although Indo-Aryan in origin, is due to the influence of Muṇḍā, i.e. Proto-Mon, example. That there were once Proto-Mons in the Assam Valley and in the eastern hills of that Province admits of hardly any doubt, and this accounts for the fact that Mikir, a Tibeto-Burman language, shows many points of contact with Khasi, for the mixed character of the language and customs of the Bhois and the Lyngngams, and perhaps for the use of the shouldered hoe by the eastern Nagas, to all of which Major Gurdon has drawn attention. Truly the vista which is opening out to students of the next generation is a fascinating one, and even if little but the foreground is clear at present, not even the driest grubber amongst roots and suffixes can avoid being touched with the feeling of romance which it engenders.

This brings us to the special value of Major Gurdon's book. What will be wanted for many years to come is not further generalizations, but mature, scholarly studies of typical members of the great congeries of nationalities whose individuals speak languages of the Austric family. It is one of these studies that he has given us for the Khasis. It is furnished with an introduction by Sir Charles Lyall, which in itself is an excellent review, and which almost renders unnecessary any detailed account in these pages. The work itself is divided into seven main sections, viz., (1) General, (2) Domestic Life, (3) Laws and Customs, (4) Religion, (5) Folklore, (6) Miscellaneous, (7) Language. Three appendixes and a sufficiently full index complete the volume. It is well illustrated, partly by photographs and partly by some excellent coloured reproductions of paintings, mostly

by Miss Eirene Scott-O'Connor (Mrs. Philip Rogers). The only omission which I can suggest is a map of the Khasi country, showing the localities of the different tribes. Atlases are not always at hand, and are often unwieldy; moreover, *non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum*, nor are we all equally familiar with Shillong or with the general lie of the Assamese territories. May we hope that future volumes of the series will each be accompanied by a map of the area dealt with.

There is something in the national character of the Khasis which appeals to the average Briton. Their games closely resemble ours. These range from pitch and toss to the tug of war, not to speak of jumping competitions, blind man's buff, and marbles. A Khasi is fond of music, and readily assimilates English tunes. He whistles as he goes to work, and is as fond of potheen, jigs, (and pigs) as any Irishman. But in two points he has peculiarities which are strange not only to us but to the greater part of India. These are the system of matriarchy and the use of memorial stones. Nowhere in the world is there so favourable an opportunity for observing the way in which matriarchy works as in Khasi-land. The whole system of rude civilization is based upon it. Inheritance goes strictly in the female line, and ancestral land can only be owned by a woman. A man<sup>o</sup> can, it is true, possess self-acquired property, but when he dies the heir to that property is not his wife or children but his mother or, through his mother, his sister. Similarly, though the chief of a Khasi state is a man, his successor is not his son, but his uterine sister's son. Major Gurdon draws attention to one curious fact which deserves further investigation. A chief's heir is generally the son of his *eldest* uterine sister, while in the succession to ordinary real property the heir is the deceased's *youngest* uterine sister. The net result of all this is that while the men do all the fighting and hard work, the women get the fruits of it and enjoy all the power—a state of affairs which is sometimes advocated in countries considerably to the west of Central Assam. This pre-eminence of the sex

extends even to the language, where, as Sir Charles Lyall points out, the great majority of inanimate nouns and all abstract nouns are feminine. Again, the definite article and the pronouns of the second and third persons have separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the plural only one is used in each case, and this is the plural form of the feminine singular.

The custom of erecting memorial stones, menhirs and dolmens, in honour of deceased relatives, is a peculiarity which is shared by the Muṇḍās of Central India, and also by certain tribes in Assam. In both cases it is most probably a survival of the Proto-Mon period, when the ancestors of the Khasis were far more widely spread than the tribe is now. The stones are sometimes of great size, one being no less than 27 feet high and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick. Major Gurdon's description of them is most interesting and very full; but it is tantalizing enough that, after telling us so much that is new and important, he winds up by intimating that considerations of space have compelled him to compress his account within the limits of about ten pages. Some day, I hope, he will be tempted to write an independent treatise on the subject, which is one of some importance in the history of civilization as a clue to ethnic relationship. Further inquiry may show that the custom extends more widely than has been hitherto supposed. At the farthest end of the Austric area, there are in Easter Island strange statues of human beings, which are certainly memorials of some kind or other, but of which the origin has not yet been explained. It is true that the Khasi monoliths are generally plain blocks of stone, but this is not universal, for, on p. 145, Major Gurdon records instances of distinct attempts at carving or at building up representations of the human figure.

The religion of the Khasis is almost pure animism. They have a vague belief in a Creator (often spoken of in the feminine gender), but he is rarely invoked. Worship is chiefly confined to the propitiation of spirits (frequently ancestors), good or bad. Perhaps the most striking feature

of their traffic with the unknown is their custom of divination, either by inspecting the entrails of fowls or by breaking an egg. The latter method accompanies every important act in a Khasi's life. Sir Charles Lyall draws attention to the similar custom current in ancient Greece under the name of *ᾠοσκοπία*, while the augury from the entrails of fowls is the same as the Roman *extispicium*. Many of their beliefs, such as the taboo of iron in certain ceremonies (pp. 99, 159, and elsewhere) and that of taking or giving with the left hand (p. 159), the belief in the prophylactic power of a monkey's skull (p. 35) and that a disembodied spirit cannot cross running water (p. 135 and elsewhere), are widely spread superstitions. Other cases of *sang* or taboo are more special. Such are some of those which apply to pregnant women or to a house which is a-building (p. 159). The most important taboo of all is that against marrying within the clan—an inexpressible offence. Some taboos are local or tribal; for instance (p. 40), the Lyngngams cannot reap with a sickle. Is this a taboo of the country or of the people? Could another Khasi in the Lyngngam country use the sickle, and could a Lyngngam outside his own country do so? This is a point which might be looked up.

I pass over the section on language, for that has often been discussed. I may, however, point out that the Khasi demonstrative pronouns closely agree with the Mundā ones in their distribution according to distance from the speaker. Thus:—

## SANTALI.

*nui*, this near.

*oni*, that farther off.

*honi*, that still farther.

*hani*, that distant.

## KHASI.

*unc*, this near.

*nto*, that in sight, but farther off.

*utai*, that farther away, but still visible.

*uta*, that out of sight.

Moreover, while Khasi has a set of Demonstratives indicating things above and below, Santali has a set indicating things laterally, on this side or on that. May I also join with Sir Charles Lyall in hoping that in time we shall have a more adequate method of recording the

Khasi sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech; which, though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants.

The section on folklore deserves special attention. A number of interesting legends are given in the vernacular as well as in English. They form part of a larger collection placed at the author's disposal by the Rev. Dr. Roberts, and I am glad to see that Major Gurdon holds out a prospect of the whole series being published on some future occasion. They may prove extremely valuable from the ethnological point of view. In the meantime I may note what may be only coincidences, viz., that the story of the tree that the men could not cut down has a parallel in the folklore of the Kalāshā Kāfirs, and that the legend of the traveller-devouring *thlen* may be compared with the Bashgali Kāfir tradition of a traveller-eating snake who was decapitated by the god Imra. In each case the subject of the story is the same, but the way out of the difficulty varies.

Reading over these pages, I see that I have written not so much a review of Major Gurdon's work as a series of discursive reflections which have been suggested to me by a perusal of its pages. It is better so. I am not competent to criticise the work of an author who knows ten times more about the Khasis than I. If my remarks induce people to buy the book and to read it for themselves, and if they suggest lines of inquiry to more competent scholars, they will have fulfilled their object. Major Gurdon moves with the lightness born of first-hand familiarity in territories where I, clad in the lumbering armour of mere book-knowledge, must proceed with wariness. His book is written by one who has personal knowledge of the people described, and who has the gift of presenting that knowledge in a form which can be assimilated. Let us congratulate him and the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam on the prosperous inception of what promises to be a most valuable series of monographs.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

THE BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Vol. XX. Part 1 : Mathematical, Metrological, and Chronological Tablets from the Temple Library of Nippur. By H. V. HILPRECHT. "Eckley Brinton Coxe, Junior, Fund." (Philadelphia, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 1906.)

This is a worthy successor to the other valuable works which, under the able editorship of Professor Hilprecht, the University of Pennsylvania has given to the Assyriological world, and though it contains no inscriptions of the nature of great surprises, such as we have learned to look for from the domain of Assyriology, we are nevertheless filled with wonderment at the mathematical portion of the work, which may be regarded as one of the minor surprises, and which the author of the descriptive chapters has dealt with so ably.

Beginning with the tablets containing multiplication-tables ( $2 \times 1 = 2$ ,  $540 \times 1 = 540$ ,  $25 \times 1 = 25$ , etc., to  $180,000 \times 1$ ), Professor Hilprecht proceeds to study the mathematical tablets, the first of which contains a division table, and shows that all the numbers multiplied in the first series of texts are divisors or quotients of 12,960,000. Tablets are published which give the fractions of this number : "its two-thirds are 8,640,000, its half is 6,480,000, its one-third is 4,320,000," etc., down to "its 18th part is 720,000." The highest of these numbers, 12,960,000, is the single upright wedge, standing for 60, raised to the fourth power ( $60 \times 60 = 3,600$ ,  $60 \times 3,600 = 216,000$ ,  $60 \times 216,000 = 12,960,000$ ). The 'corner-wedge,'  $\angle$ , expresses ten times these amounts, the value in any given case being determined by the relationship of  $\uparrow$  and  $\angle$  to the other numerals in the document where they occur. It is therefore to be supposed that the British Museum tablet, K. 2069, which also contains fractional parts of multiples of 60, began with "the 216,000th part of  $195,955,200,000,000 = 907,200,000$ ."

This leads Professor Hilprecht to speak of the inscription numbered 25 in the book now under notice, of which the following is a translation :—

125	720	2000	18
its denominator is	103680	its denominator is	6480
250	360	4000	9
its denominator is	51840	its denominator is	3240
500	180	8000	18
its denominator is	25920	its denominator is	1620
1000	90	16000	9
its denominator is	12960	its denominator is	810

This means, that 125 goes into 12,960,000 103,680 times; 250, 51,840 times; 500, 25,920 times; 1,000, 12,960 times; 2,000, 6,480 times; 4,000, 3,240 times; 8,000, 1,620 times; and 16,000, 810 times. The final numbers of every odd line—720, 360, 180, etc.—are produced by dividing 3,600 by the overplus of units obtained when expressing the first numbers of the same lines—125, 250, etc.—in the Babylonian sexagesimal system.

The answer to the question, What does all this mean? seems to be given, at least in part, by Plato in his "Republic," as Professor Hilprecht explains at length. Degeneration has its origin through wrong or inopportune marriages or births, and the 'geometrical number,' derived from that expressing the shortest period of gestation among mankind (216 days) is 12,960,000, which Plato calls "the lord of better and worse births." The calculations in these tablets therefore probably had to do simply with the theory that all affairs in the birth and life of men depended upon the harmony of the numbers connected with them. "The smaller number (216) referring to days, it is safe to interpret 12,960,000 also as days. Now 12,960,000 days, expressed in years (360 days counted in the year), are equal to 36,000 years. And we know from Berosus, whose accuracy in all matters connected with the mythology and history of his people has been sufficiently tested, that a period of 36,000 years (called 'the great Platonic year,' *magnus Platonius annus*, in early astronomical treatises) was actually the duration of a Babylonian cycle."

Tablets of a similar nature are preserved in the British Museum, the most noteworthy being a large text in several

columns, beginning with fractions, and then going on to 'once 50,' 'once 45,' etc. The last section of this bears upon Professor Hilprecht's No. 25, and gives the fractions of 12,960,000 without the second number of each odd line, as follows:—

𐎶	𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	125, 103,680 its denominator.
𐎶𐎶	𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	250, 51,840 its denominator.
𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	500, 25,920 its denominator.
𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	1,000, 12,960 its denominator.
𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	2,000, 6,480 its denominator.
𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	4,000, 3,240 its denominator.
𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	8,000, 1,620 its denominator.
𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	16,000, 810 its denominator. <sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, the remaining eight lines are exceedingly defective. The end of the next line, in my transcript, has 6, 25 *igi-bi*, where the second number seems to be a mistake for 45, in which case the text probably continued as follows:

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	32,000, 405 its denominator.
𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	64,000, 202:30 (i.e. 202 $\frac{1}{2}$ ) <sup>2</sup> its denominator.

The column is broken at this point, but the series appears to be continued.

Important, too, is the third part of the work, which refers to the metric system of the ancient Babylonians, supplementing what was already known. Thus there would seem to have been 2 and 10 subdivisions to the *ubānu* or finger, 30 fingers to the *ammātu* or cubit, 12 *ammātu* to the *qanû* or cane, 2 *qanû* to the *gar*, 5 *gar* to the *ṣubban*, 2 *ṣubban* to the

<sup>1</sup> The text is imperfect, and has been completed from Professor Hilprecht's No. 25. The characters at the end of each line are to be read *igi-bi*.

<sup>2</sup> Fractions are expressed by the numerals 𐎶𐎶𐎶 =  $\frac{1}{4}$ , 𐎶𐎶 =  $\frac{1}{5}$ , 𐎶𐎶𐎶 =  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 =  $\frac{2}{3}$ , 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 =  $\frac{3}{4}$ , etc.

*ášlu*, 6 *ášlu* to the *uš*, and 30 *uš* to the *kas-gid* or 'long road'—2 hours' journey. A text giving the volume of the contents of the measure called *adapu* leads Professor Hilprecht to the conclusion that the Babylonians of the second millennium B.C. were able to calculate its capacity from its three dimensions, and it is probable that they could determine any problem of that nature.

Historians, however, will find that this volume has an interest also for them in the chronological list giving the lengths of the reigns of the kings of Ur and Isin. Sur-Engura, father of Dungi, reigned 18 years, Dungi 58 years, Bûr-Sin, his son, 9 years, Gimil-Sin, son of Bûr-Sin, 7 years, and Ibi-Sin, son of Gimil-Sin, 25 years. It is interesting to note, that in the case of Bûr-Sin, the indications as to the length of his reign, as given by a case-tablet in the writer's possession<sup>1</sup> (9 years), is fully confirmed by this document. The dates containing the words 'year after' and 'two years after' are not to be reckoned.

The copies are executed with all Professor Hilprecht's accuracy, and the half-tone blocks of the earlier volumes are here replaced by collotype reproductions, which is a great advantage. Two views of the "school and library of the Bel-temple, east section," are given, and show the present appearance of those interesting ruins.

T. G. PINCHES.

REPORT ON THE DUTCH RECORDS IN THE GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES AT COLOMBO. By R. G. ANTHONISZ, Government Archivist. (Colombo, 1907.)

In 1796 the Dutch, after occupying the maritime districts of Ceylon for a period of a century and a half, more or less, ceded these territories to the British, who had long lusted after them, and had several times, but unsuccessfully, attempted to gain a footing on the cinnamon island. From the time of their first settlement in the East the Hollanders

<sup>1</sup> See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October, 1905, p. 823.

kept careful records of all their doings, and also copies of all the correspondence that passed between their various factories in Asia and at the Cape and between these and the Directors of the East India Company in Holland. Owing to climatic influences, ravages of insects and rodents, and carelessness and depredations on the part of officials, many of these documents have perished; but those that have survived contain material that is simply invaluable for the history of the East in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and has been freely drawn upon by De Jonge, Tiele and Heeres, in compiling their monumental works. The series of *Batavia Dagh-Registers* (diaries) which the Java and Dutch Governments are printing are also of great value. The Cape Government also some time ago began making generally available the contents of its Dutch archives in the form of *précis*, and very interesting these have proved. But the Ceylon Government has until recently utterly neglected the thousands of volumes of Dutch records handed over in 1796, and many of these have since that date disappeared beyond recovery. Now, however, this reproach is to be rolled away; and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, in this preliminary report, has a hopeful tale to tell of what is intended to be done in the way of indexing, translating, and summarizing the records, which date from 1640 onwards and take some 7,000 volumes. Necessarily, this work will occupy many years; but it is to be hoped that the Ceylon Government will carry it through in no niggard fashion, but thoroughly. A foretaste of what may be expected from the publication of these records (even in abstract) is afforded by this report, the extracts given by Mr. Anthonisz being most interesting, and affording an insight such as could not otherwise be obtained into the way in which Ceylon was governed under the Dutch East India Company. The Ceylon Government might well divide the sum it derives annually from the lease of its pearl fisheries between this work and that of the Ceylon Archaeological Survey, which has hitherto been simply starved. It would be money well spent.

DONALD FERGUSON.

GESCHICHTE DER JAPANISCHEN LITTERATUR. By Professor K. FLORENZ. Vol. ii. Published by C. F. Amelang's Verlag. (Leipzig, 1905.)

The first volume of Professor Florenz's great work on the literature of Japan was reviewed by Mr. J. Takakusu in the issue of this Journal for October, 1905. The present volume is a worthy completion of the work, which, as Mr. Takakusu has well said, is a great boon to general as well as to special students of Japan. No people can be understood without a serious and competent study of their literature—it is not, indeed, too much to say that the truest history of a race is that written by its own writers. This is particularly the case with Japan, whom circumstance, not as I believe any special conformation of national character, has led along borrowed ways from the seventh to the twentieth century. Nevertheless, even in the seventh century Japan possessed a civilisation of her own, more advanced than is commonly supposed as the poems of the Manyōshū abundantly prove, and throughout the ages she has maintained a nationality more or less arrested in development by Chinese letters and civilisation, but never lost. It is, in part, to her literature that this preservation was due, and perhaps in these volumes it is not as clearly shown as it might have been in what that particular service essentially consisted. In history, philosophy, and science Japan made no advance upon China; her annals, her natural histories, her treatises upon the nature of men and things are servile reproductions or inferior imitations of originals brought across the Eastern seas. But in her imaginative literature she struck a note over, on the whole, increasingly her own, though hidden by Chinese modes and forms. Even the novels of Bakin are essentially Japanese, perhaps even more widely separated from the like literature of China than are the early *monogatari* themselves, despite the greater purity of language we find in the latter. Long before the foundations were laid of the Bakufu system Japan had acquired a national life totally distinct from the bureaucratic

polity of China, yet retaining a singular unity under the double but unequal headship of Mikado and Shogun, a unity which eventually became a mosaic of some two hundred and fifty distinct, unconfederate, yet adhering political and territorial elements.

In the present volume the history of the middle ages of Japanese literature is concluded with an account of the Muromachi period, 1186-1601. The literary characteristic of this age—one of continual strife, not so much aiming at any definite overlordship as at a national, more or less unconscious, groping in arms after a position of political equilibrium finally realised by the great Gongen Sama, Iyeyasu—was the rise of the drama in the invention of the *Nô no utahi* that resemble in so many ways the miracle-plays of the West, such as we read in the life of St. Thomas à Becket were performed in London in 1182. These *utahi* deserve rather more commendation, I think, than Professor Florenz accords them. I have read most of them, and though similar in plan they differ considerably in substance and merit. They are, it is true, stuffed with word-plays, but in the absence of rhyme and true metre, these, with the *makura-kotoba*, were the only decoration the Japanese could employ. To the Japanese ear—and, after all, the *utahi* were written for Japanese—they conveyed the peculiar charm of dexterous verbal artistry, and in addition packed several more or less poetical allusions into a single expression. Again, a large portion of each *utahi* consists of tags from the older poets and from Chinese poetry, often, however, introduced with considerable effect. Their real disfigurement lies in the incongruous mixture of Buddhist phrases taken from the sutras or other sources. Professor Florenz gives the translation in full of one of the *utahi*, “Funa Benkei” or “Benkei Embarked.” The version is accurate and in all ways excellent, but the stage directions are not fully given, and these lend a good deal of movement and reality to the text. The need of attention to the subtleties of literary Japanese is shown by the versions of the *tanka* on p. 289, which are inadequate. Professor Florenz translates :

<i>Kusa no ki mo</i>	Gräser und Bäume
<i>iro kawaredomo</i>	haben Farben gewechselt
<i>watatsumi no</i>	doch an des Meeres
<i>nami no hana ni zo</i>	Wellenblumen vermagst du
<i>aki nakarikeru.</i>	den Herbst nicht zu erkennen.

A more literal rendering is better—

Herbs too and trees too  
 their tints are changing,  
 yet in the wave-flowers  
 (the white crests of ocean-waves)  
 showeth not Autumn.

That is—"Autumn shows in the fading tints of flower and leaf, but never in the changeless white of the cresting waves."

The third period of Japanese literature is the modern epoch from 1601 to 1868, which witnessed in *belles lettres* the perfection, according to Japanese ideas, of verse in the epigram of seventeen syllables, the ultimate *reductio ad absurdum* of the long-lay of the morning time of the Japanese muse; the development of the sketch of manners, historical romance, and farcical story; and the rise of the new drama in long, complicated, and violent plays, which amused, and still amuse, the Japanese, but, to the Western mind, are intolerably wearisome to witness and almost impossible, with some few exceptions, to peruse. On the whole it was a period of no originality, of thoroughly false ideals, and of tawdry literary decoration—one, too, in which verse sunk to its most exiguous expression and utmost poverty of thought. The principal movement of this stage was the quasi-religious revival of Shinto so fully and ably described by Sir E. Satow in the volumes of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

The work concludes with a brief account of present-day literature. A fuller study of this would be of immense value to the publicist and politician, and I trust that Professor Florenz may be induced to undertake it. The literature of old Japan was both the expression and the making of Kiu Nihon, but its influence is on the wane;

it is in the literature of the day that we seek to find what indications may be discoverable of the *yukube* of modern Japanese history.

The conclusion one comes to is that, with the exception of a portion of the *Nô no utahi*, parts of some of Bakin's novels, and a few other pieces, the literature of the periods dealt with in the volume before me forms no very valuable part of the world's stock of imaginative production.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

MANUEL DE LA LANGUE JAPONAISE, par TH. GOLLIER, Chargé de Cours à l'Université de Liège. I. Elements de la Grammaire. (Bruxelles et Leipzig: Misch & Thron, 1907.)

This is an excellent grammar of spoken Japanese, constructed upon the usual lines. But these lines appear to me to be wrong. To speak Japanese correctly it is absolutely necessary to think as the Japanese do—that is impersonally. Hence the verb-paradigms are misleading. No Japanese would ever say *watakushi-domo-wa mi-masenanda* for *nous ne voyions pas*; he would use much shorter forms, differing more or less in accordance with the person addressed and the nature of the conversation. The real difficulty of Japanese is thus evaded, not surmounted. But this defect is found in nearly all the grammars of Japanese I have seen, and I consider it a very grave one. The only great obstacle in learning Japanese (apart from its scripts and double vocabulary) is precisely the casting of one's Occidental highly personal modes of thought into a linguistic mould absolutely destitute of any form of personality. The syntax of Japanese, which M. Gollier dismisses in three pages, really requires almost a volume to itself, illustrating by sufficient examples the various uses of the particles, the employment of the different modal forms of the verb, the manner of catenation of clauses and sentences, the use of illative words and forms and of the Chinese compounds, and the methods by which the definite, fully expressed speeches of the West are replaced by the

looser formations of Japanese. The 'anthologie,' which is good, should have been accompanied by translations. The beginner without a teacher will possibly be disheartened by the difficulty of making complete sense of them. An annotated version, on the plan adopted in Mr. Chamberlain's Romanized Reader, would have been better.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

STORIA DO MOGOR, OR MOGUL INDIA, by, NICCOLAO MANUCCI, Venetian. Translated and annotated by WILLIAM IRVINE, I.C.S. (London: John Murray, 1907.)

It is a great pleasure to see these two handsome volumes and to think that the ship of Manucci's manuscripts has at last come into port. They have had almost as many adventures as their author, and have wandered from Southern India to France, Italy, Holland, England, and Germany. Now they repose, mainly, at Berlin and Venice, though one odd volume, part of Napoleonic loot, is in Paris. The present publication of a portion of them, for there are two, if not three, volumes still to come, is due to the perseverance of Mr. Irvine, seconded by the Government of India (Lord Curzon) and Mr. Wollaston. Mr. Irvine has been indefatigable in his pursuit of the Manucci manuscripts, and has spared neither time nor money in the quest. The volumes now before us are the result of ten years of research. It is pleasant to think that though Manucci was an Italian, his first friend was an Englishman and that his editor is a Scotchman.

Manucci was a poor Venetian boy who about 1653 was fired by a desire to visit foreign countries. Probably he had heard of his great fellow-citizen, Marco Polo, and wished to emulate his career. His father would not let him go, and so, like Defoe's hero, he ran off to sea, and, like him, encountered a fierce gale which doubtless made him for the time as penitent as Robinson Crusoe. But fortune favoured him, for there was an Englishman on board the 'tartane,'

and he took pity on the stowaway and made him his servant. The Englishman was Henry Bard, a son of the Vicar of Staines, who had fought in the Civil Wars, and been created Viscount Bellomont by Charles I. In his youth he had travelled, mostly on foot, in Arabia and Palestine, and he brought home a copy of the Koran, which is still preserved in King's College, Cambridge. Before, however, he had presented to his College this "*amoris simul et peregrinationis monumentum*" he had fought on the King's side at Alresford in Hampshire and been wounded and made prisoner. It was for his services that he had been made Viscount Bellomont—a title which is suggestive of Venice and of Portia, Jessica, and Nerissa. Bellomont was now engaged in a wilder and more hopeless expedition than Manucci's, for he was going out to Persia and India to see if he could pick up some of the wealth of Ormus or of Ind for his impecunious master Charles II, who was then in exile. Bellomont and Manucci went by Smyrna and Tauris to Casbin and Ispahan and had interviews with Shah Abbas II. But Bellomont never reached the Great Mogul. His journey verified the Indian adage which says "Delhi is still distant," for he suddenly died<sup>1</sup> in 1656 near Horal, between Mathura and Delhi, within sight of the caravanseraï. His goods, as well as those of Manucci, were at once taken possession of by the local officer, and Manucci had some difficulty in recovering his property and that of his master, owing to the ruffianly conduct of two Englishmen who pretended that they were acting under the orders of Shah Jahan. However, this affair and the spirited conduct of Manucci in it introduced him to the notice of Dārā Shikoh, who took him into his service as an artilleryman on a pay of eighty rupees a month. After this Manucci had many adventures. He fought for Dārā at Samūrgarh and Bhakkar, and had a narrow escape at Lahore. According to his own account, Aurangzeb pressed him to enter his service, but, out of punctiliousness, he

<sup>1</sup> All this interesting information about Bellomont has been brought to light by Mr. Irvine, who in his admirable introduction to Manucci has been able to correct several statements in the Dictionary of National Biography.

refused. He does not tell us, however, how he contrived to live at Delhi till the end of 1662. He may have supported himself by the practice of medicine, and he may also have continued to receive ten rupees a day for allowing a man to distil spirits near his house, though this was a perquisite which should have ceased when he retired from service. In December, 1662,<sup>1</sup> Aurangzeb went off to Cashmere, and Manucci, after accompanying the Progress for three days, went off on a visit to Bengal. He returned to Upper India, and after a while entered the service of the Rajah of Jaipur, and went with him to the Deccan. Then he went to Goa, and then again to Delhi, where he now set up as a physician. Finally he went to Madras, and married in 1686 the widow of a Mr. Thomas Clarke. He closed a long and troubled life either at Madras or Pondicherry, and apparently in 1717, when he must have been about 88 years of age. He wrote his history towards the end of the seventeenth century, and finished it in 1700. He made it over to Boureau-Deslandes, a French officer who had been in charge of Chandernagore and who was at Pondicherry in February, 1701. Deslandes left for France in that month and reached it at the end of August. Deslandes made the manuscript over to Father Catrou, and he in 1705 published the well-known abridgment which till the present year has been the only source of our knowledge of Manucci's writings. Manucci was very angry with Catrou for "mixing me up with the fables of other authors and usurping the result of my labours and fatigues," and in 1706 he sent off the original draft of his book to the Venetian Senate. But does not the result show that Catrou was Manucci's best

<sup>1</sup> Manucci says (ii, 66) that Aurangzeb left Delhi on 6th December, 1660, and he censures Bernier for saying that the year was 1664, adding, however, that the mistake may perhaps be due to the printer. To this Mr. Irvine says on a note that "Considering Manucci's own erroneous chronology (1660 instead of 1662) this reproof of Bernier is rather bold. Bernier, 350, says the start was on December 3rd at three o'clock; he gives no year, but the letter is dated December 14th, 1664, leading to the obvious inference that he means December, 1664." But there is surely some mistake in the edition or translation used by Mr. Irvine. Our edition is that of 1699, published at Amsterdam. The letter referred to by Mr. Irvine must be that to M. de Merveilles, and it gives the date of departure as 6th December. The letter is not dated, but it must belong to 1662, or January, 1663, for the second letter to the same correspondent is dated Lahor, 25th February, 1663.

friend? He did not suppress Manucci's name, his title-page bearing that it was the "voyage et histoire du Mogol divisé en trois parties par M. Nicholas Manuchi, Vénitien"; and he did not destroy the original manuscript, though naturally he did not, after Manucci's vituperation<sup>1</sup> of him, take any steps to have it published in its entirety. But neither did anybody else move in the matter. The manuscript lay safe in the Jesuit Society's library till 1763, when the Order was expelled from France. It then went to Holland, and then to England, and eventually to Germany, but in none of these countries, apparently, was it examined, or made the subject of any suggestion for publication. Nor was Manucci's native city more mindful of his reputation. The Senate received his manuscript through their Ambassador at Paris, but nothing was done with it except that it was catalogued and described by their librarian, or librarian's assistant, Zanetti, in 1741. No doubt Catrou's mode of editing was not that of the present day. He omitted the personal narrative, and he mixed up Manucci's accounts with information derived from other authors. On the other hand, he corrected or omitted some of Manucci's blunders, as, for example, when Manucci makes Bābar the son of Sultan Mahmūd, and Chānd Bībī of Aḥmadnagar the wife of Akbar. Catrou, it seems to us, has had rather severe measure dealt to him for doing imperfectly what nobody else did at all. It is like the case of Montgomery-Martin, who has been much abused for only publishing parts of Buchanan's papers, by people who have never published any of them. Such people should remember the reproof of the lady to Dr. Johnson when he said that there had been much foolish talk at an evening party. "Yes," she said, "but while others said what they could, you said nothing."

In the preface to his second edition Catrou says that Manucci had sent him his *Memoirs* from India, and

<sup>1</sup> At p. xl of the Introduction there is a translation of Zanetti's account of the Manucci codex, and it is said there that Catrou's production was much *honoured* by Manuzzi, though it failed to please him when it reached him in India. I do not know what the word 'honoured' means here, and suspect a misprint or a wrong translation.

Mr. Irvine pronounces this to be a deliberate lie. His reason is because Manucci had some years before declared that his manuscript had been communicated to the Jesuits without his knowledge or consent. But in a question between Catrou and Manucci we would rather believe the former. So far as we know, Catrou did not tell any lies, unless the assertion just mentioned be one, whereas Manucci, according to his own showing, told lies<sup>1</sup> whenever it was convenient to do so, from the time when he told the captain of his vessel that he had fallen asleep and so been carried off to sea. No doubt this was a pardonable misstatement, but there are others which are more serious. As Mr. Irvine has pointed out, there is a contradiction between Manucci's Italian letter to the Senate and his Latin one. In the first, he says he gave the manuscript to a friend who was going to France, in order that he might have it printed. As Mr. Irvine says: "Evidently his hope was that it would be published at the expense of Louis XIV." It was written in Portuguese and French, and so could hardly have been intended for Venice. In the Latin letter, however, which is dated Madras, 15th January, 1705, he says that the instructions he gave were that the manuscript should be made over to Father Eusebius in order that he might offer it to the Venetian Senate. But, if the Latin letter has been rightly translated,<sup>2</sup> there seems to be a still farther confusion. In it Manucci seems to say that he made over his manuscript to a friend in order that he might forward it to Father Eusebius. But the friend died at Egellia (probably Hidjelee) and the manuscript fell into the hands of the Jesuits. But unless Father Eusebius went twice to Europe, which is very unlikely, he did not go till 1704, and so had nothing to do with the first dispatch. Further, Manucci says that Deslandes only lent the manuscript to Catrou for inspection, and that his appointment to the West Indies prevented him from having the book printed.

<sup>1</sup> See also his repeated plea of poverty, when in fact he seems to have left about £10,000 (Introduction, p. lxviii).

<sup>2</sup> It seems a pity that this important letter has not been published in original.

But Deslandes arrived in France in August, 1701, and did not leave till November, 1703. It seems to us, therefore, that Deslandes must have made over the manuscript absolutely to the Jesuits, and as Deslandes' high character is vouched for by everyone, including Manucci, we think that the fair conclusion is that Deslandes was authorised by Manucci to make over the manuscript to the Jesuits, or to whomever he thought a fit custodian for it, and that therefore Catrou was justified in saying that Manucci had sent him the manuscript, even if there was no express letter to that effect. It is not conceivable that Catrou would send an advance copy of his work to Manucci unless he in good faith believed that Manucci had wished him to deal with it.

Leaving aside these questions, however, everyone interested in India must rejoice that Mr. Irvine has now given us a translation of Manucci's whole manuscript. The work is a valuable record, in spite of its blunders in chronology, etc. Several of its stories are corroborated by the native authorities, e.g., the account at vol. i, 133, of Akbar's attack upon a village, which agrees in several incidents with the account in the Akbarnāma. Even the insignificant statement at p. 132 that Akbar gave the name of Fathābād to the city which he founded at Sīkrī (now known as Fathpūr) agrees with the Akbarnāma, ii, 365, where it is said that Akbar called the city Fathābād though afterwards people called it Fathpūr. The curious account of *mūmayāi*, or bitumen, at p. 55, tallies with a statement of Jahangīr in the Tūzuk. He says that he had heard a great deal about the virtues of *mūmayāi*, and enjoined his ambassador to procure some. He, with considerable trouble, got a small quantity from the Shāh, and Jahangīr had it applied to the broken leg of a fowl, but naturally without any result. At pp. 179 and 227 Manucci speaks of one Gonorārā Begam as a daughter of Shāh Jahān, and his translator is inclined to suspect a mistake. But it appears from the Pādishāhuāma, i, 393, that Manucci's name is merely a slight misspelling of Gohar Ārā Begam, the name of Shāh Jahān's youngest daughter. Very little is known about

her, except that her birth caused her mother's death, and so led to the construction of the Taj Mahal, and therefore Manucci's reference to her, though uncomplimentary, is a contribution to history.

H. B.

**CHINESE THOUGHT.** An exposition of the main characteristic features of the Chinese World-Conception. By Dr. PAUL CARUS. Being a continuation of the author's essay "Chinese Philosophy." Illustrated.

**CHINESE LIFE AND CUSTOMS.** By PAUL CARUS. Illustrated by Chinese artists.

(Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company.  
London Agents, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co.,  
Ltd. 1907.)

The article on Chinese philosophy referred to above appeared first in *The Monist*, vol. vi, No. 2. It gained a certain notoriety in China in 1896, when the copy of *The Monist* containing it was forwarded to the Tsungli Yamen, the Foreign Office at Peking, by Colonel Denby, the United States Minister there, with the author's request that it should be delivered to H.M. the Emperor. It was forthwith translated into Chinese, we are told in the second edition, by order of the Yamen, who expressed a general approval of its tenour in an informal communication to the American envoy, in which they inform him that "the book will be placed on file in the archives of the Yamen."

The first of the two books on our list, which poses as a continuation of the essay, is an industrious compilation from fairly good sources, but shows little sign of originality on the part of the author, who is, by the way, the editor of *The Monist*. The illustrations, however, are many of them novel and interesting, especially those reproduced from Chinese and Japanese books. The discursive character of the work may be gathered from a glance at the table of contents, which embraces a miscellany of interesting articles on—

Chinese Script.

Chinese Occultism.

Zodiacs of Different Nations.

A throneless King (Confucius) and his Empire.

The Chinese Problem.

Conclusion.

The chapter on zodiacs and their prehistoric connections, which suggests the common origin of all zodiacs, but hardly proves the thesis, owes much to Professor Franz Boll's *Sphaera, neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder* (Leipsic, Teubner, 1903). One or two mistakes may be noticed in the Glimpse of Chinese History (p. 149). Chou Kung, the celebrated Duke of Chou, for instance, is introduced as the brother of Wen Wang and the "noble uncle" of Wu Wang, the founder of the Chou dynasty. He was really the fourth son of Wen Wang and a younger brother of Wu Wang, the "Warrior King." A more startling misconception is a passing allusion to the "late Empress Dowager Hsi Tai Hou . . . who, so long as she lived, was *de facto* ruler of China."

The second book, on "Chinese Life and Customs," by the same author is offered to the reading public in the foreword as "a compilation of Chinese illustrations accompanied with as little text as will suffice to explain them." The pictures are all reproduced from woodcuts selected from a well-known Japanese book published in Tokio, entitled *Ch'ing Su Chi Wen*, or, as the Japanese read it, *Shin Zok Kih Bun*, an "Account of (Chinese) Customs under the Ch'ing (Dynasty)." It would be hard to find in China itself a better series of views of their annual festivals and more important industries, of Confucianism and ancestor worship, of Taoism and Buddhism, and of Chinese social life and manners generally.

S. W. B.

DIE REDEN GOTAMO BUDDHO'S AUS DER LÄNGEREN SAMUNG  
DĪGHANIKĀYO DES PĀLI KANONS, übersetzt von KARL  
EUGEN NEUMANN. Erster Band. (München, 1907.)

Dr. Neumann, the indefatigable translator of Pāli texts, has added a new specimen to the considerable number of versions from the sacred books of the Buddhists which he has published before. He has translated this time the first part of the Dīghanikāya, commonly known under the name *Sīlakkhandhavagga*, and comprising the first thirteen suttas, the same portion which has been translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids in 1899 ("Dialogues of the Buddha in Sacred Books of the Buddhists," edited by F. Max Müller, vol. ii).

In reviewing this book, I can repeat what I said ten years ago about Neumann's translation of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (this Journal, 1897, p. 133), viz., that the author has taken great trouble in rendering the ideas of the Pāli original as clearly as possible in a German dress, and that particularly with regard to the technical terms of Buddhist philosophy. But I must also repeat what I stated there about Neumann's valuation of the commentaries, especially of Buddhaghosa. Our translator is, in this respect, just the reverse of Rhys Davids. While the "Dialogues of the Buddha" are crowded with notes, especially in those passages which offer certain difficulties, as the first part of the *Brahmajālasutta* (see for instance p. 8, where we have only four lines of text and the rest of the page notes), Neumann leaves most of his pages without annotations. When he adds a few words at the bottom it is generally not in order to tell us why he disagrees from Buddhaghosa in the rendering of the passage in question, but to bring in some far-fetched comparison from the writings of Eckhart or from the sayings of Robert l'Orange. With regard to those who have translated the *Dīgha* before him, Neumann mentions their names in his preface (p. x), but in the text we find scarcely an allusion to them.

In the same preface he states that his translation might have been more polished and refined if he had not endeavoured to follow the Indian expression as close as possible. Now we shall examine some passages of the *Brahmajāla* with regard to this statement: p. 10, he translates *caṇḍālavanisadhoraṇaṇi* by 'Fiedel, Flöte, Trommel.' Rhys Davids (p. 9) renders this word 'acrobatic feats by Caṇḍālas,' and the translators of *Jāt.* iv, 390, give 'the art of sweeping in the Caṇḍāla breed.' I will not decide which of the two English translations is the better one, but certainly Neumann's rendering does not follow in any way the Indian expression. Our author has translated the *Brahmajālasutta* before in his "Buddhistische Anthologie" (Leiden, 1892), p. 67 ff., and there he renders the passage in question 'belustigen sich an den kunststücken der Caṇḍālas.' I see no reason why he has changed this correct rendering in the above-mentioned way.

The word immediately preceding *caṇḍālavanisadhoraṇaṇi* is *sobhanagarakaṇi*.<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids, following a suggestion of Weber, translates it by 'fairy scenes'; Neumann, in his "Buddhistische Anthologie," has 'unterhalten sich mit Courtisanen,' which seems preferable to Rhys Davids' translation if we compare the term *nagarasobhaṇi*, 'a courtesan' (Burnouf, "Lotus," p. 465). In the *Dīghanikāya*, however, he has adopted the reading of the Burmese MSS. *sobhaṇakaṇi*, and translates this by 'Stegreifrede.' I have looked in vain in the dictionaries for an authority to support this rendering. In the same paragraph *vaṭṭakayuddhaṇi* is translated 'Kampf mit Peitschen,' while the rendering in the "Buddhistische Anthologie," viz. 'Wachtelkämpfe,' is the only correct one.

In § 17 Neumann reads *itthikathaṇi surākathaṇi* and translates 'über Weiber und Weine.' This is another instance to show that he cannot give up his European ideas and follow the Indian expression, as we have seen before

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately these two words are missing in the parallel passage from the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* quoted by de la Vallée Poussin in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1906, p. 446.

with regard to his rendering of *caṇḍāluvaṇṇasadhoraṇaṃ*. Talking about wine and women may be a very common thing in the fashionable society of gentlemen in Europe, but it is certainly not in India, and the worst is that he puts 'Weine' in the plural, just as if the different sorts of hock, claret, and champagne had been familiar to the Buddha and his community. The only correct reading is *sūrakathā*, 'tales about heroes'; and *sūkarakathā*, mentioned by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 467, note 5) as the reading of one MS., is another mistake for this same word.

In § 21 *māsikāchinnam* is rendered 'Maulwurfslöcher,' and Neumann gives a long note about the mole as a prophetic animal. I see no reason to give up the translation 'Deutung des Nagens der Mäuse' adopted by him in his "Buddhistische Anthologie" and ascertained by the Maṅgalajātaka, No. 87.

We have spent a long time with the Brahmajālasutta, and will say a few words now about the concluding verses of the Kevaṭṭasutta (No. xi). The stanza *riṇṇānam anidassanam anantaṃ sabbatopahaṃ* is rendered thus by Neumann :

'Bewusstsein wo entschwunden ist  
vollkommen restlos abgethan.'

In the note he refers the reader to his translation of the Brahmanimantanikasutta in Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 513. In his edition of the text, p. 329, Trenckner has the reading *sabbatopaham*, but Neumann is right in preferring *sabbatopahaṃ*, and also his translation seems preferable to that which Rhys Davids has given in agreement with Buddhaghosa, viz. 'accessible from every side.'

I agree also with the notes on p. 305: *saṃatitthika* is the correct reading (= *saṃatvṛthika*), as we find it in the Burmese MSS., and the words addressed to the further bank should be printed, as Neumann suggests: *ehi pārāpāraṃ, ehi pārāpāraṃ ti*, 'come hither, O further bank, come to this side.' Cf. Suttanipāta, 1129.

E. MÜLLER.

Berne.

June, 1907.

THE COMMENTARY ON THE DHAMMAPADA. Vol. I. Edited  
by H. C. NORMAN, M.A. (Pāli Text Society, 1906.)

This first volume of the edition of the Dhammapada commentary goes as far as verse 20 of the text and comprises 159 pages. In the Sinhalese edition published by Guṇaratna at Colombo, 1886, this portion occupies the first 80 pages. The whole edition amounting to 641 pages (up to verse 396 of the text), we can reckon that Norman will want seven volumes more of the same size to complete his publication. Of course, I do not know how many years this will take him, but it is not likely that he will publish more than one volume a year, and thus under the very best circumstances we will have to wait seven years till the book is finished. Considering these facts, I cannot understand why Norman does not favour us with a short preface or introduction to precede his edition of the commentary. Of course, I do not want a long discussion about the usefulness of commentaries in general, nor even about this one in particular, as it is sufficiently known from Fausböll's edition of the Dhammapada and from Max Müller's introduction to Captain Rogers' translation of Buddhaghosa's parables published in 1870. But what I do want is a short notice about the manuscripts which Norman has used for his edition, in the same way as Rhys Davids and Carpenter have given it in the preface to their edition of the first part of the Sumangala Vilāsinī in 1886. Norman's edition is very carefully done, as we can see from the numerous footnotes at the bottom of the pages, but at present we can only guess what these footnotes mean. One of his MSS. is marked by K, most probably of Kambojan origin, another by B, which may be an abbreviation for Burmese, but we know nothing about the provenience of these MSS. nor about their relation to each other, and we shall have to wait at least seven years till we learn it, as these explanations can only be given either in the preface or in the indexes at the end of the book.

This however is the only defect which has struck me in Norman's publication. In all other respects it is as

good as can possibly be expected. Norman has taken particular trouble to separate the verses, which are interspersed in the commentary from the surrounding prose, and to print them as verses. We can see this best in the *Matṭhakunḍali-Vatthu* (p. 25 seq.), if we compare it with the corresponding portion of Fausböll's edition of the *Dhammapada* (p. 95 seq.), where most of the verses are printed as prose. In one instance Norman seems to have made the opposite mistake in printing a sentence of prose in verse. On p. 7 the words *pabbajissām 'evāhan tātā ti* do not belong to the preceding stanza, but to the following prose period.

Berne.

E. MÜLLER.

June, 1907.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SANSKRIT DRAMA. By MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, Jun. (New York, 1906.)

This work forms vol. iii of the Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, of which the general editor is Professor A. V. Williams Jackson. After a short "Introductory Sketch of the Sanskrit Drama" and a list of general works bearing on the subject, we are brought to the body of the work, consisting of a list of authors and of the titles of their works. Then follow two appendices, "Some Dramas in the Modern Vernaculars" and "Classification of the Dramas."

The first impression that will arise in the mind of the reader as he casually glances through these pages will probably be that Mr. Schuyler is young in his work. Bibliography, and especially Indian bibliography, is a difficult art to master; and long experience is needed before the student can grasp what I may call the permanent element in Hindu names, and separate it from accidentals. Of such experience Mr. Schuyler's book shows little evidence. He regularly enters native editors with their names in initials and their titles in full, as for example "G. D. Śāstri" (p. 43), "S. S. Ayyar" (p. 45), "J. Tarkālaṃkāra" (p. 72),

“D. V. Śarman” (p. 91), and so forth. The well-known pandit Vāvillā Rāma-svāmi Śāstri appears as “R. S. Vavilla” (p. 43); and Mr. Schuyler decapitates even the title of another scholar, whose name he gives as “V. R. Cārlu” (p. 80). This defect becomes more serious when it leads to the insertion of an author under the name of his *gotra* or some epithet, or even to a dichotomy of one author into two. Thus we find the entry *Kāśyapa Abhinavakālīdāsa* on p. 62 instead of p. 24; and two lines below this appears *Kauśika Nallābudha* as author of the Śṛṅgārasarvasva, while a writer who is apparently identical figures under the name *Nallādikṣita* on p. 72, with two other works to his credit. Similarly, we find *Pararastu Veṅkaṭaraṅga* under *P* (p. 74). A yet more serious error appears on p. 97, where Yuvarāja Prahlādana is stated to be the author of both the Pārthaparākrama and the Rasasadana. The former statement has the excellent authority of Aufrecht, and is doubtless right; but the latter is a mere blunder arising from defective bibliographic method. The Rasasadana is notoriously the work of Sadāśiva, who is also known as Yuvarāja Kavi; and Sadāśiva has nothing in common with Prahlādana except the epithet Yuvarāja.

Other inaccuracies, too, are frequent, and we may note a few instances. The *Nilā-pariṇaya*, attributed on p. 34 to “*Dr̥gbhavat*” on Aufrecht’s authority, is, probably the work of Veṅkaṭeśvara, son of Dharma-rāja (see *Kāvya-mālā*, 76, p. xiii); Aufrecht gives no name of author, and knows nothing of a *Dr̥gbhavat*. On p. 34 Mr. Schuyler catalogues the *Somavallīyogānanda* under the heading of *Diṇḍima Kavi*, because Aufrecht ascribes it to this writer. But Aufrecht’s statement was based upon the very imperfect catalogue of Taylor; and in the edition in the “*Grandha Pradarsani*,” which Mr. Schuyler here quotes, it is attributed to Aruṇagiri-nātha—a fact which Mr. Schuyler ignores here, although on p. 25 he has the very same play entered under the name of the latter author. The *Mahiṣamaṅgala bhāṇa*, which he describes on p. 69 (following Professor Bendall’s Catalogue) as “a short drama on an incident occurring in a village called

Mahīṣamaṅgala, apparently written by an inhabitant of the place," is, we believe, identical with the work miscalled *Māla-maṅgalabhāṇa* which is catalogued almost immediately afterwards; there exists a Malayalam translation, called *Mara-maṅgala-bhāṇa*, which ascribes the play to a certain Pūruvaṇam Mahīṣa-maṅgala Kavi. Directly after this comes an entry of Michael Madhusūdana Datta's *Śarmisthā*, which, as a Bengali work, has no place here, and, to make matters worse, is misspelt, as is also the author's name. On p. 92, under the name *Vedakariscāmin*, to whom is attributed the *Vidyāpariṇaya*, Mr. Schuyler says that "this author is said to be the same as Ānandarāya," and quotes Professor Aufrecht in support of this statement. But what Aufrecht actually said is that Veda Kavi is reputed to have fathered his *Vidyāpariṇaya* upon Ānandarāya—a very different thing, for nobody ever dreamed of identifying the two authors until Mr. Schuyler appeared. -

A still less satisfactory feature in the book is its incompleteness. Mr. Schuyler admits that "in a book of this character it is practically impossible to secure absolute completeness"; but he does not appear to realise how very far short of the mark he comes. For example we may take the publications in the Madras Presidency between 1867 and 1889; and of these we observe that there are three editions of the *Anargha-rāghavam*, one of the *Prasanna-rāghavam*, two of the *Uttara-rāma-caritam*, and four of the *Vasanta-tilaka*, all unnoticed by Mr. Schuyler, besides a considerable number of less popular plays. We fail also to see, *inter alia*, any mention of the recent Calcutta editions of the *Hāsyārṇava* (2nd ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, 1896) or of the Brindaban edition of the *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭakam* (1901). Again, the appendix of "Some Dramas in the Modern Vernaculars" must appear slightly ridiculous to any who know the extent of vernacular literature. It contains only *nineteen* titles. Compare this with the British Museum Catalogues, where the Hindustani list already contains 58 dramas, the Marathi 96, the Gujarati 64, the Hindi 43, and so forth.

It will thus be plain that Mr. Schuyler has altogether underestimated the magnitude of the task to which he has addressed himself, and with which his knowledge and practical experience have not yet enabled him to cope. Nevertheless, he deserves credit for having made a courageous and intelligent attempt to fill an admitted want, and has produced a work which will probably be of considerable use.

L. D. BARNETT.

DAS SÜDLICHE PAÑCATANTRA, Sanskrittext der Rezension  $\beta$  mit den Lesarten der besten HSS. der Rezension  $\alpha$ , herausgegeben von JOHANNES HERTEL. (Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, xxiv, 5.)

In this work Dr. Hertel publishes the last of his studies preliminary to a definitive edition of what has often been styled the *Textus Ornatior* of the *Pañcatantra*, whereas he prefers to designate it by the name, which he has himself elicited, of its compiler, the Jain Pūrṇabhadra. A general appreciation of Dr. Hertel's activity, from 1902 onwards, in relation to the text of the *Pañcatantra* may best be reserved for the appearance of the edition, which will enjoy the great advantage of being published, at no distant date, under Professor Lanman's editorship in the Harvard Oriental Series. Those who have followed Dr. Hertel's numerous studies, contributed chiefly to the Journal of the German Oriental Society, the Vienna Oriental Journal, and the Proceedings of the Leipzig Academy, are aware of the remarkable zeal and industry which he has brought to bear upon all problems connected with the work. With the assistance of several scholars, assistance which he generously recognizes, he has succeeded in bringing to light a number of previously unknown recensions of the text: indeed, so manifold are the forms which it assumes, and so complicated are their relations, that the struggle with them becomes rather reminiscent of Hercules and the Lernaean monster. But a considerable amount of order has now been introduced

into the chaos. In 1904 was published the text of a MS. acquired by Bühler in the course of his celebrated Kashmir tour, and exhibiting in one of its two recensions—for a second recension has now been traced by Dr. Hertel (*Journal of the German Oriental Society*, lix, pp. 1 sqq.) in certain MSS. procured by the aid of Dr. Stein—the very ancient Kashmir form of the work, bearing the name *Tantrākhyāyika*. This prose version is highly important for two reasons in addition to its antiquity: for on the one hand Dr. Hertel makes it probable that Kashmir was the birthplace of the book, and, on the other hand, he contends (*Tantrākhyāyika*, p. xxiv) that the *Textus Ornatior* is the result of a combination of the *Textus Simplicior* with the Kashmir recension.

In this connection it seems proper to advert to the names *Tantrākhyāyika*, *Tantrākhyāna*, *Pañcatantra*, whereof Dr. Hertel gives an explanation with which in the main we may agree.<sup>1</sup> He contends that *Tantra* is used in the sense of *Nitiśāstra*, and that the names *Tantrākhyāyika* and *Tantrākhyāna* mean literally 'Ākhyāyikā and Ākhyāna, serving as Guides to Policy,' while *Pañcatantra* is 'The Guide to Policy in Five Methods.' We would, however, point out that *Tantra* is a general word for an 'authoritative text,' especially, for example, in Logic (see B. & R. s.v.), and understand the words as 'Authoritative Text (for Policy) in the form of an Ākhyāyikā or Ākhyāna' and 'Authoritative Text (of Policy) in Five (Books).'<sup>2</sup> At what point the *Tantrākhyāyika* became a *Pañcatantra* is an important question which Dr. Hertel discusses in his paper *Über die Jaina-Rezensionen des Pancatantra*, published in the Proceedings of the Leipzig Academy for 1902, pp. 23 sqq.

A second matter in which we are inclined to follow

<sup>1</sup> See now *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. xx, pp. 81 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> I should not contend that this is a final statement of the case. Professor Jacobi's observation that some of the chapters of the *Tantrākhyāyika* itself are in the colophons called *tantra* must be allowed its due weight. Then, again, Dr. Hertel's new word *tantradhāra* (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, xx, p. 87) reminds us of *sūtradhāra*. Is it possible that as a literary term *tantra* denoted originally a collection of *sūtras*? If so, Professor Oldenberg's rendering of *Pañcatantra* (*Die Literatur des alten Indien*, p. 230) by 'fünffache Gewebe' will find its due justification.

Dr. Hertel, though not entirely, is in his interpretation of the reference to Cāṇakya as *mahān* (Introductory verse 1, Kashmir reading). *Mahān* is a word which undoubtedly tends to denote, like its old Persian equivalent (*mahīšta*, cf. Skt. *mahattara*), rather worldly, than scientific, eminence, and no doubt the writer has in view Cāṇakya's political greatness. But whether we can proceed to argue for an authorship of the original work contemporary with Candragupta's famous minister, and whether a similar conclusion can be drawn from the implied references to wooden temples, demands a further consideration.

The Introduction to the present volume, which, together with the preface, fills 97 pages, has been partly anticipated in a paper now published in volume lx of the Journal of the German Oriental Society with the title *Über einen südlichen Textus Amplior des Pañcatantra* (see also the paper entitled *Das südliche Pañcatantra*, vol. lviii, pp. 1 sqq.). There Dr. Hertel was mainly occupied with the substance of the work. The present discussions relate chiefly to the MSS. which he was able to consult, and the textual relations between the five groups into which he divides them and between the archetype and the other recensions. Two of the recensions stand out above the rest, being represented by seven and by six MSS. respectively. The superiority of the available MSS. decides in favour of the second, which is accordingly represented in the present publication. What Dr. Hertel here places before us is a definite text of one of the chief recensions of the *Southern Pañcatantra*, accompanied (pp. 63–116) by a full conspectus of the readings of the MSS. exhibiting that recension, with which are incorporated the readings of the best representatives of another important recension *a*. We are dealing with the archetype, not of the *Southern Pañcatantra*, but of one of its recensions; we are restoring a corrupted text, and the editor has been obliged at every stage to decide at what point such and such corruptions originated, since it was necessary to "leave everywhere in the text metrical errors, linguistic oversights, and indubitable corruptions, where they are proved to have belonged to

the archetype" (p. lxxxiii). The reader will at times come upon expressions to which he will take exception; but for these, not Dr. Hertel, but an early copyist, is responsible.

How far has Dr. Hertel succeeded in his delicate task? A well-grounded answer to this question would demand a more careful examination of the critical material (pp. 63-116) than I have been able to give to it; no doubt it will be undertaken by some specialist in *Pañcatantra* studies. But we may affirm that the favourable opinion of the author's critical sagacity and method which will have been gathered from his previous publications is fully confirmed by his examination of certain specimen passages in pp. xxxv-lxxix of his Introduction. He here proves the existence of a number of gaps and corruptions in his present recension  $\beta$ , in the archetype of the whole *Southern Pañcatantra*, and in the original from which the latter was copied; and he affords ground for the conclusion that this original was derived from North-Western India, embodying a text closely akin to that of the Kashmir *Tantrākhyāyika*. It is no doubt possible to demur to some of his observations and conclusions. For instance, I am by no means convinced that on pp. xlvī-xlvīi he is right in ascribing to *sadbhāva* the meaning 'goodness'—'actuality' is the more usual sense—nor do I believe that the line

sarve tyājyā yaś ca kṛtyaṃ na vetti

ever read

tyājyā amī śaṭ sukṛtaṃ na vetti yaḥ

(pp. lvii-lix), since the word for 'grateful' is not *sukṛtañña*, but *kṛtañña*. But on the whole the conclusions of the Introduction seem to me thoroughly well grounded.

The text (pp. 1-60), drawn up in accordance with the principles indicated above, has been carefully corrected, and the type itself is clear and satisfactory, except for a somewhat inadequate discrimination of the vowels *i* and *o*, which give trouble in all *nāgarī* founts. I note one or two misprints, e.g. *yuddhe na* for *yuddhena* (l. 536) and *vimṛśya kārīṇaṃ* for *vimṛśyakārīṇaṃ* (l. 1698). In a few passages one is rather inclined to quarrel with the reading. Thus

in l. 139 *yathā tathyena* is approved ; but, considering that *th* and *dh* are easily confused in some southern alphabets, the *yādhātathyena* and *yādhātadhhyena* of I and H respectively seem sufficient ground for supposing that the original *yāthā-tathyena* was intact in the archetype of the present recension. Similarly, I should prefer *nītipathapayuktāḥ* to *nītipada°* in l. 141, and *āpātamātrasaundaryah* to *āpāda°* in l. 662. In ll. 912–13 we may perhaps recognize a corrupted śloka—

vyādhaś caikadinaiḥ dve dine mṛgasūkarau |  
kṣutkṣāmūrtham idānīm tām dhanurjyām bhakṣayiṣyāmi.

The work is published by the Leipzig Academy, and is dedicated to Dr. Stein. The *Tantrākhāyika* appeared in the same series with acknowledgments to Professors Windisch, Leumann, Hultsch, and other scholars, including Indian Pandits who have rendered valuable assistance. Though Dr. Hertel's writings show a few occasional traces of critical severity towards certain of his predecessors, we think that both the present publication and his ultimate edition of the *Textus Ornator* will not fail to receive the favourable attention which his fruitful labours thoroughly deserve.

F. W. THOMAS.

LATE BABYLONIAN LETTERS. Transliterations and Translations of a Series of Letters written in Babylonian Cuneiform, chiefly during the Reigns of Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A. (London: Luzac & Co., 1906.)

As a first attempt to give an idea of the contents of the small narrow unbaked tablets on which the Babylonians of later days wrote their correspondence, this is a very praiseworthy work. Though often trivial and unimportant, there is generally some redeeming point, such as an unusual word, a name, or a circumstance in connection with other things known, which makes the document worth notice, with a view to use later on.

Probably the first inscription translated is as important as any in the book. In this the king—possibly an Assyrian

ruler, and, if so, of earlier date than indicated on the title-page—sends to Šadûnu, asking him to take with him certain people who are named, and seek out what tablets were in their houses and in the temple Ê-zida in Borsippa, including all the rare inscriptions which he could find, and send them to him. Texts which did not exist in Assyria are especially asked for. In his introduction the author suggests that the king who gave the instructions may have been Aššur-bani-âpli, who, as is well known, was an enthusiastic collector of texts.

In many cases the letters merely refer to matters of business, as, for example, in the case of Bêl-uballiṭ to the priest of Sippar, whom he calls his ‘brother.’ He asks that Šullumā, who is going to his presence, may not be detained long, and he seems to make some arrangement with regard to the amount paid to him. Certain gold which had been sent by the priest seems to have been too little, and Bêl-uballiṭ appears to have applied it to another purpose. He says that he is sending Kulbau, who would indicate the amount of gold required, and he asks for a mana of ‘red gold’ to be sent. As *sāmu* could be applied to a dog, or to an ass, among other things, the translation ‘dark-coloured gold’ is to be preferred.

Another refers to work upon the vestments, seemingly, of the Sun-god and Bunene, who were worshipped at Sippar. In this he translates the word *nibiḫu* by ‘stoles,’ and *lubuš* by ‘robes.’ The former may stand for garments with borders, perhaps embroidered. These were for the months Adar and Nisan, probably in connection with ceremonies on account of the end of the old and the beginning of the new year. We have here one of the principal passages for the translation of the word *kapdu* as ‘speedily,’ which the author suggests (*kapdu šipātu takiltu<sup>m</sup> innanišši*, ‘speedily send us the blue cloth’).

The following is an especially interesting letter (No. 222):—

“ Letter from Gagâ to Ša-pî-Bêl, her father. May there be peace to my father; may Bel and Nebo bespeak the peace of my father.

"Why, before thee,<sup>1</sup> do I and my daughters remain in thirst for a letter? Rack thy brains then,<sup>2</sup> by Šamaš! Lo, why has Bêl-uballiṭ, before thee, taken away all my dates? When I spoke to Bêl-upaḥḥir, he said thus: 'Behold, thy dates are with Bêl-uballiṭ.' And Bêl-uballiṭ has not given me a single date. When I spoke to them thus: 'Give me the dates,' they said to me thus: 'Go and speak to the son of Dakuri<sup>3</sup> about it.' Again, when I spoke to them, (they answered) thus: 'Go and ask the gods.' I am looking to my lord—whatever the letter, let me hear word from my lord."

As an example of the more interesting of these inscriptions from a social point of view, the following (No. 155), of which I published the text with a translation in 1893, is worth notice:—

*Duppi Nabû-zēra-ibni ana Ugaraa Balaṭu Nabû-bêl-šumāti u Šamaš-udammīq âḫê-šu. Adû Nabû u Nanâ ana balaṭ napšāti ša âḫêa uṣalla.*

*Bêl-êpuš ša aganna-kunni âḫêa šûmanma dibbi-šu bi'îšûtu idibbubu, kî ša âḫêa ilî'u lusak-kitu. Šû ultu rêš aḡi kit âḫê âḫawēš nîni. Kî nakutti ana âḫêa altapra. Agâ lû-tâbat ša âḫêa ippuṣunu. Gabri šipirti ša âḫêa lûmur.*

Tablet of Nabû-zēra-ibni to Ugaraa, Balaṭu, Nabû-bêl-šumāti, and Šamaš-udammīq. Now Nabû and Nanâ for the preservation of the life of my brother I pray.

Bêl-êpuš, who is along with you, is my brother—whoever speaks evil words against him, as my brothers wish, let him be silent. As for him, from first to last brothers of each other are we. As a trouble<sup>4</sup> to my brothers I send. May what my brothers do be good. Let me see an answer to my letter from my brothers.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of 'before thee' (*ina pani-ka*), the author has, perhaps better, 'an 't please thee.'

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'beat thy head then,' *rêši-ka dîkê-ma*.

<sup>3</sup> Dakuri was the patronymic of a Chaldean tribe often mentioned in the historical texts.

<sup>4</sup> So the author. My translation of 1893 has "As a warning to my brothers I send this."

There is a useful index and vocabulary combined, but it is meagre as to details. The introduction is interesting, as it repeats the translations of the gems of the series. A few oath-formulæ are cited, and some special phrases, such as *kī nakutti altappar*, 'although I am sending what is an importunity'; *bél la isilli*, 'let not my lord be neglectful'; *bātu*, probably meaning 'to pass the time,' etc. If the renderings are in general freer than those given above, this only makes them the more readable.

T. G. PINCHES.

LIGHT ON THE OLD TESTAMENT FROM BABEL. By ALBERT T. CLAY, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Semitic Philology and Archæology, etc., in the University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company, 1907.)

This is an interesting account of discoveries in Assyriology, by one who knows the inscriptions well. The chapters include the antiquity of man, in which the author gives many reasons for placing the advent of the human race at a remote period. At the same time, he shows that, as the pavement of Ur-Engur at Niffer rested immediately upon the two-course brickwork of Naram-Sin, the supposition that there was no great interval between those rulers finds support, and the lower date for Sargon of Agadé, which has been put forward by certain Assyriologists, is justified. This would reduce Nabonidus's chronological period by about 1000 years. Between Naram-Sin's pavement and virgin-soil, however, thirty feet of accumulation was found, representing, it is said, between two and three millenniums. Six thousand years B.C. would therefore seem to be a moderate estimate for the foundation of the city of Niffer, where the Americans have excavated.

The story of the Creation and the Flood are again told, and well commented upon. The tower of Babel is correctly described, in accordance with the inscriptions, as the great *zigqurat* dedicated to Bel-Merodach, and not the traditional



Tower, the Birs-Nimroud. Simpson's striking restoration is reproduced, but its form does not agree with the indications of the Babylonian tablet which was for a time in the hands of the late G. Smith. Coming to the 14th chapter of Genesis, the author mentions the tablets containing the names of Tudhula, Eri-Ekua or Eri-Eaku, and Kudurlahgumal, and speaks of the identity of Eri-Aku with Rim-Sin.<sup>1</sup>

These, and many other points, are touched upon at length, and make the book a most useful one. His references to Jâma (= Yâwa) as the Hebrew Juhwah are exceedingly interesting, and many new names are added to the list which I published in 1892 and 1894-5.<sup>2</sup>

The book has about 120 illustrations, including some excellent pictures of the American excavations at Niffer, an ancient clay map of the north-east section of the city, another "showing towns, canals, and a road in the vicinity," and numerous reproductions of tablets. 'The Dragon of Babylon' has to yield to 'the Dragon of Nippur' in the humour of his appearance, if not in grotesqueness.

An excellent book, which even the specialist will read with interest.

T. G. PINCHES.

In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, vol. xxiii, No. 4, July, 1907, Professor Clay has an interesting article entitled "Ellil, the God of Nippur," in which he shows that a distinction has to be made between  and , the former standing for *En-lila*, *Enlil*, *Ellil*, or *Illil*, the *Illinos* of Damascius, and the latter for *Bêl*, 'the lord,' a title of Merodach as king of the gods, and of numerous other deities. This differentiates names which

<sup>1</sup> Concerning these rulers I said, some years ago, it seemed impossible that (as has been suggested) the tablets in question should refer to Tidal, Arioch, and Chedorlaomer, but not the same Tidal, Arioch, and Chedorlaomer as are mentioned in Genesis.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Nov. 1892, pp. 13-15; *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, 1895, p. 26.



represent their gods with the Sumerian type, but in features, beard, hair, and clothing, they were shown as Semites. At this period, also, the representations of the human form, as far as our knowledge goes, fall into two different sections, sharply distinguished, like the languages, from each other—the type of the Sumerians and that of the Semitic Babylonians—and are found in the monuments as late as the period of Hammurabi (2200 B.C.) and his successors. After the Sumerians had been subdued by the kings of Agadé, they recovered, under Ur-Engur (Sur-Engur) and his successors, the dominion of the land, as is shown by the title ‘king of Šumer and Akkad’—Šumer being the south and Akkad the north—which they bear. That north Babylonia was ever inhabited by Sumerians is unprovable, but is, on the other hand, as improbable as possible (*ist durch nichts erweisbar, sondern so unwahrscheinlich wie möglich*). Nothing can at present be said as to their origin and ethnic kinship. It is not unlikely that they came over the Zagros, as the fact that 𐎶𐎵 stands for both ‘land’ and ‘mountain’ shows. Not unnaturally it has come to be thought that they entered south Babylonia by sea—their inhabiting the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates would seem to give it probability, but it is only “wild hypotheses” which have brought them into connection with the Chinese.

But the author only brings material to enable correct conclusions to be arrived at, not to state hypotheses. For the rest, the book is exceedingly instructive. The bow was a Semitic weapon, unknown to the Sumerians; the horse was introduced into Babylonia only during the Kassite or Cossæan period; the expression ‘the black-headed people,’ i.e. race with black hair, can only designate the Semites, in contradistinction to the Sumerians; the occurrence of the pine-tree on cylinders and elsewhere is probably to be explained from the mountainous region of the Zagros having been subject to the kings of Agadé. Those who cannot agree with all the author’s conclusions will doubtless admit that he has studied his subject well, and that all his statements are worthy of the fullest consideration.

In addition to the plates, there are nearly 40 illustrations in the text, which add much to the value of the work, though some of them do not come out very well, and titles to them would have been an improvement. But the text is the important part, giving, as it does, new ideas, and for this the author has the thanks of the student of Assyrian.

T. G. PINCHES.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1907.)

### I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

*April 30th, 1907.*—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. E. H. Walsh,

Maharaj Kumar Sidkeong Tulku of Sikkim.

Major Gurdon read the following paper :—

#### THE KHASIS AND THE AUSTRIC THEORY.

The January number of the Journal of this Society contains a review by Dr. Grierson of the most recent work of Pater Schmidt on the Mon-Khmêr people and the Austric languages. The term *Austric* is, I believe, new to philological science, and it is applied, to quote Dr. Grierson, to “the most widely spread speech-family of which the existence has yet been proved.” The Austric tract extends “from the Panjâb in the west to Easter Island, off the coast of South America, in the east; from the Himâlaya in the north to New Zealand in the south.” This is a very great area to contemplate. We are now directly concerned, however, with only a portion of this language field, i.e. the Austro-Asiatic division and a part of the Indonesian group. Pater Schmidt in chapter iii of his recently published work has discussed incidentally some of the anthropological relationships of certain tribes of the Austro-Asiatic division. I propose now to attempt to carry this discussion further by introducing, what appear to me, some points of ethnical affinity between some of the tribes.

The Palaungs of Upper Burma, who have been called the first cousins of the Khasis of Assam, seem from the description of Mr. Lewis to greatly resemble them in the shape of the head, in facial characteristics, in the colour of the skin, hair, and in stature and physique (p. 3 of Mr. Lewis' note of 1906). For a description of the Khasis I would refer to pp. 2-6 of my monograph. The late Mr. Peal, who for many years was on terms of intimacy with the Eastern Nagas of Assam, writes that the Tirap, Namstik, and Soukap group of Nagas are strikingly like the Khasis in many respects, "the women being particularly robust, with pale colours, and at times rosy cheeks." The ethnographic survey of Assam, as regards the Naga tribes, is not yet complete, but we may hope before long to be able to make some further comparisons. The great mass of Naga tribes have been placed so long in the Thibeto-Burman group, I believe, purely on linguistic grounds. We have a detailed description by M. Aymonier of the physical characteristics of the people of French Indo-China (p. 333 et seqq. of vol. iii of "*Le Camboge*"). If these are studied, many points in common between the Khmêrs, the Khasis, and the Palaungs will be found. Turning to dress, we find in the interesting note of the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma quite a series of fashion plates of the costumes of the Palaung ladies. Some of the Palaung women, as depicted in Mr. Lewis' photographs, might easily be mistaken for Khasi females, the only difference being that the silver *torque* of the Palaungs is more exaggerated than the Khasi necklace, the *rupatylli*. It is noteworthy that the shape of both Palaung and Khasi neck ornaments is the same. The hood of the Khasi women is similar to some of those worn by the Palaung women, and there are the same gaiters. Some of the Palé women appear to wear cane girdles, very similar in character to that shown in the illustration, in Mr. Peal's paper, of the Naga girl of the Tirap-Namstik group. A point of great interest is that the Palaung female dress is designed to imitate the hood, the scales, and the coils of a snake. Mr. Lewis explains this peculiarity by the

prominence given by the Mon-Anam peoples inhabiting Burma and the Shan states to their reputed descent from Nāgas (dragons or serpents). Serpent worship was the ancient religion of the Mons, and the Khmêr remains in Cambodia (though no doubt largely Hindu) contain carved snakes, with immense hoods, in prominent positions. Some of these can be seen in the Trocadéro Museum in Paris and on p. 142 of vol. iii of M. Aymonier's work. There is still a survival of serpent worship amongst the Khasis in the well-known *thlen* superstition. The *thlen* is a fabulous snake which has the power of contracting and expanding, and is the guardian of the family treasure. It requires to be appeased at regular intervals by the sacrifice of human victims. It is not unlikely that the worship of the Kopili river by the Syntengs and the sacrifice to it of human victims was connected with the *thlen* superstition. Similar sacrifices by the ancient King of Angkor, in the Khmêr country, may also have had the same object.

Probably the most characteristic feature of the Khasis is matriarchy. Sir Charles Lyall writes: the Khasi social organization presents "one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable." No such customs, however, appear to be practised at the present day by the Palaungs (p. 11 of Mr. Lewis' note), and it does not seem from Sir George Scott's writings that the *Was* of Burma exhibit such phenomena, although the *Was* have been so far admittedly very imperfectly studied. Amongst the *Orang Laut*, however, one of the aboriginal tribes of the Malay peninsula, described by Messrs. Skeat & Blagden, the children belong not to the father but to the mother; this is the case with the Khasis. Mr. Pleyte writes to me from Batavia, that there are pure matriarchal customs to be found among the Minang Kabe Malays inhabiting the Padang uplands of Sumatra; in Agam, the fifty Kotas and Thanah Datar, more or less mixed with patriarchal institutions; they are

equally followed by the tribes inhabiting parts of Korinchi and other places. All these tribes fall within the boundaries of Pater Schmidt's Indonesian group. In this connection it is interesting to find in the work of M. Aymonier (p. 337) that matriarchy prevailed amongst the ancient inhabitants of French Indo-China. It is stated there, apparently on the authority of the Chinese writer Ma-touan-lin, that there were queens in the island of Hainan and in the ancient *Founan* (which for our purposes may perhaps be stated to be identical with the present kingdom of Cambodia and the French provinces of Indo-China). These queens appear to have been succeeded in the exercise of sovereign powers by their daughters, not by their sons, of which we have a parallel case at the present day in the succession to the office of Siem priestess of Nongkrem in the Khasi hills. Then there is the similarity in shape of the Khasi *mo-khiic*, or hoe (p. 12 of "The Khasis"), and the "shoulder-headed celts" of Forbes (which are also mentioned by M. Aymonier in vol. iii, pp. 331-332 of "Le Camboge"), unearthed not only in the Malay peninsula but also in Chota Nagpur. Mr. Peal found hoes similar in shape, although smaller in size, at Ledo and Tikak villages, actually in use. It is indeed curious that the Burmese name for the celts is *mo-gyo*, and that the Khasi name for the hoe of the present day is *mo-khiic*.

Another prominent Khasi feature is the *sang* or *taboo*. The question of *sang* arises in nearly everything the Khasis do, from the time they are born till the day when their ashes are deposited in the clan cromlech. *Sang* is the most important influence of their lives.

The *genna*, amongst the Assam tribes, which Mr. Hodson has very clearly described (see Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xxxvi, January-June, 1906), partakes largely of the nature of the Khasi *sang*, and, if I mistake not, of the great Polynesian taboo system also. The Cambodian *tam* or *trenam*, too, seems to resemble the Khasi *sang* and in some respects the Naga *genna*. A point which has struck me in reading Mr. Lowis' note on the Palaungs is that an

illustration to the report of the *Mission Parie* shows a village of *Kha Paille* (*Kha-Pai-Le* ?), a Mon-Anam hill tribe of French Indo-China with houses having V-shaped projections from the roofs. These are to be found amongst the Palaung hill villages also. But these V-shaped projections are to be seen in the illustrations of some of the *Nāga morangs*, or bachelor houses, and it is noteworthy that there are V-shaped *jemma* posts, and that there are some carved stone pillars of this shape amongst the remains at Dimapur in Assam. The Hos, who speak one of the languages of the Ho-Munda sub-group, although they do not show much physical resemblance to the Khasis, are in the habit of erecting menhirs and cromlechs very similar to the Khasi memorials, and the funereal ceremonies of the Hos, as described by Mr. Bradley-Birt, seem to much resemble those of the Khasis. It is interesting to note these points of ethnical agreement when we consider the linguistic connection between the Ho-Mundas and the Khasi-Mon-Khmêr.

The above are some of the points which would seem to indicate connection between the tribes I have referred to, and which would appear to support the theory of community of origin. We, however, require more data before we can come to definite conclusions on this most important point, and more especially with regard to the learned Pater's statement that the 'focus of the Austric dispersion' was situated in the extreme west of this great language field. With a view to continuing our studies in the comparative ethnology of these peoples, might I venture to suggest that anthropometrical measurements of as many tribes as possible which fall within the Austro-Asiatic group be carried out on some definite and scientific system such as that laid down by Sir Herbert Risley. It seems further desirable to continue the ethnographic survey of such tribes as the *Nāgas*, the *Akas* and *Dafflas*, and the *Abors* and *Mishmis*. Our knowledge of these tribes, some of which are of importance from a political point of view, is at present most imperfect. To me it seems possible that the Mon-Khmêr field extends really further north-east than the Khasi and

Jaintia Hills, but as regards this we must remain in the dark until the ethnographic survey of the Assam tribes is completed.

In the discussion which followed—

DR. GRIERSON said : The history of the development of the Austric theory is a romantic one. The serious study of the Malay languages and of their connection with Polynesia and Madagascar dates from 1836, when appeared Wilhelm von Humboldt's famous posthumous work on the Kawi language of Java. He was followed by a series of Dutch students, of which the name of Kern is the most illustrious.

In the meantime the Roman Catholic missionaries had been in Annam since the seventeenth century. The first comers compared Annamese to the twittering of birds, and gave up all hope of ever learning it. But they persisted and in time it was mastered, and for long was the only Mon-Khmer speech known in Europe. The next stage was the researches of Logan (1847-59) into Mon and its allied languages and into Khasi. Logan was before his time, and what he wrote was disfigured by wild theories which prevented the importance of his main proposition being recognized with the attention which it deserved. This was the ultimate relationship between, on the one side Mon-Khmer and Khasi, and on the other side the Munda languages of India proper. Scholars like Forbes and those of his school rejected it, and it remained despised and ignored till, in 1889, Professor Kuhn again took it up and for the first time put the study of Mon-Khmer on a firm basis. As regards its relationship to Munda he reserved his opinion.

The question remained at this stage till it was reopened by Pater Schmidt in the year 1901. Nothing in the history of modern philology is more interesting than the sudden leap of this scholar into fame. The commencement of the twentieth century will henceforth be a noteworthy landmark, for it was then that the most widely extended family of languages upon the earth was first recognized and described.

In 1901 the attention of scholars was suddenly seized by a remarkable work from the pen of a man hitherto almost unknown to Indian students. The work dealt with two of the aboriginal languages of Malacca, and exhibited a grasp of general principles, a sobriety of arrangement, and a familiarity with detail which, though it discussed two little-known and insignificant forms of speech, caused it to be accepted as a masterpiece. It was followed in quick succession by equally excellent treatises on Khasi and on the Mon-Khmer languages generally.

I need not say that these works were intensely interesting to everyone connected with the Linguistic Survey of India. They were fully utilized by Dr. Sten Konow in the preparation of the volume referring to the Munda languages. Working from the side of India proper he was able not only to confirm the truth of the common origin of the Munda and of the Mon-Khmer languages, but to show that there were still extant traces of an old Munda tongue existing in prehistoric times in Northern India right up to the hills of Kanawar in the Panjab. Early notice of these discoveries was forwarded to Pater Schmidt and assisted that scholar in the preparation of the crowning result of his researches, the work referred to by Major Gurdon, in which was promulgated the 'Austrie' theory.

As has been pointed out by Professor Kuhn in a review of Pater Schmidt's work, there have been many attempts at wide generalizations in philology, but few with any success. Most of us here have heard how attempts have been made to unite the Indo-European and the Semitic, the Semitic and the Hamitic, the Indo-European and the Ugro-Finic families, and how all these have been received with considerable scepticism. The same might have been expected with regard to Schmidt's Austrie theory, which unites in a common fatherhood languages (at first sight most different in structure) extending from near South America across the Pacific Ocean to the Panjab; but such has not been the case. Pater Schmidt's work has been so well founded on detailed study, and his marshalling of proofs has been so

convincing, that I have not come across a single discordant note in the chorus of praise with which it has been received.

That the Khasi language is a member of this Austric family is an established fact, of which Major Gurdon in his most interesting paper has given additional proofs. Pater Schmidt's work is a general survey embracing a whole host of languages, and when an expert like Major Gurdon tests his general conclusions with the aid of a practical and thorough knowledge of one of these languages, and finds the conclusions correct, we have a valuable contribution to philological science.

#### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 7th, 1907, Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali,  
Mr. Mahomed Azhare Ali,  
Mrs. Herringham,  
Mr. George Barclay Leechman,  
Mr. George Robb,  
The Rev. Edward Carruthers Woodley.

The Annual Report of the Council for the year 1906-7 was read by the Secretary. .

#### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1906-7.

The Council regret to report the loss by death of the following five members :—

Professor Bendall,  
Mr. G. Henderson,  
Mr. F. J. Horniman,  
Count Coudenhove-Kalergi,  
Mr. Coutts Trotter,

and by retirement of the following seventeen :—

Lord Amherst,  
 Mr. J. W. Best,  
 Mr. E. M. Cooke,  
 Dr. Rustamji Dadabhai,  
 Mr. W. P. F. Dorph,  
 Lieut.-Colonel Duke,  
 Mr. E. D. H. Fraser,  
 Hon. Dr. Rashbihary Ghose,  
 Professor G. K. Gokhale,  
 Mr. Gazanfar Ali Khan,  
 Mr. David Lopes,  
 Mr. A. R. Macdonald,  
 Mr. F. G. Hilton Price,  
 Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana,  
 Thakur Joonjar Singh,  
 Sir James Walker,  
 Mr. R. A. Yerburgh.

Under Rule 20 nineteen gentlemen cease to be Members of the Society :—

Mr. Mir Imdad Ali,  
 Mr. Z. Gauhar Ali,  
 Mr. Virendrenath Chattapadhyay,  
 Sheikh Abul Fazl,  
 Mr. F. M. Gratton,  
 Mr. Ganga Prasad Gupta,  
 Syed Asghar Husain,  
 Mr. K. I. Varugis Mapillai,  
 Mr. Harendra Krishna Mukherji,  
 Mr. W. Gorn Old,  
 Mr. Moung Ba Hla Oung,  
 Mr. H. B. Rae,  
 Babu Brajo Sundar Samnyal,  
 Syed M. Sheriff,  
 Bhārat Bhushan Lal Romesh Sinh,  
 Mr. Lim Chin Tsong,

Mr. M. N. Venketswami,  
 Pandit Gauri Datta Misra Vidyabhusana,  
 Mr. Mohamed Yunus.

Under Rule 21 twelve gentlemen cease to be Members of the Society :—

Mr. Dahyabhai Pitambaradasa Derasari,  
 Munshi Deviprasad,  
 Mr. Kunhi Krishna Menon,  
 Mr. Nagendra Nath Mukerjee,  
 Mr. Benoy Vohari Mukherji,  
 Mr. Satis Chandra Mukherjee,  
 Mr. Chiturb Madhanan Nair,  
 Mr. M. J. Philip,  
 Mr. Khierod C. Ray,  
 Mr. B. Suryanarain Row,  
 Mr. H. W. Stevens,  
 Rev. C. Valentine.

The following forty-four new Members have been elected during the year :—

Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyer,  
 Mr. Mahomed Shakir Ali,  
 Professor René Basset, Honorary,  
 The Maharaja of Burdwan,  
 Mr. Pashupatinath Chatterjee,  
 Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy,  
 Principal Harinath De,  
 Mr. Rustamji Faridoonji, I.C.S.,  
 Mr. William Edgar Geil,  
 Miss E. Grace Hammond,  
 Mr. Henry Harcourt, I.C.S.,  
 Mr. Frits V. Holm,  
 Mr. Changatharail Govarghese Idichandy,  
 Professor A. V. Williams Jackson,  
 Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal,  
 Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan,

Mr. Fritz Krenkow,  
 Mr. M. Krishnamacharya,  
 Mr. Parmeshwar Lall,  
 Dr. James William Lowber,  
 Mr. David Lawlor McCarrison,  
 Sir A. Henry McMahon, K.C.I.E.,  
 Dr. Fairman Rackham Mann, R.N.,  
 Babu Kedar Nath Mazumdar,  
 Mr. Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta,  
 Mr. Mounç Mounç,  
 Dr. Neil Gordon Munro,  
 Mr. M. T. Narasimhiengar,  
 Professor H. C. Norman,  
 Captain W. F. O'Connor, R A., C.I.E.,  
 Lieut.-Colonel D. C. Phillott,  
 Mr. David Lester Richardson,  
 Babu Brajo Sundar Sannyal,  
 Mr. Leonard John Sedgwick,  
 Mr. Pandeya Umapati Datta Sharma,  
 Mr. Gulab Shankar Dev Sharman,  
 Pandit Hirananda Shastri,  
 Thakur Shiam Sarup Singal,  
 Rev. Walter Henry Stapleton,  
 Captain John Stephenson, I.M.S.,  
 Mr. H. G. Stokes,  
 Mr. P. C. Tarapore,  
 Mr. R. B. Whitehead,  
 Mr. A. C. Woolner.

There is a numerical decrease of nine in the number of members, but, as will be seen by reference to the receipts from subscriptions, this does not involve a loss of income; on the contrary, the amount received for members' subscriptions in 1906 is £52 more than in the previous year.

The decrease in numbers is explained by the removal from the list of a large number who have failed for some years past either to pay their subscription or to take up election.

There is again a slight decrease in the number of Resident Members, 78 having paid £3 3s. as against 84 in 1905, but on the other hand 26 more members than in last year have paid the Non-Resident subscription. The total income shows an advance of £60 on that of last year.

On the expenditure side a large sum appears, spent on the thorough repairs of the house required to be done in accordance with the terms of the Society's lease. This heavy addition to the ordinary expenditure has been met, the Council are glad to say, out of the current year's income.

Owing to the resignation by Dr. Cust of the post of Honorary Secretary, the Council appointed Mr. Fleet to that office on November 13th, 1906.

During the year the Council have, in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute at Liverpool, undertaken the publication of a Monograph by Professor Sayce and Dr. Pinches on the important discovery of a Cuneiform Tablet at Yuzgat; and, in conjunction with the Folk-Lore Society, they have brought out the "Popular Poetry of the Baloches," by Mr. M. Longworth Dames, in two volumes.

A grant from the India Office, which was nearly enough to cover all the expenses of the work, enabled the Council to publish during the year one more Monograph, namely, Dr. Grierson's "Pisāca Languages of North-West India."

In connection with the Oriental Translation Fund, the work by Professor Barnett, the *Antagaḍa-dasāo* and the *Anuttaravavāiṇya-dasāo*, is now published, and forms vol. xvii of the series.

In the Indian Texts Series, the first work which was sanctioned by the Government of India in 1903 has appeared, namely, the first two volumes of "The Storia do Mogor" by Nicolao Manucci, translated by Mr. Wm. Irvine. The work will be complete in four volumes, and it is hoped that the remaining two volumes will be ready before the close of 1907.

The Society's Triennial Gold Medal for Oriental Scholarship was awarded to the Rev. Dr. Pope, for his distinguished services in the field of Tamil literature. This Medal was

presented to Dr. Pope on June 19th by Mr. Morley, Secretary of State for India, and on the same occasion the Society's Public School Gold Medal for 1906 was presented to Mr. L. F. Nulder, of Rugby School, for his essay on Hyder Ali. A full report of the proceedings appeared in the Society's Journal of 1906.

The Committee appointed by the Council in December, 1905, to examine the Rules and Byelaws of the Society with a view to revision, having prepared a draft in conjunction with the Honorary Solicitor, the Council submitted a set of the Revised Rules at a Special General Meeting of the Society on April 16th. The meeting was adjourned.

A Declaration of Trust for the Public School Gold Medal and the Prize Publication Fund, similar to that approved by the Society for the Triennial Gold Medal, was also laid by the Council before the Special General Meeting of April 16th, and was approved by that meeting.

The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be passed to Mr. A. H. Wilson, the Society's Honorary Solicitor, for the great attention he has given to these two matters.

The usual Statement of Accounts is laid on the table.

The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be passed to the Honorary Auditors, Mr. Irvine, Mr. Frazer, and Mr. Sturdy.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year 1907-8 are as follows:—

That the vacant office of Director should be filled, and that under Rule 28

Sir Raymond West

should be elected thereto.

Under Rule 28, Lord Stanmore retires from the office of Vice-President. The Council recommend the election of

Dr. Grierson

to the vacancy thus caused.

Under Rule 29, the Council recommend the re-election of  
 Mr. Kennedy as Honorary Treasurer,  
 Dr. Fleet as Honorary Secretary,  
 Dr. Codrington as Honorary Librarian.

Under Rule 43, the following ordinary members of Council retire:—Professor Browne, Mr. Dames, Dr. Hoernle, Mr. Irvine, and Mr. Thomas. Further, Professor Rapson has resigned, and another vacancy will be caused by the election of Dr. Grierson to be Vice-President.

The Council recommend the re-election of

Dr. Hoernle,  
 Mr. Irvine.

To the remaining five vacancies the Council recommend the election of

Mr. Amceer Ali,  
 Mr. Frazer,  
 Dr. Gaster,  
 Mr. Keith,  
 Mr. Pargiter.

MR. IRVINE: Lord Reay, ladies, and gentlemen,—It is with much pleasure I rise to move the adoption of the Annual Report, which has just been read. It shows a record of progress, not very rapid perhaps, but still progress. You will all agree that we are far from being in a condition of stagnation or decay.

I begin with *finance*. Taking the totals first, our income is £63 5s. better than in the previous year, while on the expenditure side there is an increase of only £19 3s. 7d. Thus we have a net advantage of £44 1s. 5d. on the year's working as compared with 1905. If we strike out from both sides of the account the sum of £485 16s. 1d., which is recouped to us from sub-letting and sale of our Journal, you will find that our real income is £1,044 18s. 5d., as against a net expenditure of £962 6s. 7d., that is, we have spent £82 11s. 10d. less than we have received. In short,

as we owe nothing, we are quite solvent, even on this one year's results. I need hardly point out what good management by our officers and staff is required to rent and maintain a house like this for £310 8s. 3d. (net) a year, and to publish a high-class quarterly Journal such as ours for £170 10s. 8d. net. Let me also call your attention to the fact, melancholy in one sense and gratifying in another, that £153 of our net rent-charges this year were due to the cost of extensive repainting and repairs.

As many of you know, we have an onerous lease and a somewhat exacting landlord, and it is a feat worthy of record that we have paid this heavy item out of income without trenching on our reserve. At last we have ceased to boast the dirtiest and dingiest staircase in the West End of London. One head under which I am glad to see increased expenditure is the Library. In 1906 we spent £47 1s. 5d., as against £26 0s. 6d. in the previous year. As we live, or are assumed to live, largely on books, this is not a very extravagant provision for our wants, and I should like to see it, if possible, increased. I have no doubt there are still many gaps in our collection which Dr. Codrington would gladly fill up if he had the funds.

*Audit.*—This year sees a new departure in the matter of audit. A professional auditor has been appointed for the first time. Many benefits will accrue from this change, and our hands will be strengthened. In any case, our Honorary Auditors will be spared much labour of a sort irksome to men unused to it.

*List of Members.*—Our next concern is with the list of members, a topic of vital importance in all societies. As the report has told us, we have suffered a numerical decrease of nine members. Not that either the deaths and retirements have increased, or the numbers of accessions have fallen off. Indeed, the hand of death has been laid more lightly on us than in 1905, for only five members passed away, while fifteen died in the year before. In 1905 twenty-seven, and in 1906 only seventeen, members resigned. Forty-four new members were elected last year, as compared with forty

only in 1905. Those figures ought to have left us with an increase on the list of twenty-two names. Why, then, this diminution of nine members? Alas! we have at last been forced to make a somewhat drastic use of Rules 20 and 21, leading to the removal of thirty-one names. The guillotine has fallen after many respites, and, as I have long advocated the clearing of your list, I need only drop a reluctant tear over the disappearance of the faithless thirty-one. There is still a considerable discrepancy between the total on our list and the number of members who have paid.

Total of members on List, excluding Libraries }  
 (82), Honorary and Extraordinary Members } 400  
 (31), and Commuted Subscriptions (87)—200 }

31st Dec., 1906.	Number on List.	Number shown in Account.	Difference.
Resident ... ..	80	78	2
Non-Resident ...	320	245	75
	<hr/> 400	<hr/> 323	<hr/> 77 <sup>1</sup>

These arrears are, as I personally know, most carefully looked after, and, with 77 members in arrears out of a total of 400 on the list, it can hardly be said that we enforce our rules with any harshness.

When dealing with our list of membership one reflection is forced upon us. With the thousands of Englishmen far above penury who have lived in the East, and probably still draw their means of livelihood from it, how is it that we can only find a paltry three hundred or so to show the small amount of interest in their former dwelling-place which is evidenced by paying thirty shillings, or even three guineas, to our Society? Were their imaginations never stirred by the strange scenes amidst which they passed some of the best years of their lives? Among all the subjects in which the human intelligence interests itself, what one is there that cannot be taken up in connection with Oriental research?

<sup>1</sup> Of course, all of these cannot be classed as defaulters, some having been elected too late in the year for them to have paid in their first subscription; in the case of others, the usual periods of grace have not expired.

The East teems with unanswered problems of the deepest importance, philological, historical, archaeological, legal, philosophical, ready for the investigator.

Here is occupation enough to attract minds of the most diverse proclivities, while the bounds set to our Society's activity are so wide that little connected with the East need be excluded from our operations. In connection with this subject I have had the curiosity to make a rough analysis of our list of members, and of the 518 persons in it I find 141 are Easterns, 59 are foreigners, and only 318 are English.

*School of Oriental Languages.*—One word more. Since the deputation to the Prime Minister on the question of establishing a School of Oriental Languages in London, we have heard nothing of what has been done. Has the Departmental Committee been constituted, and has it arrived at any conclusions? Perhaps our President will be able to tell us something on this subject, in which he has taken a profound personal interest for so many years.

MR. DENISON ROSS: I was much flattered by the invitation I received to second the adoption of the Report, and I beg you will pardon me if I take the opportunity to make a few remarks which do not bear upon the Report itself. I come here almost as a stranger; and I believe it is the first time that any member still resident in India has been asked to take part in the Society's anniversary meeting. While deprecating the present example, I am of opinion that the precedent is a good one, and one which, if adopted in future years, might add considerably to the attractiveness of such meetings. I, too, like Mr. Irvine, have worked out statistics, but with a different object in view. I find from the list of our members published in the April number of the *Journal*, 1907, that forty-four of them are actively engaged in India. Out of such a large number it is more than probable that a few would be found in England in May of each year, and it should not be difficult for the Secretary to discover who were at home at that date with a view to inviting one or other of them to speak at our anniversary meeting.

# ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

## RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<b>SUBSCRIPTIONS</b> ... ..				751	5	0
Resident Members—78 at £3 3s.	245	14	0			
Non-Resident Members—						
233 at £1 10s.	349	10	0			
12 at £1 1s.	12	12	0			
2 Subscriptions compounded	45	0	0			
Advance Subscriptions	51	9	0			
Arrears received	36	10	0			
Library Members—5 at £1 10s.	7	10	0			
	751	5	0			
<b>RENTS RECEIVED</b> ... ..				239	2	6
<b>GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE</b> ... ..				210	0	0
<b>JOURNAL</b> ... ..				246	13	7
Subscriptions	190	10	0			
Additional copies sold	44	14	10			
Sale of Index	1	12	6			
Sale of Pamphlets	1	19	6			
Advertisements	7	16	9			
	246	13	7			
<b>SUNDRY RECEIPTS</b> ... ..				26	11	5
<b>DIVIDENDS</b> ... ..				44	10	10
New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock	30	10	0			
Midland 2½ per cent. Stock	5	0	10			
Local Loan Stock	9	0	0			
	44	10	10			
<b>INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS</b> ... ..				12	11	2
Lloyds' Bank	10	1	2			
Post Office Savings Bank	2	10	0			
	12	11	2			
				1530	14	6
Balance as at January 1, 1906				291	9	11
				1822	4	5

## FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent.  
£212 8s. Midland 2½ per cent. debenture.  
£300 3 per cent. Local Loans.

# PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1906.

## PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ... ..				549	10	9
Rent ... ..	350	0	0			
Fire Insurance ... ..	10	0	0			
Repairs ... ..	153	0	7			
Gas and Water . . . . .	32	3	2			
Coal ... ..	4	7	0			
	<hr/>			549	10	9
SALARIES AND WAGES ... ..				291	18	0
JOURNAL ... ..				417	4	3
Printing ... ..	398	4	3			
Illustrations .. . . .	19	0	0			
	<hr/>			417	4	3
LIBRARY . . . . .				47	1	5
New Books ... ..	28	6	8			
Binding ... ..	18	14	9			
	<hr/>			47	1	5
DONATION TO PALE DICTIONARY ... ..				10	10	0
STATIONERY ... ..				23	2	1
POSTAGE ... ..				59	0	0
PETTY CASH ... ..				33	18	7
SUNDRY PAYMENTS .. . . .				15	17	7
	<hr/>			1148	2	8

Balance as at December 31, 1906 ... ..	371	1	9
	<hr/>		
	£1822	4	5

We have examined with the books and vouchers of the Society the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify that the said abstract is true and correct.

February 28th, 1907.

WM. IRVINE, for the Council.  
 E. T. STURDY, } for the  
 R. W. FRAZER, } Society.  
 A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A.,  
 Professional Auditor.

## SPECIAL FUNDS.

[illegible]

## SUMMARY

	£	s.	d.	Balances at Bankers—			
ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND—				Deposit Account	...	306	12 6
Balance as at January 1, 1906	...	...	5	Current Account	...	147	1 3
Surplus of Receipts over Payments for 1906	64	12	10				
INDIA EXPLORATION FUND—							
Balance as at January 1, 1906	...	...					
Surplus of Receipts over Payments for 1906	14	6	1				
MONOGRAPH FUND—							
Balance as at January 1, 1906	...	...	2				
Surplus of Receipts over Payments for 1906	...	...	2				
						182	17 4
						£453	13 9

We have examined the above Statement and Summary of Special Funds with the books and vouchers, and we hereby certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us a certificate verifying Stock

W. M. IRVINE, for the Council.	E. T. STURDY, for the
	R. W. FRAZER, } Society.

RECEIPTS.

PAYMENTS.

MEDAL FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, January 1, 1906	...	...	38 7 8	By Cost of Medal	...	...	22 0 0
" Dividends	...	...	9 15 0	" Sundry Payments	...	...	8 2 9
" Interest	...	...	14 0	Balance, December 31, 1906	...	...	18 13 11
			<u>£48 16 8</u>				<u>£48 16 8</u>

FUNDS—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.  
Irredeemable Stock, £325.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, January 1, 1906	...	...	13 11 3	By Cost of 5 Prizes and binding same	...	...	10 12 6
" Dividends	...	...	19 7 4	" Cost of Medal	...	...	5 0 0
" Donation, A. N. W.	...	...	1 8	Balance, December 31, 1906	...	...	17 12 9
" Interest	...	...	5 0				<u>£33 5 3</u>
			<u>£33 5 3</u>				<u>£33 5 3</u>

FUNDS—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.  
Irredeemable Stock, £645 11s. 2d.

We have examined the above Medal Fund accounts with the vouchers, and have verified the investments above described, and hereby certify that the said accounts are true and correct. February 28th, 1907.

A. N. WOLASTON,  
January 1, 1907.

WM. IRVINE, for the Council.  
( E. T. STURDY, ) for the  
R. W. FRAZER, ) Society.  
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A.,  
Professional Auditor.

With regard to the Society, I think we may congratulate ourselves on a very satisfactory Report. I need not remind you that the management of our affairs is in the most capable and experienced hands. In our President, Lord Reay, we have all that we can desire; and it would be difficult for me to add anything to what has been said of him on so many occasions in these rooms. We all know what a busy man he is, and how much time and thought he nevertheless devotes to the meetings and other demands of the Society. If last night in the remarks he made at our very successful dinner he had at the back of his mind the idea of leaving us soon, I hope that the cries of "No, no!" which those remarks evoked will have caused him to renounce any such intention. As for our Secretary, Miss Hughes, she must be growing weary of the well-merited praise she is always bringing down on her own head. In any case, we all realise that we owe her a deep debt of gratitude. The Journal seems to maintain a consistently high level of excellence, and yields, I should say, to no other learned Journal in the esteem it everywhere commands. In this respect—and the Journal is the lifeblood of the Society—we have nothing to fear so long as we include among our regular contributors such scholars as Professors Browne and Margoliouth and Drs. Grierson and Pinches, to mention only a few.

I should now like to say a few words about India. When I first arrived in that country it struck me that although India had produced Sanskritists among the Hindus who could compare in scholarship, as we understand it, with the most distinguished European professors—I need only quote the name of Professor Bhandarkar as an example—very few Indian Moslem scholars in recent times had made any valuable contribution to the study of Muhammadan history and literature. This circumstance may be attributed partly to the Muhammadans themselves and partly to the European scholars who have lived and studied in India. It seems to me that while the European Sanskritists had sown the seeds of critical scholarship in India, the Islamic scholars had

made no attempt to do so. Such men as Sprenger and Blochmann owed much to the assistance of learned Maulavis, but they seem to have made no attempt to inspire young Indians to follow in their footsteps or to found a school of research. At any rate, their residence in India appears to have done very little to advance Islamic studies among the Maulavis. And yet the material they might have worked upon is of the best: for the fact that we owe to India the finest works of Arabic lexicography shows that the capacity for research is there, while it must be remembered that the Maulavi is trained in the Arabic language from a very early stage, and that by the age at which the European student usually first opens his Arabic grammar the Indian Maulavi has completed a nine or ten years' course in the most important branches of Islamic literature. The reason, then, for this dearth of original research is not the absence of learning, but the fact that the energies of Indian scholars have been directed in narrow channels. The same books are studied from generation to generation, and while certain works are known backwards and forwards, and with commentaries upon commentaries, the field of study is strictly confined, and as a rule the rest of one of the richest classical literatures in the world is totally ignored.

I believe that if the spirit of research could be inculcated in the rising generation of Indian Maulavis, their latent energies would be aroused and their happiness greatly increased. One has only to examine a catalogue prepared by a Maulavi to realise how little has been done to teach them what the true value of scholarship is. Let me quote one example only from a catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah—a catalogue which on my arrival in India I only just saved from appearing in print.

Cat. No.	Name of MSS.	Author's Name.	Subject.	Condition of MS.
410	Diwān-i-Sahmī	Unknown	Literature (Poetry)	382 pages; incomplete and old.

In most libraries of Persian and Arabic works, MSS.,

lithographs, and printed books are grouped together, and it would seem that the most important entry in the catalogue was the column which states under which of these catalogues the work in question falls.

It seemed to me that an important work lay before anyone who, instead of editing texts himself, would teach the young Maulavis the methods and objects of a *catalogue raisonné*. Such considerations as these led me as Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah to form a little class for Islamic research, to which were invited some of the best students in the Arabic Department of the Madrasah. We began on the MSS. of the Madrasah Library, a catalogue of which duly appeared under the names of two of the young Maulavis. In addition to their purely Oriental studies, several of these young men have taken up French and German, realising how much of importance had been written in these languages on Islamic literature and history. Now my principal reason for telling you all this is that I have a serious proposal to make. The proposal is that the Government of India and our Society should in some way provide funds whereby one or two of these young scholars could be brought over to England, and, under suitable control, be allowed to work at the British Museum, and to spend some time at Oxford or Cambridge, where they might benefit by the guidance and influence of such scholars as Professors Brownie and Margoliouth. One or two years thus spent in England would teach them the true methods and aims of modern scholarship, and enable them to inculcate these methods and aims in their fellow-countrymen on their return to India. Many Maulavis of the present generation are tired of the old traditional studies, and I am convinced that with the needful training they would become enthusiastic scholars and do excellent work. With these words I beg to second the adoption of the Report.

LORD REAY: The Report has been moved and seconded in two interesting speeches, and little remains for me to say. I wish to take up at once the suggestion made by Mr. Denison Ross, whom we are all glad to see here; we

know what excellent work he is doing in Calcutta. His suggestion to bring over a few young men for training seems to me excellent. I entirely agree with what he has said about the importance of Islamic studies. An Encyclopædia of Islam is being prepared, and the assistance of young men such as those to whom he has referred might be of great importance. I think the idea might be carried out also on a larger scale. I am not aware whether this meeting knows that at the Berlin Board of Trade two natives of India are engaged and employed; the results of this activity are shown in statistics by the ever-increasing number of German imports into India. I will give you an illustration. As you are aware, there is an office in the City, in Basinghall Street, I believe, which is intended to give advice to British exporters. I am sure that the presence in this office of some natives of India who would give information of special articles required would be very desirable. Here is a striking instance of what is meant. Matches are imported into India. German matches contain on the lid of the box a picture of some Indian deity. If these compete with Bryant & May's matches, you can easily understand that the Indian will prefer to buy those that have a picture of one of his deities on the box. It is a small matter, but it shows the causes which make for success or defeat in trade.

With regard to the past year, I am happy to say that its history is the same as that of other years. For many years past the Society has been surely though slowly improving, showing annually an increase in income. This year is no exception, and the Society is to be congratulated on a very substantial increase. This happy result is due to the greater appreciation of the work of the Society, and especially to the fact that the Journal is more widely read. But I endorse what Mr. Irvine has said about the number of resident members; it is not satisfactory, and ought to be increased.

I wish to allude to the wide field covered by our Journal. It is a pleasure to see Professor Sayce's name again amongst our contributors, and to welcome from him one more article on the Van inscriptions. Professor Browne has continued

his investigations into the lives of Persian poets, and Professor Nicholson has contributed an article dealing with the biography of famous Persians, and to him also is due an important paper on Sufism. Mention was made last year of the importance of the Pahlavi texts which Professor Mills continues to translate for the Journal, and of which two appeared during the year. Mr. Amedroz, in a scholarly article, identifies as a work of Al-Jauzi a MS. hitherto unidentified. Among the several important articles by Mr. Fleet attention should be drawn to his reading of the inscription on the Piprahwa vase. We are always glad to receive contributions from our foreign members, and we welcome the name of M. de la Vallée Poussin among our contributors. He contributes an important and interesting article on some intricate points of Buddhist metaphysics.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Gibb Trustees, who kindly gave for the use of the Journal the copies of the portrait of the Emperor Baber, which appeared with M. Blochet's review of the Babar Nama.

I now turn to the Oriental Translation Fund. We have here on the table to-day the new volume of the Oriental Translation Fund by Dr. L. D. Barnett, Professor of Sanskrit at University College. It is the first, and I trust that it is the precursor of many more translations of the Jain Prakrit works, for the knowledge of which so little has yet been done.

The year has been richer than usual in works in the Monograph Series. The money available for monographs is less than the Council would wish, but, in co-partnership with the Liverpool Archaeological Institute, the Tablet from Yuzghat, by Professor Sayce and Dr. Pinches, has been published. This book, incomplete though its results naturally must be until more is known, is yet a long step in the direction of elucidating an important subject with far-reaching bearings upon the early history of the Near East. Mr. Dames, whose knowledge of the Balochi language is unrivalled, has produced a text and translation of the Folk Songs of the Balochis, a work valuable from a philological as well as an ethnological standpoint.

The wide scope of Dr. Grierson's *Piśāca Languages of North-West India* and the labour it has involved can be seen by even a cursory glance at the dialects of which he treats. With Dr. Grierson it is a labour of love. We are glad that his signal services have been recognised, and that a grant from the India Office has enabled the Society to publish the work.

In the Indian Records Series of the India Office there have been published two volumes by the late Dr. Wilson and three volumes by Mr. Hill.

With regard to the Indian Texts Series under our own control, on the proposal made by Professor Rhys Davids we addressed the Government of India in 1900, and they accepted the proposal for a grant for five years, and two volumes have just been published of the *Travels of Manucci, the Portuguese, in the East*; two more, it is hoped, will be ready by the end of this year. I heartily congratulate Mr. Irvine on his thorough and scholarly work. It is appropriate that the series should be opened by so competent an author as Mr. Irvine, who has done much in these volumes to elucidate many points in history, religion, and customs which hitherto have not been clearly understood.

And now I will answer Mr. Irvine's enquiry as to the School of Oriental Languages. A committee was appointed a fortnight ago; it took some time, but it is now an accomplished fact. I have the honour to be chairman of the committee, and its members are Lord Redesdale, Sir Alfred Lyall, Mr. Guest, of the Board of Education, and Sir Thomas Raleigh. I think that the success of the committee is guaranteed because it is small, for my experience in these matters is that small committees arrive at results more quickly than large ones. The Prime Minister himself took a special and personal interest in the matter, and was desirous that all Oriental interests should be represented. The committee has not met yet, but a meeting will be arranged as soon as possible. After that there will be no delay, and the committee will work strenuously.

Our best thanks are due for the valuable services rendered

*throughout the year by our Secretary, Miss Hughes. We all know the unvarying courtesy with which she deals with the many enquiries that are made; her assiduity and devotion to the interests of the Society are appreciated by all. Also to Dr. Codrington we tender our thanks; his care of the library is beyond all praise. I need not add more to what I have said, and now ask you to adopt the Report by signifying your consent in the usual way.*

As you are aware, the office of Director of the Society is vacant; the Council have thought it wise to nominate Sir Raymond West for the office. It is unnecessary for me to mention the claims of Sir Raymond West. He has occupied a most distinguished position in India, and his nomination will, I am sure, meet with unanimous approval.

Lord Stanmore retires from the office of Vice-President after three years' service, and in nominating Dr. Grierson for the office we feel that it is some recognition of the valuable services he has rendered.

You will be pleased to hear that the Royal Asiatic Society's Public School Medal has been awarded this year to Mr. A. P. Waterfield, of Westminster School. Westminster came near to winning the Medal last year, and we are glad that this year the school has succeeded.

My next duty is to refer to two losses suffered by the Society since the beginning of the year, and not, therefore, included in the losses by death for 1906. The first is my predecessor as Governor of Bombay, Sir James Fergusson. As his successor I had occasion to appreciate his work, and can bear record that he was a most energetic Governor. He had a varied career, and was at one time Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He left our shores in perfect health, as vigorous as ever, and it is painful that, after an official career in many parts of the British Empire, his death should have been caused by so tragic an event as the earthquake in Jamaica. I suggest that a letter of condolence from the Society be sent to his son.

The other loss is that of Professor Theodor Aufrecht, at the advanced age of 86. During his long life he rendered

distinguished service to Oriental scholarship; he assisted Professor Max Müller at Oxford in his great edition of the *Rig-Veda*; probably his greatest work was his Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Bodleian Library. He occupied the Chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology founded by Sir William Muir in Edinburgh, where Dr. Eggeling succeeded him when he went to Bonn to take the corresponding Chair at the University. The excellent work which he accomplished through his catalogues and indices will ever be remembered with gratitude by scholars. He received from our own and other Oriental Societies on the Continent the honorary recognitions due to so distinguished a scholar. I think his record of work is almost unparalleled in the history of scholarship, and it is only right that we should send to his widow, who is our country-woman, a message of sincere condolence.

The Council have decided to fill up the vacancy, and it is with much pleasure that I propose that he should be succeeded on our roll of honour by another distinguished German scholar. I refer to Professor Eggeling. He was a pupil of Professor Weber in Berlin, and came to England early in the seventies. He was Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was engaged to catalogue the Sanskrit MSS. of the Society about 1875—a work which is still in progress. He also catalogued with Professor Cowell the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society. He translated the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* in the “Sacred Books of the East,” a great work in five volumes. Professor Eggeling succeeded Professor Aufrecht at Edinburgh in 1875, and it is a curious and interesting coincidence that he now succeeds him as Honorary Member of our Society. His reputation in Germany is such that his election will be hailed as an appropriate recognition of good work done.

The election of Professor Julius Eggeling as an Honorary Member was carried unanimously.

The President then put the Report, which was carried unanimously.

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*May 29th, 1907.*—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

#### PRESENTATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS GOLD MEDAL.

LORD REAY: Lord Elgin, ladies, and gentlemen,—We are always very pleased annually to have this interesting ceremony of conferring the Public Schools Medal on the fortunate school and on the still more fortunate boy who has obtained it. The value of the medal is enhanced by the fact that the winner receives it at the hands of so distinguished a statesman as His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies and ex-Viceroy of India, Lord Elgin. We are, I am sure, exceedingly indebted to Lord Elgin, one of the most hard-worked members of a hard-worked Cabinet, for coming to meet us here to-day. You are aware that this year Westminster School obtains the medal. This is fortunate for many reasons. First, the school has not hitherto won any of the other competitions; the medal has been given to various schools; some have not yet received it; but it has not gone to the same school twice. This shows how keen is the competition for the medal. In 1904 it was won by Merchant Taylors', in 1905 by Eton, in 1906 by Rugby, and now, in 1907, by Westminster. It is very appropriate that it is given this year to Westminster. I will give only a few of the names of those, distinguished in India, who were educated at Westminster: Warren Hastings, Farwell, Impey, Lord William Bentinck, who was Governor-General; General Dowdeswell and Lord Combermere, who were Commanders-in-Chief in India. During the last half-century there were half a dozen Strachey's educated at Westminster, and ten—I am not sure that I could not go further and say a dozen—Waterfield's. Mr. A. P. Waterfield, the winner of the medal to-day, is continuing the eminent traditions of his family; I hope he will add to the lustre of the Waterfield tradition. I may also mention Archbishop Cotton as an old Westminster boy.

In the matter of our Public Schools Medal we go rather

beyond the object of our Society, but the Society feels that it could not do better work for India than by giving encouragement to the study of Indian history in the public schools of this country. History is a particularly attractive subject to most boys, and no study is more educative in its influence. We hear a great deal of the imaginative faculty being developed in our boys. Some nations do not want that faculty to be developed; they want it rather to be guided. Our friends of the *Eutente Cordiale*, for example, I should say, are under no great necessity to develop it, but the imaginative faculty everywhere should be made to flow in proper channels. There is no country which has a more interesting history than our own; it is a disappointing circumstance that greater care is given to this teaching in other countries than here. In the latter years of its existence the London School Board made strong efforts to have history taught in all its schools. Boys in our public elementary schools have often greater knowledge of history now than those who are educated in private establishments.

The history of England, Scotland, Ireland, India, and the Colonies is full of dramatic incidents. I cannot conceive any novel of greater interest than the history of the component parts of the British Empire. The study of history is all-important in almost every profession. Indian history certainly ought to be thoroughly mastered by those who in any official capacity will be called upon to rule. Retired members of the Indian Civil Service (of whom I am glad to see so many in this room) will be the first to admit that had there been such a medal in existence in their school-days, and had more importance been given to history, in their career they would have reaped the results of that preliminary training. It is most fortunate that the governing bodies of our public schools have now recognised this deficiency. You will presently have the opportunity of hearing the testimony of the Headmaster of Westminster of the value of the study of history from the educative point of view. We are too apt to forget the impossibility of understanding the nations we are called upon to govern—nations whose customs and ideas

are entirely different from our own—unless we have the key to the present situation, which must be found in the roots of their history. Some of our Indian fellow-subjects will appreciate the knowledge imparted here to those who will be called upon to govern in India. To them the knowledge of their own history is all-important, but we also have to recognise it as an essential factor in our schools. In the preparatory training of Colonial officers of other countries great care is taken to give them the knowledge of the history of those Colonies they are to govern. With us it is a duty—it is more, it is a privilege—to have such a history as that of India, out of which so many lessons may be gathered for our statesmen. No one deserves the name of a statesman unless he is versed in the history of his own and of other countries. This must be felt by everyone on whom is cast the responsibility of guiding the destinies of the British Empire.

I will not prolong my remarks; you have come here to listen to my noble friend, Lord Elgin. I will therefore call upon him to address you before he gives the medal to Mr. Waterfield.

LORD ELGIN: Lord Reay, ladies, and gentlemen,—There was one sentence at the end of Lord Reay's address which filled me with apprehension, because he declared that you are assembled here to listen to an address from me. I did not understand that this was to be the nature of our relations. I understood that Lord Reay would do all the work, while my part in the proceedings was to be the pleasant duty of handing the medal to the gentleman who had won it. I am, however, much obliged to the Royal Asiatic Society for their invitation to me to attend here to-day; I recognise that it is a specially interesting occasion. One sees the use of a fund entirely contributed by natives of India to be competed for in the public schools of Great Britain; this is probably unique, and it is certainly a very gratifying fact. We are sometimes apt to congratulate ourselves on the benefits we confer on the countries with which we are brought into contact. Here is evidence which we must welcome; it shows that the natives of India who

have contributed to this fund reciprocate in the matter of benefits conferred. The Chairman spoke of the benefits derived from the study of history; I shall not follow him in that interesting subject. It is, however, very gratifying that the medal has induced so many public schools to take part in the competition. I am not quite sure in what way the selection of candidates is made, but I have no doubt it is known to most of you present and could be explained by the distinguished Headmaster of Westminster. It seems from the list I have seen that a considerable number of representative schools have taken part this year. The history of the fund shows that the destination of the medal is carefully chosen, and it is distributed in such a way as to increase the advantages arising out of the competition. It goes this year to a school which has not won it before. For my part, if I had to express any predilection of my own, there are two schools I should mention: Eton and Glen Almond. Eton has already succeeded in winning the medal; I hope Glen Almond will succeed in winning it some day. Short of those two schools, I feel great pleasure in finding that the old school at Westminster has been successful. From Lord Reay's statement of the connection of Mr. Waterfield's family with India we all congratulate him most heartily on thus acting up to the tradition of his family.

I had the ambition to have been able to say to this meeting that I had read Mr. Waterfield's essay, but honestly I confess that time has failed me for the accomplishment of the whole of the task, so I must congratulate him on the unreserved manner in which those who have examined the essays have declared in favour of his. I hope it is only the forerunner of many successes in his future career.

DR. GOW, Headmaster of Westminster School: Lord Reay, Lord Elgin, ladies, and gentlemen,—I am called upon to do for Mr. Waterfield what he is exceedingly competent to do for himself, that is, to thank the Royal Asiatic Society for their liberality in giving this prize and for their extreme sense of justice in awarding it to Westminster. You have come here, I know, to hear Lord Elgin, not me, and I am

surprised to be called upon to speak; but I will be brief. There are one or two things I should like to say to this assembly so deeply interested in the study of Indian history. It is only a few days since the schools of this country were waving the national flag and cheering it in celebration of Empire Day. Most of the children were told what that cheering was for—told, I hope, that the Union Jack stands for justice and liberty, that wherever that justice and liberty prevail, the spirit of enterprise and ingenuity is fostered in the people governed, and this enterprise and ingenuity, based upon justice and liberty, have made the British Empire of to-day. It was a large lesson to get into twenty minutes, which was, I believe, the allotted time. It is quite possible that some of the children did not carry away the whole of it, and it needs to be rubbed in by future study. Efforts have been made for this further rubbing in. I would mention that of the late Mr. Beit, who founded at Oxford a professorship of Colonial history, now held by my friend Dr. Grant, a Canadian. This Society, too, makes an effort to induce the young people of England to study the growth of our Empire by setting an annual essay on the history of India—the possession of ours which has the most romantic history and which presents the most stupendous dangers and gravest responsibilities.

I am asked by Lord Elgin to say how the selection of the prize-winner is made. The subject of the essay is set and a number of public schools enter. The Headmaster receives the essays of his own school and chooses the best. These are sent to the Royal Asiatic Society, and the best of these selected best essays has the medal. In Westminster School this year we had five essays sent in: they were all pretty good, but Mr. Waterfield's was the best. Besides those five sent in there were five abortive attempts—boys who thought they would go in for the competition and began reading, but did not go on to the end. There were, you see, ten boys interested in the subject, and this is about the case each year. Suppose this to occur in twenty schools; you will see that by this little competition some two hundred boys of the

better class, likely to take part in the governing of India, or at any rate in the management of important affairs in their own country, are seriously interested in the study of Indian history, and will go on to read more because of this effort of the Royal Asiatic Society. This great work is done by small means. I am sure you will agree with me that the gentlemen—Mr. Wollaston is one of them, and I name him because he tells me that this is his last year at the India Office—who are responsible for this happy result are to be congratulated upon the success achieved and upon the happy thought which induced it. It is useful to the country at large, but particularly valuable to the schools in which the competition is held.

This year, by a happy coincidence, the medal is won for an essay on Warren Hastings by a boy belonging to the school of Warren Hastings, a boy who sleeps in the same dormitory, passes through the same gateway, and says his prayers in the same room as did Warren Hastings. I should have been disappointed if the medal had gone this time to another school. We have a large silver cup at Westminster given to the King's Scholars, of whom Mr. Waterfield is one, by old Westminster scholars in India whose names are inscribed upon it. The first is that of Warren Hastings, and on the second line is that of Sir Elijah Impey. The traditions of Westminster are strongly connected with the romance of the conquest of India, and it is a particular pleasure to us that the prize to-day has gone to one of our alumni. Next year the subject of the essay will be Lord Clive. Clive had no schooling. Glen Almond was not founded when Clive was a boy, so we can allow a Glen Almond boy to carry off the prize, on condition that Lord Elgin comes again to present the medal. It is also a particular pleasure that the medal to-day should be given by so distinguished an ex-Viceroy, the son of a distinguished Viceroy, as Lord Elgin. It is not my duty to thank Lord Elgin for his presence here to-day, but I should like to express the pleasure it gives me. I must apologise for having detained you so long, but I wished to point out

the value of the competition. My hope is that it may long continue and flourish.

LORD REAY: I have still another pleasing duty to perform, which is to ask you to give a cordial vote of thanks to Lord Elgin for his presence here to-day. I was much interested in his mention of Glen Almond in his speech, because I am afraid that Glen Almond is not yet on the list of competing schools. We will accept the hint and write to ask Glen Almond to compete for the Clive essay. I also admired the generosity of the Headmaster of Westminster in his wishes for the success of Glen Almond next year. No subject is of greater interest than Lord Clive, especially as you are aware that attempts are being made to correct the omission that no statue of so distinguished a man as Lord Clive has been erected in India or here. That essay will have great actual value when it appears.

Dr. Gow gave some details of the competition; I am not quite satisfied that the number of boys interested in it should be restricted to those he has mentioned. I would express a strong hope that the number of boys who take part in the competition should be largely increased. It is useful as a direct influence at the time, but it is useful for the further study of history. Obviously, those who have taken part in this competition will not give up the study when the competition is over; this will not be the last essay that Mr. Waterfield will write; he will, I am sure, continue his study of history, and derive great pleasure from it in the future.

Dr. Gow has stated that we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Wollaston, who was able to obtain the necessary funds for this medal. I cordially agree with him. I cordially agree, too, with what fell from Lord Elgin, that we ought to give hearty recognition to our Indian fellow-subjects who have provided those funds. It is a great pleasure to us to feel that Indians themselves recognise the importance to them, as well as to us, that a better knowledge of the history of their country should be inculcated here. Any appeal, such as this, made to Indian Princes and Chiefs for funds

for research or public and useful work, always meets with the greatest success. It shows how desirous they are to contribute to the improvement of the great Indian Empire. I move a cordial vote of thanks to Lord Elgin.

MR. A. N. WOLLASTON, in seconding the vote of thanks to Lord Elgin, said: My Lord President, Lord Elgin, ladies, and gentlemen,—To say that it is a privilege for me to do this is commonplace; it is a proud opportunity for me to be able to express my appreciation of all the kind words that have been said about me. Those who have studied Shakespeare intimately know that he was never able to say much more than “I thank you and again I thank you!” Where Shakespeare failed I need not fear to follow. I should like to say with regard to the fund that the interest on the money received pays the whole expenses of the prizes and medal for seven great public schools in England. We thought, however, that we might extend the system, and with Lord Reay’s approval the competition is now open to every public school in the whole of England if it will pay for its own prizes. Out of the handful of rupees we received from India it is not possible for us to undertake to meet all the expenses of prizes that might be won in large numbers of schools, but if the schools will defray the cost of their own winning essay we are only too glad for them to join the competition for the medal. I should like this to be reported throughout the length and breadth of the land. Glen Almond, I may say, has agreed to enter the competition under these conditions, and of course it may chance that it will be awarded the medal next year.

LORD ELGIN, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said: Lord Reay, ladies, and gentlemen,—I am much obliged to you for the very kind vote of thanks you have passed to me. What Mr. Wollaston has said has relieved me from an ambiguous position. I found I had quoted my old school incorrectly. I think that Dr. Gow paid me a backhanded compliment when, referring to Warren Hastings having been educated at Westminster and to a Westminster boy having won the medal this year, he went on to say that

Clive had no schooling at all, and therefore the medal might go to Glen Almond next year ! I thank you very much.

*June 4th, 1907.*—Dr. Thornton, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Fleet read a paper on "The Inscription on the Sohgaure Plate." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Grierson, Dr. Hoey, Mr. Irvine, and Mr. Whitworth took part. The paper appears in this number of the Journal.

*June 18th, 1907.*—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G.,  
 Mrs. Nolini Banerji,  
 Captain S. Morton,  
 Mr. Riou Grant Brown, I.C.S.,  
 Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S. ret.,  
 Mr. Shah Moniruddin Ahmad,  
 Mr. Syed Ibn Ali,  
 Mr. A. Tun On,  
 Mr. Mahabir Prasad,  
 Mr. A. Mahadeva Sastri.

Mr. Kennedy read a paper on "The Child Krishna, Christianity, and the Gujars." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Grierson, Mr. Irvine, Mr. Fleet, and Mr. Keith took part. The paper will appear in the October number of the Journal.

## II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

### I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Bd. lxi, Heft 1.

Hertel (J.). Ueber einen südlichen *textus amplior* des  
 Pañcatantra.  
 Goldziher (I.). Die Dogmatische Partei der Sälimijja.

Schmidt (R.). Amitagati's Subhāsitasamdhā.  
 Ochser (Sch.). Sidra di Nischmata.

II. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xxi, No. 1.

Bartholomae (Chr.). Zur Rechtschreibung des Buch-  
 pahlavi : pāhrēxtan oder pahr-ēxtan.  
 Hrozny (Fr.). Der Obelisk Manistusu's.

III. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série x, Tome ix, No. 1.

Fossey (C.). L'assyriologie en 1904.  
 Lévi (S.). Anciennes Inscriptions du Népal.  
 Pelliot (M.). Les Âbdāl de Paināp.

IV. TONG PAO. Série II, Vol. viii, No. 1.

Forke (A.). Ein Islamisches Tractat aus Turkestan.  
 Bonifacy (M. le Commandant). Etude sur les Tay de la  
 rivière Claire au Tonkin et dans la Chine méridionale.  
 Frankfurter (O.). A proposed Change in the Siamese  
 Era, Chulasakaraj 1000 (A.D. 1638).  
 Lévi (S.). Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna.

V. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY.  
 Vol. xxix, Part 3.

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 Legge (F.). The Tablets of Negadah and Abydos.  
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 Pilcher (E. J.). The Himyaritic Script derived from the  
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Crum (W. E.). Baršaumâ the Naked.  
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 Nash (W. L.). Notes on some Egyptian Antiquities.  
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 Chabour.

VI. JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.  
Vol. ii, No. 9.

Phillott (Lieut.-Col. D. C.) and Azoo (R. F.). Some Arab Folk Tales from Hazramaut.

Shepherd (Col. C. E.). Proposed correction with regard to the reading of an inscription on some of the Suri Dynasty Coins

Venis (A.). Notes on the so-called Mahipāla Inscription of Sarnath.

VII. JOURNAL OF THE CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. 1906. Vol. xix, No. 57.

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VIII. CALCUTTA REVIEW. Vol. cxxiv, January, 1907.

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# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL.

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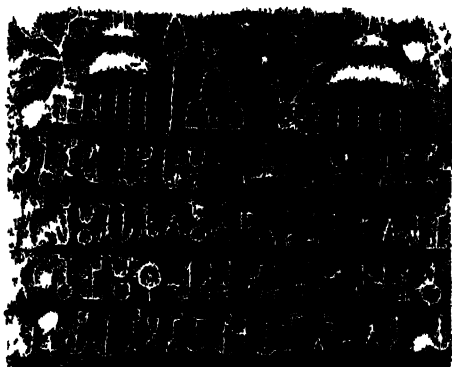
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# The Sohgaia Plate



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# JOURNAL

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### XXVI.

#### SOME BORDER BALLADS OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

By E. B. HOWELL.

#### INTRODUCTION.

**I**N the first place acknowledgments are due to M. Kuli Khan, lately Naib-Tahsildar at Sarwekai, who at my request took down these songs from the lips of the singers, and gave me an Urdu translation of them, which is in the main distinguished by insight and accuracy, and secondly to Mr. Lorimer's Grammar and Vocabulary of Wazirī Pashtu (Government Press, Calcutta, 1902), without which I should have been unable to trace many of the words used in these songs.

A word of explanation is also necessary with reference to the Mahsūd tribe amongst which these songs were composed and are sung. The Mahsūds are a branch of the Wazirī nation, a scholarly and interesting account of whose racial peculiarities will be found in Appendix iii of Mr. Lorimer's work above mentioned. Without attempting any lengthy account of the tribe, it may be noted that they have long been a thorn in the side of all their neighbours,

being thieves and robbers to a man, though not without their own queer crooked notions of honour. Of human life as a sacred thing they have no notion whatever, though they will often hold their hand from taking it for fear of consequences in the shape of blood feuds and the like. Of abstract justice they may have some idea, but contact with them leaves the impression that practically they define it, even as orthodoxy has been defined, to mean 'my doxy,' and a worsted litigant, however weak his case may have been, always professes to have been the victim of *zulm* or oppression. As might be expected of a people who hold human life so cheap, they have no great fear of death. Successful cunning, however, often indistinguishable from the blackest treachery, is a virtue which they rank high, and it is curious to note that they apply exactly the same words of praise to members of their nation who were guilty of what we regard as atrocious crimes as to those who, like the heroes of these songs, gave their lives up fighting in the cause of the tribe. This is proved by certain other songs in my possession, which I have withheld. These are devoted to the praise of Mahsūds who have recently murdered, unprovoked and in cold blood, British officers for whose protection they were employed. These views are perhaps only natural when the conditions of their lives are considered. For amongst them the possession of courage without craft would certainly not lead to that survival which, we are told, is the reward of the fittest; but their utter savagery and absence of moral sense in this respect must do much to diminish the regard which other good qualities, such as courage, shrewdness, endurance, and humour, may have earned for them. Much good in them there must be. For, with all their many and glaring faults, most British officers who have had to do with them have acquired or preserved a genuine liking for them, and one and all agree, though this is perhaps not very high praise, that they are in every way preferable to Wazirs of any other tribe—a view in which the Mahsūd, whose strong point is not modesty, wholly concurs.

Of the events to which these songs refer it will be enough to say that the first and second songs refer to an attack made by the united force of the nation, under the leadership of the notorious Mulla Powinda, on the camp of the Commissioner of the Derajāt, who, with a powerful escort, was, in November, 1894, at Wana, on his way to the delimitation of the recently created Durand line. The attack consisted of a rush of swordsmen, who assaulted the camp about two hours before daybreak, while old men and others fired down from the neighbouring hills. The effort was not repulsed without great difficulty. The charge of swordsmen was led by a typical Mahsūd named Jagar, who on that occasion was severely wounded, but recovered, and is still a leading figure in tribal politics. His natural shrewdness has been developed by some rudiments of education which he received during a term of imprisonment, and though his proximity is odoriferous and his rascality colossal he is an entertaining companion. The other songs of war relate to events which occurred when the Mahsūd country was invaded by flying columns towards the end of the Mahsūd blockade of 1900-1. There was some severe fighting, especially at Kot Shingi, the headquarters of the powerful Shingi section.

The love-song is said to be of Darwesh Khel (Wazīr) origin. However, it was a Mahsūd named Mitha Khel, a 'jōsīs,' with a chorus of his fellows, whom I heard sing the song. We had started before daybreak from Sauvekai to shoot *urial*, and had spent the day climbing vainly over the steep sides of Kundigher. It was May, and although we ranged between 5,000 and 7,000 feet above sea-level the sun was fiercely hot. We had passed through thickets of ilex and a bush like holly, ringing with the merry cry of the cuckoo, and we had spent a noontide hour or two at the shrine of *Néka Borak*. *Borak* I take to be a variant of the common Muḥammadan name *Mubārak*, and *néka* means grandfather. *Neka Borak* is said to be the ancestor of the Aligai section, and is held mightily in repute amongst Mahsūds, for his frequent appearances in dreams and visions

to the faithful who pass the night at his shrine. His last appearance was very effective in quashing a project for cultivating a small patch of culturable soil near his shrine, and ended, by some means which I have now forgotten, in the death of the sacrilegious innovator and his plough bullocks. Each of our party in turn—except myself—entered the holy of holies and offered up his prayer. The only one I recall is that of the lad who was carrying my rifle, which was loaded. It was to the effect that Boruk would give him a gun like that, even if he had to kill three men to get it. Thereafter it was given to some one else to carry, but even without its burden we were all desperately weary long before we were nearly home. The sun set, *σκοιῶντό δε πᾶσαι, ἄγναι*, when Mira Khel set up his song, to the lilt of which we tramped on with renewed vigour and reached home after all before dark without untoward incident.

Something must also be said of the dialect of Pashtu which appears in these songs. How far it differs from the 'standard' dialect of the Yusufzai will at once be apparent from a comparison of the first verse of the Love-Song (No. 6)—

*De to khâtir robandi gron de  
Ze pa sofelyé sîne na prézhdan losîna,*

with the same in Yusufzai Pashtu—

*Stâ khâtir râ (or preferably mâ) bândi girân dé  
Ze pa sâtelé sîne na préglam lāsûna.*

For the writing of Wazirî Pashtu, as Mr. Lorimer has pointed out (p. iii), the Roman alphabet is far preferable to the Arabic, and I have therefore used it. In the main I have followed Mr. Lorimer's phonetic system, giving the vowels the following values:—

u = u as in cut.	o = o as in hold.
â = a „ father.	ö = o „ worse.
e = e „ water.	u = u „ put.
é = ay „ day.	û = u „ crude.
i = i „ him.	ai = i „ rice.
î = i „ machine.	au = ow „ cow.

The consonants represent the same sounds as they have in English; those for which the Pashtu alphabet, a modification of the Arabic, has one letter are underlined, except 'ch' and 'sh,' which are almost double letters in English.

The dialectic forms appearing in these songs are almost exactly the same as those given in Mr. Lorimer's Grammar. Such differences as may be detected are mainly due, first to the fact that Mr. Lorimer's book represents primarily the Darwesh Khel dialects of North Waziristān, while the songs are in the Mahsūd dialect of South Waziristān; secondly to poetic license, which permits the insertion of syllables *metri gratia*.

As to the metre, I must confess my inability to reduce it to terms of Fadul and Fadulun, but its beat is not difficult to catch except in the third and sixth songs. The rhymes are with some exceptions acceptable to an English ear, but it is noteworthy that in some cases a repetition of vowels, with no consonantal rhyme at all, appears to be regarded as sufficient, e.g. in the chorus of the first song 'dagur bondi' corresponds with 'watan bondi,' and in the second verse of the same 'sardor de' is followed by 'khon de' and 'nādon de.'

## I. — 1. THE BATTLE OF WANA.

- (1) Ghāziane jang wukan, mullā<sup>1</sup> sāhib amīr de,  
 Werķ khoé ma ka<sup>2</sup> ! dai de chage ghare kapīr<sup>3</sup> de.  
 De Pérangī na<sup>4</sup> é taralé pa zanjir de ;  
 Zené qarézhi Pérangui pa Iandan bondi.

*Chorus.* Ghāziane jang wukan Wone pa spin dagar bondi,  
 De dé Mosīdi tiré zhagh de pa watan bondi.

- (2) Ghāziane jang wukan, mullā sāhib sardor de,  
 Ke te bowar ka, de nomé Mosīdi khon de,  
 Tsurba<sup>5</sup> lashkara gerzawi ; pa zye nādon de,  
 Che lashkare ta pa sar sawir pa Duldul<sup>6</sup> de.
- (3) Ghāziane jang wukan, de sāhib<sup>7</sup> kushalyé lashkara  
 (‘he lalézhī lor pa lor de pa watane,  
 De sāhib sara wiloré dī paltane  
 (‘he khézhī Pérangione pa sangar bondi.
- (4) Ghāziane jang wukan, ghāziane brāga<sup>8</sup> tīlai dī.  
 Ke te bowar kaçe, Jugar é sarahandé de  
 Dā Jugar, kusa, de tiré shīn zmaré de  
 (‘he wukhatale de Gurkhāye pa paltan bondi.
- (5) Dā Alibat Ghāzi me sakhta gharghāra ko ;  
 Dā mérāné zhené lor pa lor ghītā ko  
 Kushalī Gulzam pa Pérangī mangule ksheshale ;  
 Dā shoista Gulzom é wule pa khunjir bondi.

---

<sup>1</sup> The notorious mulla Powindī, who is still *de facto*, it not *de jure*, head of the Mahsūd nation.

<sup>2</sup> Werķ khoé ma ka. M. Kulī Khin translates “Khudāvand usko kharāb ne karē.” ‘Werķ’ means literally ‘lost’; ‘weik sha’ (— ‘be lost,’ ‘get out,’ ‘go to the devil’) is a common expression. ‘Werķ ma ka,’ therefore, means ‘do not make him lost,’ ‘do not destroy him.’ ‘Khoé’ presumably is another form of ‘khudai,’ though I have not been able to find it in the lexicons. However, the word ‘khwaedād’ (‘God granted’), which is familiar, may be sufficient justification for the rendering.

<sup>3</sup> Kāpīr, not kāfir, ‘infidel,’ but probably kāfūr, ‘camphor,’ in the sense of a fragrant tree.

<sup>4</sup> De Pérangī na. The sense is clear, but why the ‘na,’ the sign of the ablative case, should follow the ‘de,’ the sign of the genitive, when the sense requires the accusative, I have been unable to determine.

## I. — 1. THE BATTLE OF WANA.

- (1) The martyrs fought a battle ; the lord priest is their commander. Harm him not, O God ; he is a fragrant tree of the high hills. He has bound the English in chains ; the English women are affrighted in London.

*Chorus.* The martyrs fought a battle on the white plain of Wana ; the noise of the Mahsūd sword is upon the land.

- (2) The martyrs fought a battle ; the lord priest is their leader. If thou believest it, he is prince of the Mahsūd name. He wheels his proud army ; in his heart he is reckless, when he rides at the head of his army upon Duldul.
- (3) The martyrs fought a battle ; the army of the lord is beautiful, as it trails this way and that over the country. With the lord are the regiments which mount upon the stonework of the English.
- (4) The martyrs fought a battle ; bright is the company of the martyrs. If thou believest it, Jagar is their leader. This Jagar, look you, is a green tiger of the sword, when he went up upon the regiment of the Gurkhas.
- (5) Alibat, my martyred hero, makes a mighty thundering ; this noble youth swoops this way and that ; beauteous Gulzam has put out his talons upon the English ; Gulzam the fair they smote with the bayonet.

<sup>5</sup> *Tsorb*, literally 'fat,' is used in the same sense as in the Biblical "Jeshurun waxed fat."

<sup>6</sup> Duldul, the mule of the prophet Muhammad.

<sup>7</sup> *Sāhib*, i.e. the mulla.

<sup>8</sup> *Brāga tīlai*. 'Brāga' means 'speckled,' or perhaps 'bright'; 'tīlai' appears to be a variant of 'tīlai,' which means a bracelet, and may perhaps be used figuratively for a company or band of men. In this case we should render conjecturally, "bright is the company of the martyrs."

- (6) Ghāzione jung wukaṇ, Gulzam, kasa, nādon de  
Daghe tore tope tu wartér pa shīrīn dzōn de  
Khalka, manai, dā Gulzam k̄ho palawon de  
Gulzam zinaré waṇ, kasa, sawīr pa ster shūdar<sup>9</sup> bondi.
- (7) Ghāzione jung wukaṇ, ghāzione tire wule,  
Dā shoiste sterge yé tore pu kujale,<sup>10</sup>  
Dā sara golai laku wōr pa warédalé  
Tire yé prékaṛé dī Gūrkhāye pa zhoblawale bondi.
- (8) Ghāzione jung wukaṇ, Tilak me zrewar waṇ,  
Che wukhatale Pérangī pa ster kāpir bondi,  
Kasai, yorone, che pa los kshe yé k̄hanjar waṇ,  
Kasai dā ghat Pérangé wule pa wazar bondi.
- (9) Na mi wyérézhi de Tilak kushalyé dzwonai  
Che wukhatale de Sikhone pa tsaukai  
Birgit<sup>11</sup> é chag waṇ, zené khaburī Pérangui,  
Dā Jarnilon é siput ko pa Landan bondi.
- (10) Dā Izatdor wa Mīnador dwa sara ṭandadon<sup>12</sup> dī  
Che wer gad shewé pa yawe or<sup>13</sup> dī;  
Dagha ghāzion zhenī mī, wora, zér gulon dī;  
De Mīnador dzwonai mī jora istogar bondi.<sup>14</sup>
- (11) Ghāzione jung wukaṇ, Lalīn merīna,<sup>15</sup>  
Dā bīra mōr é sazhe ghundi rāezhi  
Tsarbe julkai pa Lalīn pasé zhorīna<sup>15</sup>  
Dā tsarbe zhenī kushaliawaṇ ze pa ghuzal bondi.

<sup>9</sup> Shudar I have been unable to find in the dictionaries. M. Kuli Khan renders by 'sūār' ('pig'). I understand the phrase to mean that in the fury of the attack (Gulzam was seen by his companions to leap upon some British officer, and as it were to ride upon his back.

<sup>10</sup> Kajal is rendered by Raverty as "collyrium prepared from soot." Ronj (v. infra) is antimony. It is the custom amongst all Pathans for all young bloods to paint their eyes round with these abominable mixtures to enhance their beauty (see Lorimer's "Wazīrī Vocabulary," p. 211, s.v. Tsarbusht). I have known a Mahsūd lad under sentence of death for a brutal and unprovoked murder spend his last half-hour before mounting the scaffold thus employed with the aid of a pocket mirror. I was told at the time that he was making his toilet for the hours of paradise.

<sup>11</sup> M. Kuli Khan gives the word here as برکت, which he transliterates as 'birgit' and translates 'picket,' i.e. picquet. The word also occurs below—II, 5 (2), line 3 (Jon Khon)—where it is given bigat, and translated in the same way. It is possible, considering the spread of English military terms amongst Pathans, that the word intended here is really 'birget,' i.e. brigade. In

- (6) The martyrs fought a battle; Gulzam, look you, is reckless; on the black gun he passed from his sweet life. Admit, O people, that this Gulzam is a champion. Gulzam was a tiger, look you; he rode upon the great hog.
- (7) The martyrs fought a battle, the martyrs smote with their swords; their beautiful eyes they blackened with antimony. On them like rain rained the bullets; they broke their swords in wounding the Gurkhas.
- (8) The martyrs fought a battle; my Tilak was full of heart, when he went up upon a great English infidel. Look you, my friends, in his hand was a dagger; look, he has stricken that fat Englishman on the arm.
- (9) Of me is not forgotten Tilak's youthful beauty, when he mounted upon the breastwork of the Sikhs. The picquet rose against him; the English women are aware of it; the generals praise him in London.
- (10) Izatdār and Minadār are both bulls, when once they are entered in among them. These martyr-youths are, hear me, yellow roses. The youthful beauty of Minadār is a masterpiece.
- (11) The martyrs fought a battle: Lalīn is dead. His bereft mother groans like the wild goat. Proud maidens weep after Lalīn; these proud youths I beautify with my song.

this connection such phrases as 'pa dabal larsha' = 'go at the double,' i.e. quickly, 'pālīn sha' = be 'fallen in,' i.e. prepared, which are of common use, may be worthy of mention.

<sup>12</sup> Tāndadon. The Yusufzai 'sandagūn' is hard to recognise in this outlandish form, but this must be a variant of it.

<sup>13</sup> Pa yawe or. M. Kuli Khan renders "ek dafa" 'once'; in that case 'or' is a variant of 'wor,' meaning time or turn.

<sup>14</sup> M. Kuli Khan renders "minadār ki jawānī ustāz ne banāī hai," and gives a note, "bahut khubsurati se matlab hai"; 'Istogār' is therefore to be understood as a dialectic form of ustāz, 'a master workman.'

<sup>15</sup> The 'na' added to this word and to 'ghorī' at the end of the third line appear to have no meaning and to be purely *metri gratia*. The same practice appears in, I think, every verse of III, 8. But for that I should be inclined to read here 'merezhi' and 'ghoréghi,' which would give the same sense and a better rhyme. In the song as copied for me by M. Kuli Khan, however, there is no trace of this.

## 2. THE BATTLE OF WANA: A LAMENT.

- (1) De dère ghame mi khpul zerkuté shīn de,  
 Dāsē tsök wyaiyī che merkaré yé Ialīn de,  
 De psērli gul wan, kom é dér pasé ghamjan de,  
 De dé janat hīre pa gute khpul niwalé de.

*Chorus.* De dère ghame mi khpul zerkai nātalé do;  
 De de mullo lashkar Wone ta wer lewedalé do.<sup>1</sup>

- (2) De dère ghame! Paujdor,<sup>2</sup> kasa, kamké wañ;  
 Che pa ṭipak bondi khatale shīn zmaré wañ.  
 De Gulēshī<sup>3</sup> zhenī, wōra, sarghandé wañ  
 Che khatalé de Sikhone pa tsaukai de.
- (3) Khpula khudai! dā Gulzann Mal Khel<sup>3</sup> zmaré wañ,  
Pérangī ta che werta<sup>4</sup> jor lewané wañ;  
Sre kāpir ta wer gaḍ shwañ, shīnké zmaré wañ,  
De Pérangione sara sang pa sang lewedalé de.
- (4) Khpula khudai! dā ṭse kushalé lashkar de!  
Che Asalmīr zereto gul werta pa sar de  
Pa Pérangī bondi yé brīd karé pa sahar de  
Dagha Pérangione bār pa chakawalé de.
- (5) Asalmīra yora, ma ka ziyoti jang.  
De Sīmān Malik wa parézhī pa to ṭsang  
Che marakka wai de kawale [wa] de nang  
De Shobī khele na yé kushalé gul lewawalé de.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lewedalé do. From alwédel or léwédel, 'to fall,' of which the causal 'alwawel' or 'lewawel' appears in the fifth verse. The ambiguity of this expression, "has fallen upon Wana," is probably intentional.

<sup>2</sup> Paujdor = Faujdār.

<sup>3</sup> Galeshai, a section of the Shāman Khel branch of the Mahsūds; Mal Khel, a section of the Alizai branch.

<sup>4</sup> Werta, from 'wertlel' = 'to go to him.'

<sup>5</sup> The last three lines of this verse are very obscure. M. Kuli Khan thus translates into Urdu—

"Sīmān Malik kā kamar tum se ṭuṭ jāegā  
 Jo tum ma'raka nang ke kiya karte the  
 Shobi Khelon se khubsurat phul girāyā huā hai."

ṭsang may fairly be rendered kamar or loins, but 'parézhī' is from 'paredel,' meaning 'to run,' unless there is a verb 'pré-del,' a sort of neuter to 'prékarél,'

## 2. THE BATTLE OF WANA: A LAMENT.

- (1) With great woe my poor heart is green; so 'tis said  
that "They have slain Lalīn." He was a rose of  
spring; his tribe mourns deeply after him. The  
houris of Paradise have caught him in their fingers.

*Chorus.* With great woe my heart is sore; the army  
of the priest has fallen upon Wana.

- (2) Woe, ah woe! Panjdor, look you, was but a lad; (but)  
when he went up upon the gun he was a green tiger.  
Of the young men of the Galeshai, hear me, he was  
the leader, when he mounted upon the breastwork of  
the Sikhs.
- (3) My God! Gulzaim, Mal Khel, was a tiger; when he  
was going towards the English he was right mad.  
To the red infidel he entered in; he was a green  
tiger. He has fallen side by side with the Englishmen.
- (4) My God! how beautiful is this army, when Asalmir,  
a yellow rose, was at its head. Upon the English  
it has made an attack in the morning; the English  
have fired a volley upon it.
- (5) Asalmir, my friend, fight no more; in thee are broken  
the loins of Sīmān Malik. Whenever there was  
a council for attack or for defence [thou wast there].  
They have cut down the beauteous rose of the  
Shobī Khel.

which means 'to cut or break.' If this be so, the line may fairly mean, "In thee," i.e. by thy death, "the loins of Sīmān Malik are broken," that is, I suppose, his line becomes extinct, a rendering which is countenanced by M. Kuli Khan's note: "Mattab yihhai ki afar tum māre gaye, to Malik Sīmān baghair kamar rah jūegā. Baghair kamar ke admi kuch nahin hotā hai."

The connection and sense of the third line are yet harder to see. 'Māraka' is a word in common use in Waziristān for a council, or deliberation, or palaver. 'Wai' is the irregular but invariable form of the auxiliary for the protasis of a past conditional sentence. 'De kawale' means literally 'of doing,' wa, 'and,' de nang, 'of help.' So the whole seems to mean, "whenever there was a discussion of making [an attack] or [of giving] help"—a protasis to which no apodosis is present. Such discussions are, of course, common occurrences in Waziri life, where temporary alliances of former enemies for a common purpose are frequently made.

The Shobī Khel are a section of the Alizai branch of the Mahsūds.

- (6) De dére ghame! Azod Khona kushalie gula!  
 Che shāhidī<sup>6</sup> de kāpir pa jung mindala  
 Shāiron wa de ko sipat ter ter tala  
 Pa Azod Khon bondi de tōre khaurī tsellé<sup>7</sup> de.

<sup>6</sup> Shāhidī = 'martyrdom.' *Titte* Lorimer, "Wazirī Vocabulary," p. 190, s.v. Shāhid.

## II.—SONGS OF THE BLOCKADE.

### 3. KASAR<sup>1</sup>: A SONG OF THE BATTLE OF KOT SHINGI.

- (1) Zhenī<sup>2</sup> Mosīd de chage ghure bozon dī,  
 Gora, Pérangī sara yé wukara momila,  
 Pérangī, kasa, pa kahr shwé.  
 Che josīs<sup>3</sup> werta pa sar shaṇ  
 Pérangī lashkare roghlé, khona, porta pa zore.

*Chorus.* Yo kasar wa wyaiyaṇ, joṛawaṇ kushalyé misra,  
 Pérangī kho sīnatī ko Mosīd na zhana dori.<sup>4</sup>

- (2) Dére lashkare lor pa lor é shorawalé  
 Sam kotké<sup>5</sup> shaṇ, ranḍ shaṇ, Asat Khon ghundi zmaré  
 Asat Khon, kasa, zmaré waṇ,  
 Spīné tīré lewané waṇ ; ,  
 Prékara Pérangione kushalyé ghita de babrai.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kasar. M. Kuli Khan states the name of this poem to be Kasar. It is very confused and difficult, and has, I suspect, not been very carefully written down.

<sup>2</sup> Zhenī. M. Kuli Khan has written 'dzené Mosīd,' and translated 'báz Mahsūd' = 'some Mahsūds,' but the reading given seems preferable.

<sup>3</sup> Josīs is, of course, Wazirī Pashtu for the Persian 'jāsūs' = 'a spy.' The underlings of the political agent's intelligence department, some of whom, in the time of the blockade, were no doubt used as guides, are all called by this name, and the office is already almost hereditary in some families.

- (6) Woe, ah woe! Azod Khon, beauteous rose! who won  
the crown of martyrdom in fight with the infidel.  
Poets will tell thy praise for ever and ever. On  
Azod Khon there is a cairn of black earth.

<sup>7</sup> Tsellé, a cairn of stones, heaped over the place where a man has been killed or is buried. Such cairns are, as may be imagined, neither few nor far between; but, as the whole country is a mass of stones, they are not conspicuous.

## II.—SONGS OF THE BLOCKADE.

### 3. KASAR: A SONG OF THE BATTLE AT KOT SHINGI.

- (1) The young men of the Mahsūds are hawks of the high  
hills. See, with the English they had an affair; the  
English, look you, became wroth. When the informer  
was at their head, the English armies came over, sir,  
in strength.

*Chorus.* I will tell the story, I will make a beautiful  
poem, how the English begged for mercy, and the  
Mahsūds spared them not.

- (2) Great armies this way and that they moved; Kotké  
was razed, was flattened. Asat Khon like a tiger,  
Asat Khon, look you, was a tiger. He was mad for  
the white sword; the English cut this beauteous  
flowering bud.

<sup>4</sup> M. Kuli Khan translates "Mahsūd usko nahin choṛto," but what exactly the Pashu means is not clear.

<sup>5</sup> Kotké refers to Kot Shingi. Kot is a fortified homestead. Kotké, a diminutive in form, has much the same meaning. The Shingis are an important section of the Bahlolzai branch of the Mahsūds. The words 'kotké sam shan, rang shan,' mean literally 'kotké became flat, became rang,' which I have not been able to find. It may be a mistake for 'rang,' which occurs in verse 3 below, meaning 'destroyed, razed.' In this case the expression refers to the destruction of Kot Shingi, which was the occasion of the battle.

<sup>6</sup> The word 'babrai' means luxuriant growth, whether of hair or plants.

- (3) Kushalie Asat Khona ! mergai nishta bé armona.  
 Gaḍ é ka, khudavand, de janat pa darwoze !  
 Asat Khon kho kushalé dzwon waṇ  
 De Shingī zhenī khon waṇ,  
 Pa rang é kṛaṇ dā nīm<sup>7</sup> Kotké ke pa tol é wutalé.
- (4) Asat Khon kushalé zmaré waṇ  
 De Kobul sir Dīrāné<sup>8</sup> waṇ,  
<sup>9</sup> Bīté bīté saṇre zér magh<sup>h</sup>zé leke totī.
- (5) Yo kase Mian Khon waṇ,  
 Spīné tīré palawon waṇ,  
 Meṛ é kaṇ Mian Khon, shwa yé khwora kabīla.
- (6) Mian Khon pa los kangal waṇ  
 Dui pa zṛe kshe barobar<sup>10</sup> waṇ  
 Bal dai shoiste stergé yé toré pa ronje.

<sup>7</sup> There is a play on the words 'nīm' ('half') and 'tol' = (1) 'whole,' (2) 'weight,' which is beyond my powers of translation; 'é' would seem to mean 'he,' but may be 'they,' the English.

<sup>8</sup> Dīrāné. This is interesting as showing a claim to descent from a distinguished race, with which the Mahsūds in general have no known connection.

#### 4. IN PRAISE OF ASAL KHON, GURI KHEL.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Yoghī<sup>2</sup> de Asal Khon ; Pérangī ro bahézhi  
 Pa Dwe Shīnkai jang dē, Asal Khon pakhé yodézhi  
 Sterge na ko, tor zinaré—tīre ta khwashézhī  
 Meṛ kṛaṇ Pérangī, karorī shwa pa paujine.

*Chorus.* Yoghī shaṇ Asal Khon de kāpir ne wṛī salomīna  
 Sākhī Asal Khon gaḍ wa shī pa jānatine.

<sup>1</sup> Guri Khol, a section of the Alizai branch of the Mahsūds.

<sup>2</sup> Yoghī means 'unruly,' 'rebellious,' primarily, and secondarily is applied to those tribes which live beyond the administrative border, whose country is known

- (3) Beauteous Asat Khon! Death is not without bitterness.  
Enter him, O Lord, at the gate of paradise. Asat  
Khon was a beautiful youth; of the young men of  
the Shingis he was prince. Half Kotke he knocked  
down, if you weigh it in the balance.
- (4) Asat Khon was a beauteous tiger; he was a red Dūrāni  
of Kabul, with yellow neck like a parrot.
- (5) Mian Khon was but one man, he was a champion of the  
white sword. They slew Mian Khon; his family  
became poor.
- (6) In Mian Khon's hand there was a shield, in his heart  
he was unmoved, nay, his lovely eyes were black with  
antimony.

<sup>9</sup> The line is difficult. 'Bīc' means 'a plant,' 'sapre' apparently means 'hemp,' and the rest of the line means 'a yellow neck like a parrot.' It is just possible that 'bīc' means hair, and 'sapre' refers to its colour or the appearance of the ringlets.

<sup>10</sup> Barobar = equal, sc. to any fate that might befall him.

#### 4. IN PRAISE OF ASAL KHON, GUR KHIL.

- (1) Asal Khon lifts up himself, the English are flowing  
hither, at Dwa Shinkai is the fight, Asal Khon is  
remembered therein. He turns not his eyes, the  
black tiger, his delight is in the sword; the English  
slew him, and quiet fell upon their armies.

*Chorus.* Asal Khon lifted up himself, of the infidel he  
takes no greeting, noble Asal Khon shall enter  
paradise.

as Yoghistan. It is thus rather difficult to translate; 'asserts himself,' 'raises his head,' 'is out,' all convey something of the meaning, but are all equally unsatisfactory.

- (2) *Yoghī shaṇ Asal Khon, Pérangi wa dé uṛī*<sup>3</sup> *bérai!*  
*Pa ghare kshé dé kra nen khauré tsarba tsarba dzwonai,*  
*Dā Asal Khon jung ta drīmī pa khwashai,*  
*Pa los kshé yé rapal, che pa tamom é*<sup>4</sup> *kurtisīna.*
- (3) *Yoghī shaṇ Asat*<sup>5</sup> *Khon, Pérangé roghé pa Kotkī bondi,*  
*Yo kushalé Asat Khon tér de pa maghzi bondi;*<sup>6</sup>  
*Na waṇ de mergotai böl é ta pa Delhī bondi,*  
*Drīmī Pérangī ta, gaḍ wa shī pa sre orīne.*
- (4) *Pa ghare kshe kho Jon Khon de, pa zhaḡhézhi Pérangai*  
*Pa los é téponcha do, werkhézhi pa tsukai,*  
 7 \* \* \* \* \*  
*Shīn zmaré de, zanjirī*<sup>8</sup> *tīra wāhī pa maidonone.*
- (5) *Yoghī shaṇ Asal Khon, Pérangé roghé pa Inzar bondi*  
*Kushalé Jon Khon isor de pa dagar bondi;*  
*Na waṇ de mergotai, nen wishtale pa rapal bondi;*  
*Pa tor tīpak khézhī, sterga na ko*<sup>9</sup> *de mergine.*<sup>10</sup>
- (6) *Yoghī shaṇ Asal Khon, Pérangī wukaṛala khorui*<sup>11</sup>  
*Pa ghare kshé Shodamīr de, khalos wa na shī de badai*  
*Ke dā wor wer zene khalos shi, byā ba na tsī pa Slīnkai*  
*Shabōsh dé pa dā wi,*<sup>12</sup> *isor kaṛé yé dī paujīna.*

<sup>3</sup> *Wa dé uṛī* = 'let him carry away.' It is not clear whether the subject is *Asal Khon* or the current. Anyhow, the sense is clear, though the metaphor is a strange one for a *Mahsūd* in whose country there are no navigable rivers.

<sup>4</sup> *Che pa tamom*, lit. 'that in it all,' i.e. either 'in which [were] all' or 'in which [were] finished,' the commoner meaning of 'tamom.'

<sup>5</sup> *Asat Khon*. Whether the change of name be due to error or not I cannot say, but probably it is not.

<sup>6</sup> *Tér de pa maghzi bondi*. *M. Kuli Khan* translates '*gardan se guzarā thā,*' lit. 'had passed from his neck,' i.e., I suppose, 'cared no more for his life,' as we say 'neck or nothing.'

<sup>7</sup> There seems to be a line missing here.

<sup>8</sup> *M. Kuli Khan* gives the word as '*zanjiri,*' which makes no sense except that of a 'chain-sword,' which is not very intelligible. I think what is meant is perhaps '*khanjari tīra.*' '*Khanjar*' means a two-edged dagger, with a cross-guard above the hilt, and so '*khanjari tīra*' would be a two-edged sword for cutting and thrusting.

- (2) Asal Khon lifted up himself. May the bark of the Englishman be swept away! In the hills to-day was turned to dust thy proud, proud youth. This Asal Khon runs to the fray with joy, in his hand his rifle, in which his cartridges were finished.
- (3) Asal Khon lifted up himself. The English came to Kotké; alone the beauteous Asat Khon lost his life. He was not meet to die; his fame is to Delhi. He runs on the English and will enter the red fires.
- (4) In the hills is Jon Khon, the English women tell of him; in his hand is a pistol, he mounts upon the breastwork. He is a green tiger and plies a two-edged sword on the plain.
- (5) Asal Khon lifted up himself. The English came to Inzar, beauteous Jon Khon remains upon the ground; he was not meet to die; to-day they slew him with the rifle. He mounts upon the black gun, he glances not askance at death.
- (6) Asal Khon lifted up himself. The English turned him to dust. In the hills is Shodamîr, and the slayer shall not escape from the blood feud; if he escape this time, not again shall he go to Shinkai. Bravo! the armies have been stayed.

<sup>9</sup> Sterge na ko = 'he makes no eyes [at], i.e. is not afraid of.

<sup>10</sup> *Meṛgine*. This word, like 'janatine' in the chorus, seems to be in the plural solely *metri gratia*.

<sup>11</sup> Wukarala khorai. M. Kuli Khan translates 'bahut koshish kī,' 'made a great effort.' But though 'khauré' is a masc. noun of the declension numbered by Raverty as the first, and the construction and rhyme alike require a feminine noun of Raverty's sixth declension, I have ventured on the above rendering because the next line, which mentions the kinsman of Asal Khon who will take up the feud for his killing, makes some account of his death in this line essential.

<sup>12</sup> Shabōsh dé pa dā wī, lit. 'let it be bravo! for this [that].' The whole verse is rather obscure.

## 5. JON KHON.

- (1) Dā shoista Jon Khon <sup>1</sup> de kore na kazhézhi  
 Pa dā piyawarī zhenī tal méndé bīrézhi  
 Jon Khon zmaré wan, pa tīpak bondi werkhézhi.  
 2 \* \* \* \* \*

*Chorus.* Jon Khon sardor wan, de Pérangī jang ta watalé de,  
 De pserli gul wan, de janat hīre balalé de.

- (2) Na mi wyérézhi de Jon Khon kushalyé dzwonai  
 Au che khatale de Sikhone pa tsaukai  
 Biget é chag [wan],<sup>3</sup> werna khaborī Pérangui  
 Che mukhamukh pa Pérangī bondi khatalé de.
- (3) Dā shoistā Jon Khon, gora, pa sar tér wan,<sup>4</sup>  
 Pa tor tīpak bondi khate, mergé wér wan,  
 Sikhon é zhobal, Pérangé wa tu pa wor wan,<sup>5</sup>  
 Jon Khon zmaré wan ; Pérangī dāwis wishtalé de.
- (4) Dā shoista Jon Khon pa péghle jal na kushalé wan,  
 De Pérangī ghazo <sup>6</sup> yé kara, merg é manalé wan,  
 Dā kashida <sup>7</sup> Jon Khon pa dwe tsange wishtalé wan  
 Sikhon <sup>8</sup> dé werķ shī ! shoista Jon Khon é sewé <sup>9</sup> de.
- (5) Dagha <sup>10</sup> Asal Khon, kasái, yorīn., shīn zmaré wan  
 De Gūri Khéle zhenī ghunde sarghandé wan,  
 Che pa uwal wör <sup>11</sup> é wishté Pérangé wan  
 Pa mokhsitān pa tor tīpak bondi khatalé de.

<sup>1</sup> Jon Khon was the son of a very well-known Mahsūd named Badshah Khon, who is still alive. Jon Khon, if all the tales told of him be true, really deserved some of the epithets showered upon him in this song, which is, I think, decidedly the best of the songs of war.

<sup>2</sup> A line seems to be missing.

<sup>3</sup> Metre, sense, and the example of I, 1 (9), line 3, alike require the insertion of the verb (wan = 'was').

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I, 1 (6), l. 2, and II, 4 (3), l. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Wa ta pa wor wan, or perhaps it should be 'werta pa wör wan,' with the same meaning, 'was in his turn,' i.e. was about to be cut down by him in turn. A trace of the old feeling against "villanous saltpetre" reveals itself here.

## 5. JON KHON.

- (1) Jon Khon the fair comes forth from his home ; of such brave youths their mothers are ever bereft. Jon Khon was a tiger, he mounts upon the gun . . . .

*Chorus.* Jon Khon was a commander, he went out to fight with the English. He was a rose of Spring ; the houris of paradise have called him.

- (2) Of me is not forgotten Jon Khon's youthful beauty, and how he went up on the Sikh's breastwork. The picquet rose against him ; the English women are aware of it, how he went up to meet the English face to face.
- (3) This fair Jon Khon, see, gave up his life ; he went up upon the black gun and forgot death. The Sikhs he was wounding, an Englishman was in his turn ; [for] Jon Khon was a tiger, but the dastard Englishman shot him.
- (4) This fair Jon Khon was more beautiful than a virgin ; he slew the English and consented unto death. Jon Khon the adorned they shot through both sides. Ruin seize the Sikhs ; they have burnt Jon Khon the fair.
- (5) This Asal Khon, look you, friends, was a green tiger. Of all the young men of the Guri Khel he was the leader, who at the first hour shot down the English, and at evening went up upon the black gun.

<sup>6</sup> The phrase implies not only that he slew Englishmen but that by so doing he earned the title of martyr.

<sup>7</sup> *Kashīda*, lit. 'embroidered.'

<sup>8</sup> Cf. I, 1 (1), l. 2.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. burnt his body, thereby depriving him of paradise. I do not know if the allegation is true.

<sup>10</sup> But for the metre this verse would appear to belong properly to II, 4, and the fourth verse of that song here in its stead.

<sup>11</sup> *Pa awal wör*, 'at the first turn,' must be contrasted with '*mokhsitān*' (*namāz-i-khuftān*) in the next line, in which case the meaning would be as given.

III. — 6. LOVE-SONG.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) De to khātir robondi gron de,  
<sup>2</sup>Ze pa sotelyé sine na prézhdaṇ losina.

*Chorus.* De to khātir robondi gron de,  
 Ze pa sotelyé sine na prezhdan losina. .

- (2) Julkai, khwula dé hospitāl do,  
 Plor dé doctor de, ranziron pa rogħawī-na.<sup>3</sup>
- (3) Pa sine zor robondi urō ka,  
 Tī mi kalkunde<sup>4</sup> dī, sarpashtī<sup>5</sup> mi khwazhawī-na.
- (4) Che de woshe<sup>6</sup> gaṛanj dé wauran  
 Che de merḡai pa tebbe prot waṇ, der chag ba shaṇ-
- (5) De tīre wor wolé wukraṇ  
 Ke te ro londi karé sotelyé marmandī-na
- (6) De mīsopīre kōghaz roghé,  
 Mulā yé lwélī, wa Laila oshke sūsawī na.
- (7) Salom dé roghé, te ro na ghlé,  
 Pa chār mi na dī bé didanna salomīna.

<sup>1</sup> I have heard this song sung myself; and at any rate, on the principle laid down in the song called *Alkalā*,

“ So long as the tune has a right good swing  
 It does not much matter what words you sing,”

it deserves to be classed as a good song, though very difficult to follow. I regret my inability to reproduce the air.

The song is obviously a duet, in which the first and third verses are sung by the woman, the second and fourth by the man. After that confusion follows, as the fifth verse, which may reasonably be suspected of some coarseness of idea, would seem to fall to the man's part. Verses 6, 7, 8 are pretty enough in their way, but there is nothing to show whether they belong to man or woman, and

## III. — 6. LOVE-SONG.

- (1) Love of thee is heavy upon me; on this cherished bosom  
I do not loose my hands.

*Chorus.* The same as the first verse.

- (2) Girl, thy mouth is an hospital, thy father a doctor who  
heals the sick.
- (3) Press gently upon my bosom; quite round are my  
breasts, and roughness hurts me.
- (4) When I hear the tinkling of thine anklets, though  
I be lying in a deadly fever, still will I arise to thee.
- (5) Then do I ply my sword, if thou putttest thy cherished  
wrists beneath me.
- (6) From afar a letter came, the priest reads it, and  
Leila weeps.
- (7) Greeting came from thee, thou camest not. Of what  
use to me are greetings without meeting?

their sense is not very clear. Verse No. 9 is certainly in the mouth of the man, and the tenth is unintelligible.

These songs are, I believe, though largely put in the mouth of the woman, always sung by men.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning presumably, 'I will not let thee go.'

<sup>3</sup> A very curious verse, which sounds rather ridiculous translated.

<sup>4</sup> Kalkundi. I have been unable to find. M. Kuli Khan's Urdu rendering gives 'sakht,' which has been crossed out and replaced by 'bilkul gol.' If 'sakht' be right, the word should be 'klakawandi.'

<sup>5</sup> M. Kuli Khan renders 'uske sar dikte hain,' but 'sarpashti' ought probably to be written 'tsarbashti,' meaning 'rough play, violence.' The '-na' tacked on to the verb in this and other verses has no meaning, and is inserted solely for the rhyme.

<sup>6</sup> Woshe. Wosh is either the thong of a sandal (*vide* Lorimer, p. 226 s.v.) or a silver anklet worn by the women, as explained by M. Kuli Khan.

- (8) De mo de zṛe wīne dé wutshelyé  
Zeke dé shonḍe de wréshamī rang wrowrī na.
- (9) De Abā Sind de ghwore gula  
Lyā<sup>7</sup> bu dé prékaṛaṇ, lyā wa ḍzon der wochawaṇ-a.
- (10) Pa<sup>8</sup> khandak dwe gute sar chag ka  
De sterge jang wa pa bonrī sara kawī-na. .

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<sup>7</sup> Lyā means 'yet, still,' but when duplicated 'either—or,' *cfr.* Lorimer, p. 118, s.v. *mūla*, example (2).

- (8) My heart's blood thou hast drunk, therefore thy lips  
bear the colour of silk.
- (9) O flower of Father Indus' banks, either I will pluck  
thee or fling to thee my life.
- (10) Raise two fingers in the fosse, we will make war of eyes  
with eyelashes.

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\* A difficult verse. 'Khandak' means 'a ditch,' though rendered by M. Kuli Khan 'diwār.' In either case the meaning is beyond my conjecture.



## XXVII.

## TUFAIL AL-GANAWI:

A POEM FROM THE AŞMA'ĪYĀT IN THE RECENSION AND WITH  
THE COMMENTS OF IBN AS-SIKKĪT.

EDITED BY F. KRENKOW.

THE historical notices concerning the poet Ṭufail al-Ganawī are exceedingly scanty. Al-Aşma'ī states that he was the most ancient poet of the tribes of Qais 'Ailān,<sup>1</sup> and that he was older than an-Nābiġa. This assertion, which is frequently repeated, may be accounted for by the little knowledge about his life which had come down to the grammarians of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa; it can, however, hardly be correct, when we consider the few historical facts which I have been able to gather. His name and genealogy is, with slight variations, given on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī,<sup>2</sup> the same as in the introduction to the poem: Abū Qirān<sup>3</sup> Ṭufail b. 'Auf b. Ḥalaf<sup>4</sup> b. Dubais b. Mālik b. Sa'd b. 'Auf b. Ka'b b. Jillān b. Ka'b b. Ġann b. Ġanī b. A'sur b. Sa'd b. Qais (b.) 'Ailān b. Muḍar.

Ṭufail shared with the two other poets, Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī and an-Nābiġa al-Ja'dī, the reputation of being one of the best describers of horses, of which this poem and the few other verses of his found scattered in lexicographical and other works give ample testimony.<sup>5</sup>

The tribe of Ġanī, which is reckoned, together with its brother-tribes of Bāhila and Ṭufāwa, among the minor

<sup>1</sup> Ag. xiv, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Ag. xiv, 88; Kiz. iii, 643.

<sup>3</sup> Ag.

<sup>4</sup> Ag. Ḥalif, but this name was omitted by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb.

<sup>5</sup> I have collected 171 verses in addition to those contained in this poem.

branches of Qais 'Ailān, did not enjoy much distinction, and traditional history, as far as it is accessible to us, knows very little about Ġanī. The tribe appears to have been settled in villages<sup>1</sup> a little north-west of the 'Āmir tribes on the borders of the Yamāna and Najd; their territory adjoined that inhabited by the tribe of Nabhān, a branch of Ṭai, who had their encampments to the south-east of the mountains of Ṭai. Hence Ġanī were more exposed to the raids of the tribe of Ṭai than any other Qaisite tribe, especially at the period when the warlike Zaid al-Ḥail caused no little stir in Central Arabia.

A hint is given in the Kitāb al-Aġānī<sup>2</sup> that Ġanī were not strong enough to hold their own, but were actually clients of the Banū Numair, a branch of 'Āmir.

Abū 'Amr as-Saibānī relates<sup>3</sup> that Zaid al-Ḥail had made a successful raid against 'Āmir, who were aided by Ġanī and other Qaisite tribes. The cavalry of 'Āmir was soon routed, and Ġanī, who had to bear the brunt of the battle, suffered severely both in slain and captives.

The account given in the Kitāb al-Aġānī appears to speak of one battle only, but there must have been a series of fights, for Numair were defeated at al-Milḥ; Ġanī and Ṭufāwa, who had been warned before, at al-Muḥajjar. It was during this raid that Zaid al-Ḥail made the poet al-Ḥuṭai'a a prisoner. Zaid al-Ḥail celebrated his successful raid in a poem, of which I have been able to trace the following few verses<sup>4</sup>:—

- ١ \* جَلَبْنَا الْحَيْلَ مِنْ أَجْلِ وَسَلَمِي \* تَخَبْتُ نَزَائِعَا خَبَبِ الذِّئَابِ  
 ٢ \* جَلَبْنَا كَذْلَ أَجْرَدِ أَشْوَجِي \* وَسَلَمَتِي كَخَافِيَةِ الْعُثَابِ  
 ٣ \* ضَرَبْنِ بِعَمْرَةٍ فَخَرَجْنِ مِنْهَا \* خُرُوجَ الْوَدْقِ مِنْ خَلْلِ السَّحَابِ  
 ٤ \* كَأَنَّ مَجَالَهَا بِالْيَمِيرِ حَرِثٌ \* أَثَارَتُهُ بِمَجْمَرَةٍ صِلاب

<sup>1</sup> Compare v. 5 of the fragment of Ṭufail in the introduction.

<sup>2</sup> vii, 147.

<sup>3</sup> Ag. xvi, 52.

<sup>4</sup> vv. 1-3, Majmū'at al-Ma'ānī, 180; vv. 4-8, Bakrī, 595; vv. 9-10, I. Qutaiba, Poesis, 158.

- ٥ \* فَلَمَّا أَنْ بَدَتْ أَعْلَامُ لُبْنَى \* وَكُنَّا لَنَا كُمُسْتَتِيرِ الْحِجَابِ  
 ٦ \* عَرَضْنَاهُنَّ مِنْ سَمَلِ الْأَدَاوَى \* فَمُضْطَبِحٌ عَلَى عَجَلٍ وَأَبِ  
 ٧ \* وَيَوْمَ الْمَلَمِ يَوْمٌ<sup>١</sup> بَنِي نُمَيْرٍ<sup>٢</sup> \* حَدَدْنَا لَهُمْ بِأُظْفَارِ وَنَابِ  
 ٨ \* وَأَنْفَ أَنْ أَعْدَّ عَلَيَّ نُمَيْرٍ \* وَقَائِعَنَا بِرَوْضَاتِ الرُّبَابِ  
 ٩ \* فَحَيَّبَهُ مَنْ يُغَيِّرُ<sup>٣</sup> عَلَيَّ غَنِيَّ \* وَبَاهِيَّةَ بَنِ أَغْضَرَ وَالرِّكَابِ  
 ١٠ \* وَأَدَى الْغَنَمَ مَنْ أَدَى قُشَيْرًا \* وَمَنْ كَانَتْ لَهُ أَسْرَى كِلَابِ

1. We led the horses from (the mountains of) Aja' and Sahnà,  
Coveted (horses) ambling like wolves.
2. We led nothing but short-haired ones, of the breed of A'waj,  
And long-bodied (mares, black) like the wing-feather of a vulture.
3. They plunge into the fray and come out of it  
Like heavy rainfall out of the gaps of clouds,
4. As if their place of evolution at an-Nir were tilled ground  
Which they have stirred up with solid hard (hoofs).
5. Then when the hills of Lubnà came in sight,  
And they were to us like a concealing among curtains,
6. We placed before them the remains of the waterskins;  
Then there were some who took the morning drink hastily, others refusing.
7. And on the day of al-Milh, the day of the Banū Numair,  
We furrowed their cheeks with claws and teeth.
8. But I refrain from recounting against Numair  
Our battles in the meadows of ar-Rubāb.

<sup>١</sup> Ag. xvi, 52, وَلَمَحَ .

<sup>٢</sup> Bakrī, سَلِيمٌ ; Ag. xvi, 52, an text.

<sup>٣</sup> Ag. xvi, 52, فَحَيَّبَ .

9. But disappointment (awaits) him who raids upon Ġanī  
And Būhila, the son of A'ṣur and ar-Rikāb.
10. And plunder bring back those who retaliate on Quṣair  
And those who make prisoners among Kilāb.

Few as these verses may be, they at once bring us into touch with some verses in the poem of Ṭufail; most striking is Zaid's satirical statement in v. 9 that he is disappointed with the plunder derived from Ġanī, while Ṭufail, v. 67, says his tribe was *not* disappointed with their success. Further allusions in Ṭufail's poem to these verses of Zaid al-Hail are the following:—

Zaid, v. 1.	Ṭufail, v. 21.
„ v. 5.	„ v. 43.
„ v. 6.	„ v. 44, and also perhaps
„ v. 8.	„ vv. 76, 77.

Heavy as the defeat had been, Ġanī, with the assistance of parties from the 'Āmir tribes, under the leadership of Sayyār b. Harīm,<sup>1</sup> made a raid against Ṭai to avenge their losses, and fought a successful battle near al-Qanān to the south-east of Mount Salmā, one of the mountains of Ṭai. It is this event which led Ṭufail to compose the poem which is here preserved to a great extent, and also to the following verses, which appear to be part of a Naqīḍa to the poem of Zaid al-Hail<sup>2</sup>:—

١ \* سَمَوْنَا بِالْحِيَادِ إِلَى أَعَادٍ \* مُعَاوَرَةً بِجَدٍّ وَأَعْدَاءٍ تَصَابِ  
٢ \* نَوَّهْنَاهُمْ عَلَى رُغْبٍ وَشَحْبٍ \* بِثَوْدٍ يَطْلُبَعْنَ مِنَ النِّقَابِ

<sup>1</sup> Ag. vii, 147. This appears to be the same person referred to by Abu 'Amr as-Šaibānī (Ag. xiv, 90), where his name is given as Harīm b. Sinān b. 'Amr b. Yarbū' b. Tarīf b. Huraṣa b. 'U'bad b. Ka'b b. Ḥillān (read Jillān) b. Tamīm b. Ġanī; he was killed by a son of Harīm b. Sinān al-'Absī. The whole tale is badly misprinted, also the verses of Ṭufail which follow, but I believe we can safely correct the name to Sayyār b. Harīm, which also would fit better in the third verse of Ṭufail quoted there.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 1-8, Ag. xvi, 52-3; vv. 9-12, Bakrī, 393. Another verse is found, L.A. xiii, 436, but it has no connection with these twelve verses.

- ٣ \* أَخَذْنَا بِالْمُخْطَمِ مَنِ اتَّادُمْ \* مِنَ السُّودِ الْمُرْتَمَةِ الرِّغَابِ<sup>١</sup>  
 ٤ \* وَقَتَلْنَا سَرَائِهِمْ جِهَارًا \* وَحِشْنَا بِالسَّيَابِ وَالنِّهَابِ  
 ٥ \* سَبَايَا طَيِّءٍ أَتَبَرَّرْنَ فَسَسَرًا \* وَأَبْدَلْنَ الْقُصُورَ مِنَ الشُّعَابِ  
 ٦ \* سَبَايَا طَيِّءٍ مِنْ كُلِّ حَيٍّ \* بَعْنَ فِي الْفُرْعِ مِنْهَا وَالنِّصَابِ  
 ٧ \* وَمَا كَانَتْ بَنَاتُهُمْ سَمِيًّا \* وَرُغْبًا يُعَدُّ مِنَ الرِّغَابِ  
 ٨ \* وَلَا كَانَتْ دِمَاؤُهُمْ وَقَاءً \* لَنَا فِيمَا يُعَدُّ مِنَ الْعِقَابِ  
 ٩ \* فَلَوْ كُنَّا مَخَافَكَ لَمْ نَمْلِكْهَا \* بِذِي بَقَرٍ فَرُوضَاتِ الرُّيَابِ  
 ١٠ \* وَلَوْ خَفْنَاكَ مَا كُنَّا بَضْعٍ \* بِذِي خُشْبٍ نَعْرَبُ وَالْكَلَابِ  
 ١١ \* لَا بُدَّ بِالْيَمَامَةِ أَوْ لَكُنَّا \* مِنَ الْمُتَقَطِّرِينَ عَلَى الْجَنَابِ  
 ١٢ \* تَوَاعَدْنَا أَصَاخَهُمْ وَنَدْنَا \* وَشَعْبَهُمْ بِأَخْيَا غَضَابِ

1. We went up with the horses towards the enemies,  
Making a raid with serious effort and in a compact body.
2. We come to them in spite of terror and great distance  
With strong-necked (mares) which appear suddenly  
from the mountain passes.
3. We seized by the halter such black camels, which  
they met,  
With slit ears, terror-stricken ones.
4. We killed their chiefs openly,  
And we came (back) with captive women and booty,
5. Captive women of 'Tai, who by constraint appear in  
public  
And take to (dwell in) castles instead of mountain  
valleys ;
6. Captive women of 'Tai of every tribe,  
Whether they belong to a branch of it or to the main  
portion.

<sup>1</sup> Haffner Texte, 133, with the following variations : وَمَنِ الدُّهْمِ مَاعِلِمُكُمْ .

7. Their daughters have not been accustomed to be made captives, nor have they been hitherto an object of covetousness, among things to be coveted.
8. Nor has the blood of their slain been hitherto a satisfaction for our vengeance to us, among things which are accounted as a proper retribution.
9. Had we been fearing thee, we would not have obtained it At Dū-Baqar and Raudāt ar-Rubab;
10. Even if we had feared thee, we were not feeble (in deeds) At Dū Huṣub, where we declared your evil deeds, and at al-Kulāb.
11. Yea, either we returned to the Yamāma or we were among Those who rushed down upon al-Jināb.
12. We appointed as a meeting-place their Uḍāḥ and Naf', And their Man'ij with angry tribes.

The preceding short sketch emphatically contradicts the statement of al-Aṣma'i, attributing a great antiquity to Ṭufail; he was a contemporary of Zaid al-Jail, who lived to see the Prophet at al-Medīna,<sup>1</sup> and whose son is recorded to have been present at the battle of al-Qādisiyya.

Another proof, to which I will not attach too much importance, is found in his genealogy compared with that of his tribesman, Abū Marthad,<sup>2</sup> who fought with Muḥammad at Badr, and who is only one generation younger. The links to the point where they join is as follows:—

Ṭufail—'Auf—Ḥalaf—Dubais—Mālik  
 Abū Marthad—al-Ḥuṣain—Yarbū'—Ṭarīf—Ḥaraṣa—'Ubaid } Sa'd.

Ṭufail does not appear to have enjoyed any distinction, except that of being the poet of his tribe; in all verses of his which I have been able to collect, he never claims a warlike deed for himself.

<sup>1</sup> 9 A.H. He died very soon afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> I. Sa'd, iii a, 32.

His poems were collected into a *diwān* by Ibn as-Sikkīt, a copy of which recension was in the possession of Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī.<sup>1</sup> It contained also the poem which we have here and which is stated to number seventy-six verses, probably only an error in counting. Unfortunately this work has not been recovered up to the present, and may lie buried in some library at Baghdād or Cairo, with so many other valuable manuscripts.

The text given here is taken from an ancient manuscript in my possession, claiming to be the second volume of the *Iḥtiyārāt* of al-Mufaḍḍal and al-Aṣma'ī. The copy is not dated, but was written for some library towards the end of the sixth century of the Hijra, and as Sir Charles J. Lyall, who is using it for his edition of the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, contemplates giving an account of it in this Journal, I content myself with stating that it contains 116 poems, of which about 70 are not found in any other manuscript of these collections of poems. The manuscript leaves us in doubt as to the authorship of the comments which accompany the poems, but so far as the first poem of the MS., the poem of Tufail, is concerned, there can be no doubt that we have the work of Ibn as-Sikkīt.<sup>2</sup> We know the principal authorities of this philologist from his more renowned works—*Kitāb al-Alfāz*, *Islāḥ al-Manṭiq*, and *Kitāb al-Qalb wal Ibdāl*—to have been al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Ubaida, and Abū 'Amr as-Šaibānī. The main part of the commentary appears to have been derived from the first-named; he is cited directly six times,<sup>3</sup> but in the glosses to v. 8, where his name has not been mentioned before, we find the remark *فان الأصمعيّ قال و أنشدني ابو عمرو بن مرة أخرى*. The remarks, v. 46, *سألتُ العرب*, also belong to him; in fact, the second phrase is a favourite one with al-Aṣma'ī, who had dwelt among the Bedouins, while Ibn as-Sikkīt had been brought up in the schools of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa and

<sup>1</sup> Hiz. iii, 643.

<sup>2</sup> He was killed on Sunday, 5 Rajab, 243 A.H. (28th Nov., 857).

<sup>3</sup> v. 22 twice, 24 twice, 36, 45.

would prefer to bring the authority of his Shaikh. Twice<sup>1</sup> we find the remark قال غير الأصمعي, suggesting that the remainder of the glosses originated from al-Aṣmaʿī.

Abū ʿUbaida is most frequently named,<sup>2</sup> generally on subjects of historical bearing, and it is to be regretted that we have not more of him, as he could have given more valuable information than al-Aṣmaʿī, who is singularly deficient on this side.

Twice<sup>3</sup> Abū Yūsuf [Yaʿqūb Ibn as-Sikkīt] is named, the second time in the following terms—قال أبو يوسف سمعت—أبا عمرو الشيباني يقول—and Abū ʿAmr aṣ-Ṣaibānī is likewise referred to in two other places.<sup>4</sup> Only once<sup>5</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī is named, and here it is evident that the quotation is not direct from him, but the genealogical introduction is doubtlessly also derived from him.

The alternative reading given to v. 52, containing an allusion to the idol Ruḍḍā, can hardly be by al-Aṣmaʿī, who was exceedingly pedantic in effacing similar words from old heathen poems, and I should like to credit Abū ʿUbaida with having preserved this most important reading. The verse has significance in this form, for we find that the grandfather of Zaid al-Ḥail was actually named Abd Ruḍḍā after this very idol.

If all these passages leave not the least doubt as to the authorship of Ibn as-Sikkīt of the comments upon the poem of ʿTufail, I dare not venture to attribute to him the glosses to all poems in the manuscript, especially as the few specimens<sup>6</sup> otherwise known of Ibn as-Sikkīt's comments upon the diwān of ʿTufail show a marked similarity. Moreover, I have not had an opportunity yet to examine the glosses upon the other poems contained in the manuscript with the exception of two poems of ʿAdī b. Zaid, where the authorities named

<sup>1</sup> vv. 44, 69.

<sup>2</sup> Ten times, vv. 19, 22, 23, 26, 35, 40, 48, 53, 55, 57.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 57, 58.

<sup>4</sup> vv. 40, 45.

<sup>5</sup> v. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ifiz. iii, 643.

are al-Mufaḍḍal, Ibn al-A'rābī, and Ibn al-Kalbī, while most of the explanation and variants are quoted anonymously.

The text of the manuscript at first sight gives the appearance of great correctness, but is embarrassing by the lack of many diacritical points. The scribe has not been sparing in fixing some letters by special signs; ُ has generally ʋ placed over it, ِ and َ have a dot placed beneath, and َ as well as َ have the same letters placed underneath in smaller writing, sometimes wrongly, as may be gathered from the footnotes and my remarks following the translation.

It is a pleasant duty for me to thank in this place Sir Charles Lyall for his great kindness in not only collating my transcript with the text, but also lending his helping hand in correcting the text, and I am confident that all Arabists will be grateful to him for his generous assistance. I have also to thank Professor Dr. R. Geyer, who sent me from Vienna his collections concerning Ṭufail, which assisted me materially in checking and increasing the list of quotations and variants which precede the text. Both gentlemen have, moreover, placed me under a further obligation by reading each a proof of the text. I deeply regret that Professor W. Ahlwardt, who had proposed to me, after studying my manuscript for nearly a year, to edit the remainder of the *Aṣnā'iyāt* from this manuscript in conjunction with myself, has not been able to assist me on account of ill-health, and I fear the projected edition may be delayed for a considerable time. It is on this account that I have decided to give the first poem of the manuscript, perhaps the most interesting in it, as a specimen, and I hope that this short article, written during my scanty leisure hours, may be of some interest to all those who take a delight in the poetry of ancient Arabia.

The abbreviations in the following notes, I believe, will be clear to all readers, and I only regret that I was unable to refer to all the works noted in Professor Geyer's list of quotations, but I do not think that very much could be added to throw further light upon the text.

## QUOTATIONS FROM THE POEM OF TUFAIL.

- Aḡānī, vii, 147, has vv. 1, 2, 4, 5, and again v. 1.  
 Aḡānī, xiv, 89, has vv. 61, 65; again v. 61 and vv. 5, 6, 7.  
 Aḡānī, xiv, 90, has vv. 6-9.  
 Aḡānī, xiv, 87, has vv. 1-4.  
 'Ainī, iii, 24-25, has vv. 6-11, 13, 26, 22, 24, 29, 34.  
 Hizāna, iii, 642-643, has vv. 72-75.

Single verses are found—

- v. 1. Bakrī, 674.  
 v. 3. al-Qālī, Amālī, Paris MS., fol. 50 v.; L.A. ii, 104; T.A.<sup>1</sup> i, 108; Lane, 2099.  
 v. 4. L.A. i, 476; T.A. i b, 33.  
 v. 7. I. Sīdah, i, 52 (anon.); Imrūl-Qais, App. 2, v. 5.  
 v. 10. Yāqūt, iii, 235.  
 v. 12. Hamdānī, Arabia, 173; Bakrī, 204; Yāqūt, iii, 285.  
 v. 13. L.A. xv, 265; T.A. viii, 382.  
 v. 18. L.A. xix, 55.  
 v. 19. al-Qālī, Amālī, Paris MS., 94 v.  
 v. 21. Hamdānī, Arabia, 170, 174; Bakrī, 697; Yāqūt, i, 314; T.A. vi, 194.  
 v. 22. L.A. xvii, 455; T.A. vi, 195; ix, 419.  
 v. 23. al-Aṣma'ī, Ḥail, 78; Asās, √ دسى; L.A. i, 291; T.A.<sup>1</sup> i a, 216; T.A.<sup>2</sup> vi, 195.  
 v. 24. Sibūya, Calcutta ed., p. 40; Asās, √ شعر and دسى; L.A. ii, 387, vi, 181, xviii, 295; T.A.<sup>1</sup> i c, 104, iii, 312, x, 131.  
 v. 25. al-Aṣma'ī, Ibil (in Haffner Texte), 96; L.A. i, 458; T.A.<sup>1</sup> i b, 22.  
 v. 26. I. Duraid, Geneal. 14 (2nd hemistich only); I. Sīdah, xvi, 30; Jāḥiẓ, Ḥaiw., Vienna MS. 285 v., Camb. 43 v.; Vienna MS. 48 v. (with v. 37), 79 r.  
 v. 29. al-Qālī, Amālī, Paris MS. 148 v.  
 v. 32. al-Baṭāliyyūsī, Comm. to Imrūl-Qais, Cairo ed., p. 76.  
 v. 33. L.A. xvii, 384; T.A. ix, 387.  
 v. 36. L.A. iii, 74; T.A.<sup>1</sup> iii, 32.  
 v. 37. al-Aṣma'ī, Ḥail, 214; I. Qutaiba, Adab, ed. Sproull, 38; al-Qālī, Amālī, Paris MS. 86 r.; Jāḥiẓ, Ḥaiw., Vienna MS. 48 v. (after v. 26).

- v. 38. Baṭaliyūsī, Comm. to Imrūl-Qais, 14; L.A. xv, 248; Arajīz, Cairo 1313, p. 77.
- v. 39. L.A. xvii, 167 (anon.).
- v. 43. Hamdānī, Arabia, 174 (1st hemistich).
- v. 44. Primeurs, ii, 142; Naṣr, 538.
- v. 45. al-‘Askarī, Šinā‘atain, ed. Const., 53; al-Qālī, Paris MS. 64 r.; Jauh. ii, 483; L.A. viii, 37, xix, 34; T.A. x, 148.
- v. 48. al-Aṣma‘ī, Ḥail, 298, 299; I. Sikkīt, Alfāz, 684; Jāhiz, Ḥaiw., Vienna MS. 231 v.
- v. 49. Bakrī, 134.
- v. 50. Iṣlāḥ, Lugd Warn, 446, fol. 89 r.; al-Qālī, Amālī, Paris MS. 156 r.; Jauh. ii, 447; L.A. ii, 195, xviii, 83; T.A. x, 40.
- v. 54. I. Sīdah, xv, 130; Jauh. ii, 254; Asās, √ ثري; L.A. xviii, 120; T.A. x, 58, 304 (2nd hemistich).
- v. 60. L.A. x, 137; xx, 23 (both anonymous).
- v. 61. Aqḍād, 110; Jauh. i, 46, ii, 84; L.A. i, 328, iv, 243, xi, 402; T.A.<sup>1</sup> i a, 239, iii, 130; Majmū‘at al-Ma‘ūnī, ed. Const., 79.
- v. 62. Jauh. i, 98; L.A. i, 30, ii, 222; T.A.<sup>1</sup> i a, 50, i b, 182; I. Hiṣām, Bānat, ed. Cairo, 12.
- v. 64. L.A. xvii, 77; T.A. ix, 238 (2nd hemistich).
- v. 68. Muwāzana, ed. Const., 16 (1st hemistich); L.A. ii, 162; T.A.<sup>1</sup> i b, 146.
- v. 72. al-‘Askarī, Šinā‘atain, 213; Bakrī, 352.
- v. 76. Asās, √ ذاب.
- v. 77. L.A. ii, 109; T.A. i b, 111; Lane, 1285 (1st hemistich).
- v. 78. L.A. xix, 370.

## VARIOUS READINGS.

- v. 1. بِالْعَقْرِ بِالْعَقْرِ, Bakrī, 674; بِالْقَعْرِ, Ag. vii, 147<sup>2</sup>, 147<sup>16</sup>.
- v. 2. تَرَكْتُ : قَوْلٌ, Ag. xiv, 87.

Ag. vii, 147, gives this verse in the following form:—

وَكَاَنْتَ إِذَا تَنَآى نَوَىٰ أَوْ تَفَرَّقَتْ \* شِدَادَ الْهَوَىٰ لَمْ تَذَرِ مَا مُنْشَعِبٌ

- v. 5. اَنْ يَبْدُو : اِنْ تَبْدُو, Ag. xiv, 89.

مِنْ الْحُسْنِ : مِنْ الْيَمْنِ, Ag. vii, 147.

- v. 7. مَحْبَرٍ : مُقَرَّبٍ , 'Ainī, iii, 24.  
وَصَوْتُهُ : وَسَائِرُهُ , Ag. xiv, 89.
- v. 9. يَكْتَبُ قَوْمٌ تَدْوُرُ : 'Ainī, iii, 24 (wrong).
- v. 11. مَحْكَرٍ : صَقَعٍ , 'Ainī, iii, 24. خَوَاصٍ : وَرَائٍ ,  
iii, 24.
- v. 12. مُعْطَبٍ : مُعَقَّبٍ , Hamdānī, Arabia, 173.
- v. 13. 'Ainī reads wrongly كَسِرْحَانَ .
- v. 18. L.A. xix, 55, اَلْمُتَّقِبِ as rhyme.
- v. 21. جَلَبْنَا : جَنَبْنَا , Bakrī, 697, T.A. vi, 196, Yāqūt, i, 314.  
لُبْنِي : لُبْنِي , Hamdānī, 170, 174, Yāqūt, i, 314, T.A.  
vi, 196.
- v. 22. For reading of MS. الْعَرَابِ I have adopted the reading  
الْعُرَابِ , with L.A. xvii, 455, T.A. ix, 419 ; الْأَعْرَ ,  
T.A. vi, 195.
- تَنْمِي : تَنْمِي , T.A. vi, 195.

'Ainī, iii, 25, gives this verse in the following form :—

مَعَاوِرُ مِنْ آلِ الْوَجِيهِ وَلَا حَتِي \* عَنَابِيَجٍ فِيهَا لَذَّةٌ لِمُعَقَّبٍ

This is simply reminiscence of a similar verse of Tufail from another Tawīl poem rhyming بُ quoted with slight variations by al-Qālī, Amālī, Paris MS. 50<sup>b</sup>, L.A. ii, 109, vi, 341, T.A. iii, 469, as follows :—

عَنَابِيَجٍ مِنْ آلِ الْوَجِيهِ وَلَا حَتِي \* مَعَاوِرُ فِيهَا لِلْأَرَبِ مُعَقَّبُ

- v. 23. حُجَبَاتُهَا : حُجَبَاتُهَا , L.A. ii, 291, Aṣma'ī, Hail, 78 ;  
صَحْبَاتُهَا , T.A. vi, 195.

أَشْرَفَتْ : مُشْرِفًا , Aṣma'ī, Hail, 78.

وَرَادَا , غُرَابَا , misprint for غُرَابَا , T.A. vi, 195.

وَحَوَا , وَحُوا , misprint, T.A. i a, 216.

تُعُولِمَ , تُخِيرَ , T.A. vi, 195.

- v. 24. Asās ✓ شعر has the first hemistich in this form :

وَرَادَا مُدَمَّاءَ وَكُنَّا كَانَمَا

- v. 25. تُسَهِّبُ : تُسَهِّبُ , Aṣma'ī, Ibil (Haffner Texte), 96, 20,

L.A. i, 458.

يُخَالِسَهَا : يُخَالِسَهَا , Aṣma'ī, Ibil (Haffner Texte), 96<sup>20</sup>.

- v. 26. كَانَهُ : كَانَهَا , wrong Jāhiz, Haiw., Vienna MS. 48 r.,

79 r., 285 r.

- v. 29. إِشَاءَ : أَشَاءَ , al-Qālī, MS. dated 585 A.H., fol. 49 v.

(= Paris, 148 v.).

- v. 32. حَسِبْتَ : كَانُ , Baṭaliyūsī, Comm. to Imq. 76.

- v. 33. الرِّدْهَةَ : الوَهْدَةَ , L.A. xvii, 384, T.A. ix, 387.

- v. 36. رَهَوَا : زَهَوَا , L.A. iii, 74, T.A. i, ii, 32.

- v. 37. يُلْقَى كَلْبًا : يُلْقَى كَلْبٌ , Aṣma'ī, Hail, 214.

- v. 38. يَكْلَهُبُ : مُتَلَهَّبٌ , Arājiz, 77.

- v. 45. كَانَهَا : wrong in MS. but correct كَانَمَا , Jauh. ii, 483,

L.A. viii, 37, xix, 34, T.A. x, 148.

يُرَادَى : تُرَادَى , Ganh. ii, 483, L.A. viii, 37 (first hemistich only), L.A. xix, 34, T.A. x, 148.

- v. 48. Jāhiz, Haiwān, Vienna MS., fol. 231<sup>b</sup>, has the verse in this form :

صَوَانِعَ تَبْنَى بَيْضَةَ الْحَلِي بَعْدَمَا \* اذَاعَتْ بَرِيعَانَ السَّقَامِ الْمَغْرِبِ  
apparently quite a sequence of Tashīfs.

- v. 49. رَمَلٍ : أَهْلٍ, Bakrī, 134.
- v. 50. بِهَمْ : بِنَا, Qālī, Amālī, MS. dated 585 A.H., 72 v. (= Paris MS. 156 r.), Jauh. ii, 447, L.A. ii, 195, xviii, 83, T.A. x, 40.
- v. 54. يَذْدَنْ : يَذْدَنْ, L.A. xviii, 120.  
يَتَحَلَّبُ : المَحَلَّبِ, Asās √ ثري.
- v. 61. مَحْجَرٍ. The MS. has no vowels, al-Aṣma'ī read مَحْجَرٍ, while Ibn as-Sikkit pronounced مَحْجَرٍ.  
فَذَوْقُوا : فَذَوْقُوا, so in all passages where this verse is quoted.
- v. 62. أَبَاءَ : أَبَاءَ, T.A. i a, 50; فَبَاءَ, L.A. ii, 222, T.A. i b, 182.  
مِثْلَهُمْ : مِثْلَهُمْ, Jauh. i, 98, L.A. i, 30, T.A.<sup>1</sup> i a, 50,  
I. Hishām Bānat, Cairo ed., 12.
- v. 64. الْمَشْرَبِ : بِمَشْرَبِ, L.A. xvii, 77, T.A. ix, 238.
- v. 65. الْعَابِطُ : الْعَابِطُ, Ag. xiv, 89.
- v. 68. مَثَلٍ : مَثَلٍ, L.A. ii, 162, T.A.<sup>1</sup> i b, 146.
- v. 72. الْحَيَّرَ تُعْتَبِ : الْحَيَّرَ تُعْتَبِ, 'Askarī, Ṣinā'atāin, Const. ed., p. 213.
- v. 75. الْعَظِيمَةَ : الْعَظِيمَةَ, Hiz. iii, 643.  
الْوُثَيْقَةَ : الْوُثَيْقَةَ, Hiz. iii, 643.
- v. 76. أَتْلَعْتُ : أَتْلَعْتُ, Asās.
- v. 77. وَلَمْ يَجِدْ : وَلَمْ يَجِدْ, L.A. ii, 109.

[Fol. 1b] قَالَ طُقَيْلُ بْنُ عَوْفِ بْنِ خَلْفِ بْنِ صُبَيْسِ بْنِ مَالِكِ  
ابْنِ سَعْدِ بْنِ عَوْفِ بْنِ كَعْبِ بْنِ جِلَّانِ ابْنِ كَعْبِ بْنِ غَنَمِ بْنِ غَنِيٍّ  
ابْنِ أَخْضَرِ بْنِ سَعْدِ بْنِ قَيْسِ بْنِ عَيْلَانَ بْنِ مُضَرَ \* وَاسْمُ غَنِيٍّ عَمْرُو  
وَاسْمُ أَخْضَرَ مُنَبِّهٌ وَأَنَا عَصْرُهُ ببيت قاله

\* أَعْمِيرُ إِنَّ أَبَاكَ غَيْرُ رَأْسِهِ \* مَرُّ اللَّيَالِي وَآخِثِلُفُ الْأَعْصَرِ \*

فيسمى بهذا البيت أَخْضَرَ \* وَأَنَا قَالَ طُنَيْلٌ هَذِهِ الْقَصِيدَةُ فِي غَارَةِ  
كَانَ أَغَارَهَا عَلَى طَيٍّ فَنَالَ مِنْهَا وَقَتْلَ وَأَسْرَ وَهَذِهِ الْقَصِيدَةُ مِنْ  
أَجُودِ شَعْرِهِ

١ بِالْعُتْرِ دَارٌ مِنْ جُمَيْلَةٍ هَبَّتْ \*

سَوَالِفَ حَبٍّ فِي فَوَادِكِ مُنْصَبٍ

الْعُتْرُ بِالْعَالِيَةِ فِي بِلَادِ قَيْسٍ \* سَوَالِفُ أَيِ سَوَابِقِ [Fol. 2a] سَبَقَتْ  
بِحَبِّهَا وَتَتَدَمَّتْ وَكَلَّ مُتَقَدِّمٌ سَلَكٌ وَهَمُ السُّهْلَاةِ وَمِنْهُ سُمِّيَتْ  
سُلَافَةُ الشَّرَابِ لِأَوَّلِ مَا يَسْبِيلُ مِنْهُ \* مُنْصَبٌ مُتَعَبٌ وَالْمُنْصَبُ  
الْمُتَعَبُ فَبِعَوْلٍ هَبَّتْ حُبًّا قَدْ كَانَ ثُمَّ انْقَطَعَ فَذَهَبَ

٢ وَكُنْتَ إِذَا نَأَتْ بِهَا غَرَبَةُ النَّوَى \*

شَدِيدَ الْقُوَى لَمْ تَدْرِ مَا قَوْلُ مُشْغِبٍ

أَرَادَ نَأَتْ فَقَلَبَ وَمَعْنَاهُ بَعُدَتْ عَنْكَ يَقَالُ نَأَيْتُ عَنْهُ نَأْيًا  
وَنَأْيُهُ نَأْيًا وَيَقَالُ نَوَى غَرْبُهُ إِذَا كَانَتْ بَعِيدَةً وَكَلَّ إِبْعَادُ أَغْتَرَابَ  
وَمِنْهُ يَقَالُ أَغْرَبَ أَيِ أَبْعَدَ وَمِنْهُ شَأْوٌ مُغْرِبٌ أَيِ مُبْعِدٌ وَالنَّوَى

وَالْيَيْتَةُ الْوَجْهَ الذِّى تَنْوِيهِ وَتَرِيدُهُ وَتَوَيْتُكَ الذِّى يَنْيْتُهِ مِثْلُ نَيْتِكَ \*  
 شَدِيدُ الْقُوَى اِى يَشْتَدُّ عِزَاؤُكَ عَنْهَا وَلَا يَصْغَفُ وَاعِلُ الْقُوَى طَاقَاتُ  
 الْحَبْلِ وَاحِدَتَهَا قُوَّةٌ وَيُقَالُ قَدْ أَقْوَيْتَ حَبْلَكَ اِذَا أَخَذْتَ قُوَّةَ  
 فَكَانَ بَعْضُهَا أَغْلَظَ مِنْ بَعْضٍ وَمِنْهُ الْإِقْوَاءُ فِي الشِّعْرِ وَهُوَ اخْتِلَافُ  
 قَوَافِيهِ بِالْخَفْضِ وَالرَّفْعِ \* مُشْغِبٌ اِى ذُو شُعْبٍ عَلَيْكَ وَخِلَافٌ \*  
 وَيُرْوَى مُشْعَبٌ<sup>١</sup> \* اِى لَمْ تَذَرِ مَا قَوْلُ مَنْ يُشْعِبُكَ عَنْهَا فَيَضْرِبُكَ  
 وَيَبَاعِدُكَ [Fol. 2b] وَظَبْيٌ أَشْعَبُ<sup>٢</sup> اِذَا كَانَ بَعِيدَ مَا بَيْنَ الْقَرْنَيْنِ<sup>٣</sup>

### ٣ كَرِيمَةٌ حَرِّ الْوَجْهِ لَمْ تَدْعُ هَالِكًا \*

مِنْ الْقَوْمِ هُلُكًا فِي غَدٍ غَيْرِ مُعْتَبٍ

حُرِّ الْوَجْهِ أَكْرَمُ مَوْضِعٍ فِيهِ وَمِنْهُ حُرُّ الْفَاكِهَةِ وَمِنْهُ قَوْلُ الْأَعَشَى \*  
 فَتَنَّاوَلْتُ<sup>٣</sup> قَيْسًا بِحُرِّ بِلَادِهِ \* اِى بِأَكْرَمِ بِلَادِهِ وَيَقُولُ لَمْ تَدْعُ هَالِكًا  
 هَلَكْتَ هُلُكًا غَيْرَ مُعْتَبٍ فِي غَدٍ اِى لَمْ تَتَذَبَّ مِنْ لَا يَخْلُفُهُ غَيْرُهُ  
 اِذَا هَلَكَ لِأَنَّهَا فِي غَدٍ وَقَوْمٌ يَخْلُفُ بَعْضُهُمْ بَعْضًا وَمَعْنَى فِي غَدٍ  
 فِيمَا بَنَى غَيْرَ مُعْتَبٍ لَمْ يَدْعُ غَقْبًا مِثْلَهُ

### ٤ أَسِيلَةُ مَجْرَى الدَّمْعِ خُمْصَانَةُ الْحَشَا \*

بَرُودُ الشَّيَا ذَاتُ خَلْقٍ مُشْرَعٍ

أَسِيلَةُ اِى سَهْلَةُ الْحَدِيثِ يُقَالُ أَسْلُ يَأْسُلُ أَسْلًا وَأَسَالَةً \* خُمْصَانَةُ  
 طَاوِيَةُ خُمَيْصَةٍ وَهُوَ الْخُمُصُ وَالْخُمْصُ وَالْحَشَى مَا بَيْنَ أَجْزَاءِ الْأَضْلَاعِ

<sup>١</sup> MS مشغب.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. اشغب.

<sup>٣</sup> Esc. fol. 19b, poem 3, v. 17.

الي الوركب والتشتية حشيان وقال ابو زيد حشوان \* مُشَرَّعِبَ يُقَالُ  
لكل خلق طويل مُنْعَب مشرعب ويقال لبرود فيها خُطوط طوال  
شرعية

ه تَرَى الْعَيْنُ مَا تَهْوَى وَفِيهَا زِيَادَةٌ \*

مِنَ الْيَمَنِ إِذْ تَبْدُو وَمَلْهَى لِمَلْعَبٍ

اي ترى العين ما تشتهي العين أن تراه وفيها زيادة على ما  
تراه فيها من اليمن يعني يمن الطائر والمَلْعَب هاهنا اللَّعِبُ قال  
وهو مثل قول الراعي

بُنَيْتٌ مَرَاغُفُهُنَّ فَوْقَ مَرْزَةٍ \* لَا يَسْتَطِيعُ بِهَا الْفَرَادُ مَقِيلًا

[Fol. 3a] اي قَائِلَةٌ لأنها مَلْسَاءٌ لَا يَدِبُ بِهَا فَيَقُولُ فِيهَا مَلْهَى

لَمَنْ أَرَادَ اللَّهْوَ وَاللَّعِبَ

٦ وَبَيْتٌ تَهْبُ الرِّيحُ فِي حَجَرَاتِهِ \*

بَارِضٍ فَضَاءً بَابُهُ لَمْ يَحْجَبِ

يعنى أَبْرَادًا خَلَدَهَا وَعَمَدَهَا بَاتَّقْنَا وَالْقِسَى واستظلت بها يقال هَبَّتِ  
الرَّيحُ تَهْبٌ هُبُوبًا وَهَبَتْ مِنْ نَوْمِهِ يَهْبُ هِبَابًا وَالْفَضَاءُ الْوَاسِعَةُ  
وَالْحَجَرَاتُ النُّوَاحِي الْوَاحِدَةُ حَجْرَةٌ وَمِثْلُ مِنَ الْأَمْثَالِ \* يَأْكُلُ  
وَسَطًا وَيَرْبُضُ حَجْرَةً \* لِذِي يُصِيبُ الْمَهْنَأَ وَيَتَبَاعَدُ عَنِ الشَّرِّ

<sup>1</sup> MS. الْعَيْنُ.

<sup>2</sup> Jamh. 173, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Maid. ii, 250.

٧ سَمَاوَتُهُ أَسْمَالُ بَرْدٍ مُكْبِرٍ \*

وصَهْوَتُهُ مِنْ أُنْحَمِيٍّ مَعْصِبٍ

سَمَاوَتُهُ أَعْلَاهُ كُلُّهُ وَكَذَلِكَ سَمَاوَةُ الْأَسْمَالِ الْأَخْلَاقِ وَاحِدَهَا سَمَلٌ  
وَقَدْ أَسْمَلَ الثَّوْبُ إِسْمَالًا إِذَا خَلِقَ \* مُحَبَّرٌ مُوَشَّى وَالْكَحْبِيرُ الْكُحْسِينُ  
وَصَهْوَتُهُ أَرَادَ وَسَطَهُ وَهَذَا مِثْلُ صَهْوَةِ الدَّابَّةِ وَهُوَ مَوْضِعُ اللَّيْبُدِ مِنْهَا \*  
أُنْحَمِيٍّ ضَرْبٌ مِنَ الْبُرُودِ \* مُعَصَّبٌ مِنَ عَصَبِ الْيَمَنِ

٨ وَأَطْنَابُهُ أَرْسَانُ جَرْدٍ كَانَهَا \*

صُدُورُ الْقَنَاءِ مِنْ بَادِيٍّ وَمُعَقِّبٍ

الْأَطْنَابُ الْجِبَالُ الَّتِي يُشَدُّ بِهَا الْحِجَابُ إِلَى الْإِوتَادِ \* وَجُرْدٌ قِصَارُ  
السَّعْغَةِ وَطُولُ الشَّعْرَةِ هُجْنَةٌ كَأَنَّهَا يَعْنِي الْخَيْلَ صُدُورُ الْقَنَاءِ فِي ضَمِّهَا  
وَصَلَابَتِهَا وَإِذَا كَانَ كَالصَّدْرِ فَهُوَ كَالْقَنَاءِ كَلَّمَا يَقَالُ جَاءَ فُلَانٌ عَلَيَّ صَدْرٍ  
رَاحِلَتُهُ نِي [علي] [Fol. 3b] رَاحِلَتُهُ وَقَالَ الْأَصْمَعِيُّ مَرَّةً أُخْرَى أَرَادَ  
أَشْرَافَهَا وَأَنْشَدَ لِلشَّمَاخِ

مُسَبَّبَةٌ قُبْتُ<sup>١</sup> الْبُطُونِ كَأَنَّهَا \* رِمَاحٌ مَحَابِلُهَا وَجَهَةٌ الرِّيحِ رَاكِزٌ

ذَكَرَ أَنَّهَا مُسَبَّبَةٌ يَقَالُ قَاتَلَهَا اللَّهُ وَأَنْخَرَهَا اللَّهُ نَعَجَبًا وَالْبَادِيُّ الَّذِي  
غَزَا أَوَّلَ غَزْوَةِ وَالْمُعَقِّبُ الَّذِي يُغْزَى عَلَيْهِ غَزْوَةٌ بَعْدَ أُخْرَى وَأَنْشَدَ  
لِأَعَشَى بِأَهْلِهِ

سَمَا لِّلْمَبُونِ الْجَارِمِي سَمَيْدَعٌ \* إِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي أَوَّلِ الْغَزْوِ عَقْبًا

أَي غَزَا ثَانِيَةً يَقَالُ صَلَّى فُلَانٌ فِي أَوَّلِ اللَّيْلِ ثُمَّ عَقَّبَ فِي صَلَاتِهِ

<sup>1</sup> Altered from قَط in MS.

٩ نَصَبْتُ عَلَى قَوْمٍ تُدِيرُ مَآحِمَهُ \*

عُرُوقَ الْأَعَادِي مِنْ غَرِيرٍ وَأَشْيَبِ

أى نصبت هذا البيت وقوله تُدِيرُ مَآحِمَهُ أى تُدِيرُ الدَّمَ كما يُخْرِجُ  
الْمُدِيرُ اللَّبَنَ واصل الغَزَارِ قَلَّةُ الْفُطْنَةِ وَاللَّتَجْرِبَةِ فيقول نَقَلَ الْأَشْيَبِ  
الْمُجَرَّبِ وَالْمُجَرَّسِ وَالْغَرِيرِ الَّذِي لَا تَجْرِبُهُ [له]

١٠ وَفِينَا تَرَى الطُّولَى وَكُلَّ سَمِيدَعٍ \*

مُدْرِبِ حَرْبٍ وَابْنِ كُلِّ مُدْرِبٍ

الطُّولَى الْعَظَمَى مِنَ الْأُمُورِ الَّتِي هِيَ أَطْوَلُ وَأَشْرَفُ يُقَالُ الطُّولَى  
مِنَ النَّحْتَالِ فِي آلِ فُلَانٍ أَيْ الْعِظَامُ الشَّرِيفَةُ وَالسَّمِيدَعُ السَّهْلُ الْخُلُقِ  
الْمُؤَطَّأُ الْأَكْنَافُ \* مُدْرِبٌ أَيْ وَقَّحَهُ الْحَرْبُ وَجَرَّسَتْهُ حَتَّى دَرَبَ  
وَاصِلُ الدَّرَابَةِ الشَّرَاوُذُ وَهِيَ الدَّرَبَةُ أَيْضًا

١١ طَوِيلِ نِجَادِ السَّيْفِ لَمْ يَرْضَ خُطَّةً \*

مِنْ الْخَسْفِ وَرَادٍ إِلَى الْمَوْتِ صَقَعِبِ

[Fol. 4a] طَوِيلُ نِجَادِ السَّيْفِ أَرَادَ أَنَّهُ طَوِيلُ الْحِسْمِ وَإِذَا كَانَ  
كَذَلِكَ لَمْ يَكُنْ مُجَادَهُ إِلَّا طَوِيلًا وَالنِّجَادُ حِمَائِلُ السَّيْفِ وَيُقَالُ إِنَّهُ  
لَعَمْرُ الرَّدَاءِ إِذَا كَانَ وَاسِعَ الْمَعْرُوفِ \* قَالَ كُنْثَرٌ

عَمَّرَ الرَّدَاءَ إِذَا تَبَسَّمَ ضَاحِكًا \* عَلِقَتْ لِصَحْبَتِهِ رِقَابُ الْمَالِ<sup>١</sup>

وَيَقَالُ نَاقَةُ شَدِيدَةٍ جَفْنِ الْعَيْنِ إِذَا كَانَتْ قَلِيلَةَ النَّوْمِ وَإِنْ كَانَتْ  
مُسْتَرْخِيَةً الْجَفْنُونَ وَيَقَالُ قَرَسٌ طَرِبُ الْعَنَانِ إِذَا كَانَ رَشِيمًا خَفِيمًا  
وَالْخَسْفُ الضَّيْمُ وَهُوَ فِي الْبَهَائِمِ أَنْ تُحْبَسَ عَلَى غَيْرِ عَلْفٍ وَالصَّقْعُ  
الْجَسِيمُ الطَوِيلُ

## ١٢ تَبَيْتُ كَعْقَبَانَ الشَّرِيفِ رِجَالَهُ \*

إِذَا مَا نَوَّوْا إِحْدَاثَ أَمْرِ مُعْطَبٍ

رِجَالُهُ رِجَالَتُهُ قَوْمٌ رَجُلٌ وَرِجَالٌ وَرِجَالِي وَرِجَالِي وَقَوْلُهُ كَعْقَبَانَ  
الشَّرِيفِ شَبَّهَهُمْ بِعَقْبَانَ الشَّرِيفِ حِرْصًا عَلَى الْغَارَةِ وَقَدْ سَأَلْتُ  
الْعَرَبَ عَنِ الشَّرِيفِ فَنَالُوا الشَّرِيفَ وَادٍ بِجَدِّ فَمَا كَانَ يَلِي الْمَشْرِقَ  
مِنْهُ فَهُوَ الشَّرِيفُ وَمَا كَانَ يَلِي الْمَغْرِبَ فَهُوَ الشَّرْفُ<sup>١</sup> وَالشَّرْفُ كِبْدٌ مَجْدٌ \*  
وَإِحْدَاثٌ مَصْدَرٌ أَحْدَثَ وَيُرْوَى أَحْدَاثٌ بِالْفَتْحِ وَهُوَ جَمْعُ حَدَثٍ \*  
مُعْطَبٌ ذُو عَطَبٍ وَهُوَ الْهَلَاكُ وَيُرْوَى يَبُتُّ أَيْ يَفْتَرَقُ

## ١٣ وَفِينَا رِبَاطُ الْخَيْلِ كُلِّ مُطَهَّمٍ \*

رَجِيلٍ كَسْرَحَانَ الْغَضَا الْمُتَاوِبِ

يُقَالُ فِي آلِ فُلَانٍ رِبَاطُ أَيْ أَصْلُ خَيْلٍ مُرْتَبِطَةٌ بِمَجْدٍ [Fol. 4b]  
وَيُقَالُ هَذَا مِنْ رِبَاطِ آلِ فُلَانٍ أَيْ مِنْ أَصْلِ خَيْلِهِمْ وَالْمُطَهَّمُ الَّذِي  
يَحْسُنُ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ مِنْهُ عَلَى حَدِيثَةٍ وَالرَّجِيلُ الشَّدِيدُ الْحَافِرُ قَالِ  
الْعَنَوْتُ وَذَكَرَ امْرَأَةً

<sup>1</sup> Vowels in MS. in both instances.

أَتَى سَرِيَتْ وَكُنْتُ غَيْرَ رَجِيلَةٍ \* شَهِدْتُ عَلَيْكَ بِمَا فَعَلْتَ شُهُودُ  
وَالسَّرْحَانُ الذُّئْبُ وَجَمْعُهُ سَرَاحِينُ وَقَالَ ذُوئْبُ الْعَصَا أَخْبْتُ  
مَنْ غَيْرِ لَأَنَّهُ خَمَرٌ يَسْتَخْفِي بِالشَّجَرِ وَيَقَالُ أَخْبْتُ الذُّئَابِ ذِئْبُ  
الْعَصَا وَأَخْبْتُ الْأَفَاعِي أَفَاعِي الْحَدَبِ وَأَخْبْتُ الْحَيَاتِ حَيَاتُ  
الْحَمَاطِ وَأَسْرَعُ الضُّبَاءِ تَيْسُ الْحَدَبِ وَأَسْرَعُ الْأَرَانِبِ أَرَانِبُ الْخُلَّةِ<sup>١</sup>  
لَأَنَّهُمَا تَطْلُبُهَا وَتُصَوِّرُهَا وَالْخَمَضُ يَفْتَنُّهَا<sup>٢</sup> وَأَشَدُّ النَّاسِ الْأَعْجَفُ الضَّمَمُ  
وَأَجْمَلُ النِّسَاءِ الضَّخْمَةُ الْأَسِيلَةُ وَأَقْبَحُهُنَّ الْجَهْمَةُ الْفَغْرَةُ وَهِيَ  
الْقِلْمَةُ اللَّحْمُ وَأَعْلَى الْمَوَاطِي<sup>٣</sup> الْحَصَى عَلَى الصَّخَا \* وَالْمُتَأَوِّبُ الَّذِي  
يَأْتِي أَهْلَهُ لَيْلًا فَأَرَادَ كَسْرَ حَانَ يَتَأَوَّبُ فَذَاكَ أَشَدُّ لِعَدْوٍ وَمُنِيهِ

١٤ يَذِيْقُ الَّذِي يَعْلُو عَلَى ظَهْرِ مَتْنِهِ \*

ظِلَالٌ خَذَارِيفٌ<sup>٤</sup> مِنَ الشَّدِّ مَلْهِبٌ

يَذِيْقُ أَيُ يُوجِدُ مَسَّ عَدُوٍّ وَطَعْمَ عَدُوٍّ كَقَوْلِكَ لِلرَّجُلِ لَاذِيَمَتَكَ  
مَا يَسُوؤُكَ \* ظِلَالٌ خَذَارِيفٌ ظِلَالٌ خَذَرَفٌ وَالْخَذَرَفَةُ مَثَرٌ سَرِيعٌ  
مَخْذَرَفٌ إِذَا أَسْرَعَ وَظِلَالُهُ هُوَ بَعِيْنُهُ يَقَالُ فَلَانٌ فِي ظِلِّ عَيْشٍ وَفَسَرُ  
مَثَرَةٍ أُخْرَى فَقَالُ هَذَا مَثَلٌ وَهُوَ جَزْءٌ سَرِيعٌ كَأَنَّهُ مَثَرُ الْخَذَرُوفِ  
وَالْخَذَرُوفُ الْحَرَارَةُ الَّتِي يَلْعَبُ بِهَا الصَّبِيَانُ وَيَقَالُ لِلرَّجُلِ وَلِلدَابَّةِ  
ذَا شَدَّ [Fol. 5a] الْعَدُوُّ قَدْ أَهْدَبَ وَالْهَبَ

<sup>١</sup> Cf. أَرَانِبُ خُلَّةٍ Naqā'id 57, 11.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. بَغِيْفَهَا.

<sup>٣</sup> MS. الْمَوَطِي.

<sup>٤</sup> MS. خَذَارِيفُ also in Comments with ح.

<sup>٥</sup> MS. مَسِي.

١٥ وَجَرَدًا مِمْرَاجٍ نَبِيلٍ حِزَامُهَا \*

طُرُوحٍ كَعُودِ النَّبْعَةِ الْمُتَخَبِّ

جَرَدًا قصيرة الشعرة وذلك من كرم الفرس وعثقا وطول الشعرة هَجَنَةٌ وقوله نَبِيلٍ حِزَامُهَا اى هي عظيمة الوُسط وهو كقولك اِن فلانا لَعَفِيفُ الإزار يريد عفيف الفرج \* وتقول العرب فِدَاءُ لَكَ رِجْلَايَ وَفِدَاءُ لَكَ ثَوْبَايَ كقولهم انا أَفْدِيكَ وانشد للتراعي \* وَلِلَّهِ ثَوْبَا حَبِيرَ أَيَّمَا فَتَى \* يريد لله ما ضمَّ ثَوْبَا حَبِيرٍ وقوله طُرُوحٍ اى شديدة النخم بِرِجْلَيْهَا وذلك من شدة نَسَاها واذا كان ضعيفا اسم يَنْعَلُ ذلك و يقال قَوْسٌ طُرُوحٌ وهي البعيدة القذف للسهم \* قال ابو النّجم

أَلْحَى شِمَالًا هَمَزَى نَصُوحًا \* وَهَفَى مُعْطِيَةً طُرُوحًا<sup>١</sup>

ومنه قولهم يَدْعُوهُ الرَّبِيعُ الْمَطْرُحُ وقوله كَعُودٍ يعني قَوْسًا بِصَلَابَتِهَا<sup>٢</sup> وَ الْمُتَخَبِّبُ الذي انتخب من القسّى اى أَخْتِيرَ وَيُرَى مُتَخَبِّبٌ وهو الذى نُزِعَ مَجَبَّةٌ<sup>٣</sup> اى قِشْرُهُ

١٦ تَنِيفُ إِذَا اقْوَرَّتْ مِنْ الْقَوْدِ وَأَنْطَوَتْ \*

بِهَادٍ رَفِيعٍ يَقْهَرُ الْخَيْلَ صَلَهِبٍ

تَنِيفٌ تُشْرِفُ \* قَصْرٌ مُنِيفٌ اى متشرف ويقال للمرأة الجسيمة والذاقة نِيَافٌ ويقال لِلِسْتَامِ نَوْفٌ لِإِشْرَافِهِ ومنه [Fol. 5b] أَلْفٌ

<sup>١</sup> Cf. I. Wallād, 131.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. بمصلابتها.

<sup>٣</sup> MS. كحته.

وَبَيْتُ أَي شَيْءٍ يَشْرَفُ عَلَى الْآلَفِ قَالَ ابْنُ الرِّقَاعِ \* وَلِدْتُ<sup>١</sup> بِرَابِيَةِ  
رَأْسَهَا \* عَلَى كُلِّ رَابِيَةٍ نَيْفٌ \* وَالْإِفْزَارُ الضُّمْرُ وَتَغْيِيرُ السَّبْرِ وَالسَّبْرُ  
الْحَالُ الَّتِي تَظْهَرُ مِنَ الطَّلَاةِ وَالْحُسْنِ وَلَيْسَ كُلُّ مُنْطَوٍ مُقْوَرًّا قَدْ  
يَنْطَوِي وَهُوَ حَسَنٌ \* بِهَادٍ أَيِ بَعْنِي يَفْهَرُ يَغْلُو عَلَى الْخَيْلِ \* صَلَّهَبَ  
طَوِيلَ الْجَسْمِ فَيَقُولُ تَمَدَّ اعْنَاقَهَا وَيَطْوِيهَا الْقَوْدَ وَيَكْسِرُهَا

١٧ وَعُوجٌ كَأَحْنَاءِ السَّرَاءِ مَطَّتْ بِهَا \*

مَطَارِدُ تَهْدِيهَا أَسِنَّةٌ قَعَصَبِ

عُوجٌ مَعْطُوفَةٌ عَلَى قَوْلِهِ بِهَادٍ صَلَّهَبِ وَعُوجٌ وَالْمَعْنَى وَلَهَا عُوجٌ  
يَعْنِي ضُلُوعَهَا وَكُلُّ عُودٍ مَعْطُوفٍ حَنْوٌ وَالسَّرَاءُ شَجَرٌ بِالْيَمَنِ يَعْمَلُ  
مِنْهُ الْقَيْسِيُّ وَهَطَّتْ مَدَّتْ وَالْمَطْوُ الْمَدُّ يُقَالُ مَطَا يَوْمُهُ وَلَيْلَتُهُ أَيِ  
مَدَّ فِي السَّيْرِ وَسَمِيَ الْمَطِيَّ مَطِيًّا لِأَنَّهُ يُمَدُّ بِهِ فِي السَّيْرِ وَقَوْلُهُ مَطَارِدُ  
أَغْتَنَّقَ طِلْوَالِ كَأَنَّهَا رِمَاحٌ وَالْمَطَارِدُ كِنَايَةٌ عَنِ الْأَعْنَاقِ فَيُرِيدُ كَأَنَّ  
أَعْنَاقَهَا رِمَاحٌ تَهْدِيهَا أَسِنَّةٌ أَيِ تَقْدِمُهَا وَتَكُونُ هَوَادِي لَهَا وَقَعَصَبٌ  
قَيْسٌ كَانَ بِأَصَاحٍ<sup>٢</sup> جَاهِلِيٍّ وَقَالَ طَرْفَةُ فَشَبَّهَ الْأَصْلَاعَ بِالْقَيْسِيِّ

كَأَنَّ كِنَاسِي فَالِدَةٍ يَكُفُّنَاهَا \* وَأَطَرَقَيْسِي تَحْتِ صَلْبٍ مُؤَيَّدٍ<sup>٣</sup>

وَيُقَالُ عُوجٌ مَهَازِيلُ مِنَ الْعُزْرِ \* هَطَّتْ بِهَا مَطَارِدُ أَيِ مَدَّتْ بِهَا فِي  
السَّيْرِ لِأَنَّهَا تُبَارِي الرِّمَاحَ كَمَا قَالَ [أَمْرُ الْقَيْسِ] \* يُبَارِي شَبَابَةَ

<sup>١</sup> MS. ولرب.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. ياصاح.

<sup>٣</sup> 4, v. 20.

الرَّمَحِ خَدَّ مُدَّتْنِي<sup>1</sup> \* و قال الآخر [وهو طفيل] \* تُبَارِي مَرَاخِيهَا  
الزَّجَاجَ كَأَنَّهَا [Fol. 6a] \*<sup>2</sup>

١٨ إِذَا قِيلَ نَهْنِهَهَا وَقَدْ جَدَّ جِدَّهَا \*  
تَرَامَتْ كَخُذْرُوفٍ<sup>3</sup> الْوَلِيدِ الْمُشْتَبِّ  
يقول اذا ذهب [الأمر] بِكَيْفِهَا تَرَامَتْ اى تَشَابَعَتْ فى الْجَرِي  
وَالْخُذْرُوفِ الْخَرَّازَةِ

١٩ قَبَائِلُ مِنْ فَرَعَى غَنِي تَوَاهَقَتْ \*  
بِهَا الْخَيْلُ لَا عَزْلٍ وَلَا مُتَأَشَّبٍ  
تَوَاهَقَتْ تَسَايَرَتْ وَالْمُؤَاهَقَةُ أَنْ تَسِيرَ الدَابَّةُ بِحِذَاءِ الدَابَّةِ إِنْ  
رَفَعَتْ رَفَعَتْ وَأِنْ وَضَعَتْ وَضَعَتْ وَهِيَ الْمُؤَاهَقَةُ فِي السَّيْرِ وَقَدْ  
يَكُونُ الْمُؤَاهَقَةُ فِي السَّيْرِ وَالْمُغَزَّلُ الَّذِينَ لَا سِلَاحَ لَهُمْ وَاحِدُهُمْ أَغْزَلُ \*  
قال ابو عبيدة لو كانت معه حَسْبُهُ مَا كَانَ أَغْزَلَ وَيُقَالُ اَيْضًا فِي  
الْجَمِيعِ غُزْلَانٌ وَيُقَالُ رَجُلٌ وَمُغَزَّلٌ اِذَا كَانَ لَا يَكَادُ يَحْمِلُ السِّلَاحَ  
وَقَوْلُهُ وَلَا مُتَأَشَّبٍ اِى لَا خِلَاطَ فِيهِمْ مِنْ غَيْرِهِمْ وَالْأَشَابَةُ وَجَمْعُهَا  
أَشَائِبُ الْأَخْلَاطِ وَيُقَالُ أَشْبَهُمْ يَأْشِبُهُمْ أَشْبَا اِذَا خَلَطَ بِهِمْ وَمِنْهُ  
سُمِّيَ الْمَشُوبُ<sup>4</sup> مَشُوبًا لِإِخْتِلَافِ أَلْوَانِهِ وَالْمَأْشُوبُ وَالْمَشُوبُ  
وَاحِدٌ وَيُقَالُ بِهَا أَشَابَاتٌ مِنَ النَّاسِ وَأَوْبَاشٌ اِى أَخْلَاطٌ

<sup>1</sup> 35, v. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. verse 26a of this poem.

<sup>3</sup> MS. كَخُذْرُوفٍ with ح.

<sup>4</sup> MS. الْمَشُوبُ throughout.

٢٠ أَلَا هَلْ أَتَى أَهْلَ الْحِجَازِ مُغَارِنًا \*

عَلَى حَيِّ وَرِدٍ وَابْنِ رِيٍّ الْمَضْرِبِ

مُغَارِنًا غَارَتْنَا وَوَرَدٌ وَآبِنُ رِيًّا طَائِفَانِ<sup>١</sup> وَالْمَضْرِبِ [Fol. 6b] الْمُفْعَلُ  
مِنَ الضَّرْبِ وَلَيْسَ اسْمُهُ الْمَضْرِبُ وَيُرْوَى الْمَلْحَبُ أَيْ لِحْجَبٍ  
بِالسُّيُوفِ

٢١ جَنَبْنَا مِنَ الْأَعْرَافِ أَعْرَافِ غَمَرَةٍ \*

وَأَعْرَافِ لُبْنِ الْخَيْلِ يَا بَعْدَ مَجْنَبِ

لُبْنُ جَبَلٍ وَيُقَالُ هَذِهِ لُبْنُ كَمَا تَرَى غَيْرَ مَصْرُوفَةٍ وَاشْدُ لِلتَّرَاعَى \*  
كَتَحَدِلُ لُبْنٌ تَطَرَّدُ الصَّلَاةُ \* أَيْ تَنْبَعُ مَوَاقِعُ الْمَطَرِ وَالْعِلَالُ أَمْطَارُ  
مُتَفَرِّقَةٌ وَقَوْلُهُ يَا بَعْدَ مَجْنَبٍ تَعْجَبُ مِنْ بُعْدِ الْمَوْضِعِ الَّذِي  
جُنِبَتْ مِنْهُ

٢٢ بَنَاتِ الْغُرَابِ<sup>٢</sup> وَالْوَجِيهِ وَلَاحِقِ \*

وَأَعَوَجَ تَنْمِي نِسْبَةَ الْمُتَنَسِبِ

قَالَ أَبُو عَمِيْدَةَ كَانَ الْوَجِيْهِ وَالْغُرَابُ وَلَاحِقٌ وَمُذْهَبٌ وَمُكْتَوِّمٌ هَذِهِ  
الْخَمْسَةُ فَحَوْلًا لِيْغْنِيْ بَنَ اعْضُرُوْكَد تَفَرَّقَ أَوْلَادُهُنَّ فِي سَائِرِ قَبَائِلِ الْعَرَبِ  
فَلَمَّا ذَكَرَهَا ذَاكِرٌ فَأَتَمَّا يَفْتَخِرُ بِمَا صَارَ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ نَسْلِهَا وَكَانَ أَغْوَجُ لِكُنْدَةٍ

<sup>١</sup> طابيات. MS.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. العراب, also in comments, with ع under the letter.

فأخذته بنو سُلَيم في بعض أيامهم ثم صار إلى بني هلال<sup>1</sup> فافتخر  
طَفِيلُ بَنَاتِ أَعُوَجَ التي صِرْنَ في غنى ولم يفتخر بأن أَعُوَجَ كان لهم  
وقال الأصمعي هُمَا أَعُوَجَانِ فالأكبر منهما لِعَنِي والأصغر لبني هلال  
وذكر أن سَبَلَ هِيَ أُمُّ أَعُوَجَ الأكبر وأنها كانت لِعَنَى \* قال أبو عبيدة  
ليس فيهن فحل أشهر في العرب ولا أكثر نسلاً فيهم ولا الشعراء ولا  
الفرسان أكثر ذكراً ولا افتخاراً [Fol. 7a] به من أَعُوَجَ وكان أولها \*  
الأصمعي بَنَاتُ هَاهُنَا ذكور وما لم يكن من الناس قيل للذكور منه  
بَنَاتٌ وقوله تَنَمَّى يعني الخيل أنها تجد من آبائها السوابق ما تنسب  
إليه وتَنَمَّى بضم الناء أى تَرْفَعُ ومنه آتَنَمَّى فلان أى ارتفع في نسبه

٢٣ وَرَادًا وَحَوًّا مُشْرِفًا حَاجِبَاتَهَا \*

بَنَاتِ حِصَانٍ قَدْ تَعُولَمَ مُنَاجِبِ

قال أبو عبيدة ويقال فَرَسٌ وَرَثٌ والمصدر الْوَرْدَةُ وَالْوَرْدُ بين الكَمَيْتِ  
الْأَخْمَرِ وبين الْأَشْقَرِ وهو إلى الصُّفْرَةِ وَالْحَوَّةُ خُضْرَةٌ إلى سَوَادٍ يقال فَرَسٌ  
أَخْوَى وَفَرَسٌ حَوَّاءٌ إذا كانت خُضْرَتُهُ إلى السَّوَادِ وَآصْفَرَتْ شَاكِلَتُهُ  
ويقال آخْوَى الْفَرَسُ يَخْوَى آخْوَوَاءٌ ويقال آخْوَى الْفَرَسُ يَخْوَى  
آخْوِيَاءٌ وبعض العرب يقول حَوَّى فهو يَخْوَى حَوَّةً وَالْحَجَبَاتُ رُؤُوسُ  
الأَوْرَاقِ التي تُشْرِفُ على الْخَوَاصِرِ وَيُسْتَحَبُّ منها أن تظهر من  
اللحم وتشرف ويكره منها أن يعصرها اللحم و أن يَغْمُضَ وقوله قد  
تَعُولَمَ يقال امرؤ عَالَمٌ أى قد عَلِمَهُ الناسُ وَشِهْرٌ وَمَنْزِلَةٌ مُتَعَالَمٌ أى  
مَعْلُومٌ مكانه \* مُنَاجِبٌ كريم النسل [Fol. 7b]

<sup>1</sup> MS. هلال throughout.

٢٤ وَكَمَيْتَا مَدَمَاتٍ كَانَ مَتُونَهَا \*

جَرَى فَوْقَهَا وَاسْتَشَعَرَتْ لَوْنَ مَذْهَبٍ

يقال كُمَيْتٌ أَحْمَرٌ<sup>١</sup> وهو أشد حافراً وجلداً وهو الذى تَضْرِبُ حُمْرَتُهُ الى السَّوَادِ وَكُمَيْتٌ مَدَمَى وهو الذى كُمَيْتُهُ الى الحُمْرَةِ ولا يخلطها سَوَادٌ وَكُمَيْتٌ مَذْهَبٌ وهو الذى تَعْلُوهُ ضَنْرَةٌ قال الأصمعيّ وقالت بنو عَبَسٍ ما صبر معنا فى حربنا إلا بَنَاتُ الْعَمِّ ومن الخيل إلا الْكُمَيْتُ<sup>٢</sup> ومن الإبل إلا الْحُمُرُ \* قال الأصمعيّ وكان الوجه ان يقول جَرَى فَوْقَهُ وَاسْتَشْرَبَتْهُ لَوْنٌ مَذْهَبٍ فال والعرب تجعل الفعل للأخر وتبطل فعل الأول وَاسْتَشْرَبَتْ اى أَشْرَبَتْ يقال فلان مُشْرَبٌ حُمْرَةً اى ألزم لونه حُمْرَةَ قال المزار \* وَلَكِنْ أَشْرَبُوا الْأَقْرَانَ صُهْبًا \* اى ألزموا الحبال اعناقها لَمَّا قُرْنَتْ فيها

٢٥ نَزَائِعَ مَتَدُوفًا عَلَيَّ سَرَوَاتِهَا \*

بِمَا لَمْ تُخَالِسْهَا الْغَزَاةُ وَتُسَهِّبِ

اى نَزْبَعُ كُلَّ قَبِيلَةٍ اى غَرِيبُ كُلِّ قَبِيلَةٍ، وكذلك هِىَ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ كُلُّ غَرِيبَةٍ نَزِيعَةٍ، وقوله مَتَدُوفًا عَلَيَّ سَرَوَاتِهَا اى قَذَفْتُ الْأَدَاةَ عَلَيَّ ظَهْرُهَا بِمَا تَرَكْتُ لَيْسَتْ بِمَوْضِعِ مُخَالِسِهَا الْكُمَاءَ وَالْغَزَاةَ وَتُشْرِكُ مُسَهِّبَةً فَاسْتَغْنَى عَنْ ذِكْرِ الْأَدَاةِ فَلَمْ يَذْكُرْهَا وَالْمَعْنَى هَذَا التَّعَبُ الَّذِى هِىَ فِيهِ بِتِلْكَ الرَّاحَةِ \* قال ومثّل من أمثال العرب [Fol. 8a]

<sup>١</sup> أجمّ MS.

<sup>٢</sup> الْكُمَيْت MS.

بِمَا لَا أَحْشَى بِالذِّئْبِ اى<sup>١</sup> ان كنتَ كَبُرْتُ حَتَّى مَرَّتْ أَحْشَى  
بِالذِّئْبِ فهِذَا بِمَا كُنْتُ وَاَنَا شَابٌّ لَا أَحْشَاهُ يَضْرِبُ مِثْلًا لِلرَّجُلِ  
الَّذِي يَكُونُ عَزِيزًا ثُمَّ يَرَى ذُوَّهُ وَقَوْلُهُ بِمَا مَعْنَاهُ هَذَا بِذَاكَ وَسَرَوَاتُهَا  
أَعَالِي ظُهُورِهَا تُشْهَبُ تَهْمَلُ<sup>٢</sup> يُقَالُ أَشْهَبَ فُلَانٌ [فَرَسَهُ] إِذَا تَرَكَهَا  
مُهْمَلَةً وَرَجُلٌ مُشْهَبٌ فِي مَطْعَمِهِ إِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ لِكَلَامِهِ حَوْلٌ يُمْسِكُهُ

## ٢٦ تَبَارَى مَرَاخِيهَا الزَّجَاجَ كَانَهَا \*

ضِرَاءٌ أَحَسَّتْ نَبَاتَهُ مِنْ مُكَلِّبٍ

يَقُولُ أَغْنَانَهَا كَانَتْهَا تُسَايِرُ الرِّيحَ مِنْ طَوْلِهَا وَانْشَدَ [لَامِرْتِي الْقَيْسُ]  
يُبَارَى شَبَابَهُ الرِّيحَ حَدَّ مُدَّتْ \* كَحَدِّ السِّتَانِ الصُّلْبِيِّ النَّحِيضِ<sup>٣</sup>  
وَالزَّجَاجُ ارَادَ الْأَمِيَّةَ وَالزُّجَّ عِنْدَ الْعَرَبِ السِّتَانُ \* وَالزُّجُّ الْأَسْفَلُ وَيُقَالُ  
لِلسِّنَانِ وَالزُّجُّ زُجْجَانٍ وَلِلتَّصْلِ وَالزُّجُّ نَضْلَانِ قَالِ الْمُسْتَخْلِ  
أَقُولُ لَمَّا أَتَانِي النَّاعِيَانِ بِهِ \* لَا يَبْعُدُ الرِّيحُ ذُو التَّصْلَيْنِ وَالرَّجُلُ  
وَمَرَاخِيهَا جَمْعُ مَرَخَاءٍ وَهِيَ السَّهْلَةُ الْعَدُوَّةُ دُونَ الْاجْتِهَادِ يُقَالُ  
لِلذِّكْرِ وَالْأُنْثَى مَرَخَاءٌ قَالِ أَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ هُوَ إِرْخَاءٌ أَعْلَى وَإِرْخَاءٌ أَسْفَلُ  
وَالْإِرْخَاءُ الْأَعْلَى أَنْ تُخْلِيَهُ وَشَهْوَتُهُ وَمِنْ الْخَضِرِ غَيْرِ مُعْجِبٍ لَهُ وَلَا  
مُسْتَزِيدٍ وَالْإِرْخَاءُ الْأَسْفَلُ بِمَنْزِلَةِ التَّقْرِيبِ الْأَعْلَى [Fol. 8b]

<sup>١</sup> MS. انى.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. تمهل.

<sup>٣</sup> 35, v. 13.

٢٧ كَانَ يَبِيسَ الْمَاءَ فَوْقَ مُتُونِهَا \*

أَشَارِيرُ مِلْحٍ فِي مَبَاةٍ مُجْرِبٍ

يَبِيسُ الْمَاءُ مَا يَبَسَ مِنَ الْعَرَقِ فَصَارَ أبيضَ وعرق الخيل إذا جفَّ  
أبيضَ وعرق الأبل إذا جفَّ اصفرَّ قال العجاج \* يَصْفُرُّ لِلْيَبَسِ أَصْفَرَارُ  
الْوَرَسِ<sup>١</sup> \* وقال بشرُّ

تَرَاهَا مِنْ يَبِيسِ الْمَاءِ شُهْبًا \* مُحَالِطُ دِرَّةٍ مِنْهَا غِرَارُ

وَالْمَشْتَانِ وَالْمَشْتَانِ مَا آتَتْهُ الصُّلْبُ مِنَ اللَّحْمِ وَالْعَصَبِ وَالْأَشَارِيرُ  
جمع إَشْرَارَةٍ \* وهو طرف الجُلَّةِ يُجَفَّفُ عَلَيْهِ الْأَقْطُ وَأَصْحَابُ الْإِبِلِ  
الْجَزْبَى يَتَّخِذُونَ عَلَيْهِ الْمِلْحَ وَالْقَطْرَانَ قَالَ عَوْفُ بْنُ الْخَرَّعِ \* وَكُلُّ  
قَبَائِلِهِمْ أَتْبَعَتْ \* كَمَا أَتْبَعَ الْعَرُ مِلْحًا وَقَارًا<sup>٢</sup> \* فشبهه بياض ما على  
الخيل من العرق ببياض هذه الإشارة \* مُجْرِبٌ صَاحِبُ إِبِلٍ جَزْبَى  
وَالْمُجْرِبُ يَجْمَعُ لِلْإِبِلِ<sup>٣</sup> الْجَزْبَى الْمِلْحَ لِدَوَائِبِهَا بِهِ وَالْمَبَاةُ الْمَحَلَّةُ  
يَقَالُ أَبَاتُ الْإِبِلِ إِذَا رَدَدْتَهَا إِلَى مَحَلَّتِهَا \*

٢٨ مِنَ الْغَزْوِ وَأَقُورَتْ كَانَ مُتُونِهَا \*

زَحَالِيفُ وَلَدَانِ عَفَتْ بَعْدَ مَلْعَبٍ

الزُّخْلُوفَةُ وَالْجَمْعُ زَحَالِيفُ مُتَزَحِّفٌ<sup>٤</sup> الصَّبِيَّانِ عَلَى أَشْبَاهِهِنَّ

<sup>١</sup> App. 22, v. 9.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. fol. 117.

<sup>٣</sup> MS. الإبل.

<sup>٤</sup> MS. مترحف.

من أعالى الرُّبُو إلى أسفله وهذه لُغْبَةُ أهل العالِية وبنو تميم ومن  
يلبسهم يقولون زُخْلُوقَةٌ وزَحَالِيقُ فشبه متون الخيل وَلَحَبَ اللَّحْمِ  
عنها بآثارهم وانشد

كَأَنَّ جَزَارًا يَرَاهُ فَالْتَحَبَ<sup>١</sup> \* فَقَارَهُ فَاقْتَبَّ مِنْ دُونِ الْعَصَبِ  
[Fol. 9a]

٢٩ وَأَذْنَابُهَا وَحَفَّ كَأَنَّ ذِيُولَهَا \*

مَجْرَأُ شَأْءٍ مِنْ سَمِيحَةٍ مَرِطٍ

قال كَلَّ كبير الأصل ملتفت النبت وَحَفَّ وَالْأَشَاءُ صغار النخل  
واحدتها أَشَاءٌ وَسَمِيحَةٌ بئرٌ بالمدينة فيقول كأن آثارها في الأرض  
مَجْرَأُ نخل من طول أذنانها

٣٠. وَأَصَتْ إِلَى أَجَوَاذِهَا وَتَقَلَّقَلَتْ \*

قَلَائِدُ فِي أَعْنَاقِهَا لَمْ تَقْضَبْ

أى صارت إلى أَجَوَاذِهَا والجَوْزُ الوَبْطُ يقول ذهب البدن والسمن  
عنها ورجعت إلى أَجَوَاذِهَا وحاليها الأولى ويروى \* وَتَمَّتْ إِلَى  
أَجَوَاذِهَا \* أى جعل تمامها يصير إليها وَصَمُرٌ ما سوى ذلك من  
خلقها وانشد

مَشَقَّ الْعُدُوِّ مَعَ الرِّوَاكِ لِحْوَمِهَا \* حَتَّى دَهَبْنَ كَلَاكِلًا وَصُدُورًا

أى ضمركل شيء منها إلا كلاكلها وصدورها وقوله وَتَقَلَّقَلَتْ يقول كانت  
قَلَائِدُهَا حين بدأ أن سمانا كفاف أعناقها فلما ضمرت تقلقلت

<sup>١</sup> MS. فَالْتَحَبَ.

الْقَلَانْد \* تُقَصَّبُ تُقَطَّعُ يُقَالُ قَصَبَ اللَّهُ يَدَهُ أَيْ قَطَعَهَا وَسَيَفُ  
قَصَابٌ قَطَّاعٌ

٣١ كَانَ سَدَا قَطْنِ النَّوَادِفِ خَلْفَهَا \*

إِذَا اسْتَوْدَعَتْهُ كُلُّ قَاعٍ وَمِذْنَبٍ

يقول اذا هبطت الى سهولتي رأيت خلفها مثل الملاء للغبار الذي  
تثيره فيقول كأن بالتاع ثيابا اذا هبطته مما تثيره الغبار فقال سدا  
وانما يريد الثياب قال ابن الرقاع

يَتَعَاوَرَانِ مِنَ الْغُبَارِ مُلَاعَةً \* بَيْضَاءُ مُحَدَّثَةٌ هُمَا نَسْجَاهَا

[Fol. 9b]

تَطْوِي إِذَا عَلَوْا مَكَانًا جَسَاسِيًّا \* وَإِذَا السَّكَابِكُ اسْتَهَلَّتْ نَشْرَاهَا

القَاعُ الْمَكَانُ الْحَرُّ الطَّيْنِ لَيْسَ فِيهِ حَصَى وَلَا حِجَارَةٌ وَالْجَمْعُ الْقَلِيلُ  
أَقْوَاعٌ وَالْكَثِيرُ التَّبِيعَانِ وَالْمِذْنَبُ مَذْفَعُ الْمَاءِ إِلَى الرُّوْضَةِ وَالْجَمْعُ  
مِذَانِبٌ وَأَصْلُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْعَرَبَ تَسْمَى الْمَغْلَافَ مِذَانِبًا وَإِنَّمَا  
جَعَلَ ذَلِكَ مِذْنَبًا لَغُرُورِ الْمَاءِ

٣٢ إِذَا هَبَطَتْ سَهْلًا كَانَ غُبَارُهُ \*

بِجَانِبِهِ الْأَقْصَى دَوَاخِنُ تَنْصُبِ

دَوَاخِنُ جَمْعُ دَاخِنَةٍ وَالتَّنْصُبُ شَجَرٌ لَهُ دَخَانٌ أَبْيَضٌ وَالْوَاحِدَةُ  
تَنْصَبَةٌ قَالَ الْجَعْدِيُّ

كَانَ الْغُبَارُ الَّذِي غَادَرَتْ \* ضَحِيًّا دَوَاخِنُ مِنْ تَنْصُبِ

٣٣ كَانَ رِعَالِ الْخَيْلِ لَمَّا تَبَادَرَتْ \*

بَوَادِي جَرَادِ الْوَهْدَةِ الْمُتَصَوِّبِ

ويروى \* جَرَادِ الْمَبُتَّةِ \* والرِّعَالُ القطع من الخيل والحُمُرُ واحدتها رَعْلَةٌ وبَوَادِي كُلِّ شَيْءٍ أَوَائِلُهُ وسوابقه فَبَوَادِي الخيل والابل سَوَابِقُهَا وأَوَائِلُهَا وكذلك بَوَادِي الْأَخْبَارِ ومن ثم قيل لَا يَبْدَأُ لَهُ<sup>١</sup> مِثْنِي أَمَرٌ يكرهه اى لا يسبق وانشد

لَمْ تُرَ أَرْضٌ وَلَمْ يُسْمَعْ بِسَاكِنِهَا \* إِلَّا بِهَا مِنْ بَوَادِي وَقَعَةٍ أَثَرُ

وَالْوَهْدَةُ مَا أَطْمَأَنَّ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ قَالَ وَإِذَا ذَكَرُوا السَّرْعَةَ ذَكَرُوا الْمُهْبُوطَ وَأَمَّا الْإِبْطَاءُ فَالضُّعُوفُ وَالْمَبُتَّةُ وَالْأَهْبَاءُ الْعَبْرَةُ يُقَالُ ثَارَ أَهْبَاءٌ كَمَا تَرَى وَقَدْ أَهْبَى الظَّلِيمُ وَيُقَالُ مَا هَاجَ جَرَادٌ قَطَ [Fol. 10a] إِلَّا هَاجَتْ عَلَيْهِ عَبْرَةٌ

٣٤ وَهَضَنَ<sup>٢</sup> الْحَصَى حَتَّى كَانَ رُضَاضَهُ \*

ذُرَى بَرْدٍ مِنْ وَابِلٍ مُتَجَلِّبٍ

الْوَهْضُ شِدَّةُ الْوَطِي يَقُولُ فُلَانٌ وَهَّضَ الْمَشِيَّةَ وَانْشَدَ [لِلنَّمِيرِ بْنِ تَوَلَّبٍ]

شَدِيدٌ وَهْضٍ قَلِيلُ الرَّهْضِ مُعْتَدِلٌ \* بِصَفْحَتَيْهِ مِنَ الْأَنْسَاعِ أَنْدَابُ وَرُضَاضُهُ مَا يَرْضُضُ وَيَكْسِرُ فَيَقُولُ كَأَنَّ الَّذِي كَسَرَتْ مِنَ الْحَصَى ذُرَى بَرْدٍ اى أَعَالَى بَرْدٍ وَأَمَّا قَالَ أَعَالَى بَرْدٍ لَأَنَّهُ يَتَكْسَرُ قَبْلَ مَا كَانَ مِنْهُ

<sup>١</sup> MS. بندال.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. وهضن throughout with ض.

أَسْفَلَ وَالْوَابِلُ مِنَ الْمَطَرِ الضَّخْمِ الْقَطَرِ الشَّدِيدِ يَقَالُ وَيَبْلُتِ  
السَّمَاءُ تَبْلُ وَبَلًّا

٣٥ يُبَادِرُونَ بِالْفُرْسَانِ كُلِّ ثَنِيَّةٍ \*

جُنُوحًا كَفَرَّاطِ الْقَطَا الْمُتَسَرِّبِ

فال لا يقال لراكب الفرس رَاكِبٌ إنما يقال له فَارِسٌ إنما يقال  
لراكب البعير رَاكِبٌ والجمع رُكَبٌ وَرُكَبَانٌ ويقال رَأَيْتُ رَكْبَةً ثَلَاثَةً  
وَرَأَيْتُ أَرْكُونًا وَالثَّنِيَّةُ الطريق في الجبل أى كلما طلعت لهم ثَنِيَّةٌ  
آتَتْهُمْ بِالْفُرْسَانِ الشَّيَا تَمْضِي بِهِمْ فِيهَا جُنُوحًا فِيهِنَّ إِصْغَاءٌ قَدْ  
جَحَّحْنَ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ فَلْيَا وَقَالَ أَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ الْجُنُوحُ وَالْإِجْتِنَاحُ إِنْ يَكُونُ  
حُضْرًا وَاحِدًا لِأَحَدٍ شَبَّهَ بِجَتْنَحٍ عَلَيْهِ وَيَعْتَمِدُ فِي حُضْرَةٍ \* قَوْلُهُ  
كَفَرَّاطِ أَيْ كَسَوَاتِقِ الْقَطَا وَمَقْدَمُهُ وَالوَاحِدُ فَارِطٌ وَيَقَالُ لَهُ أَيْضًا فَرِطٌ  
لِلوَاحِدِ وَاللَّجْمَعِ . يَغَالِ قَرَطًا [Fol. 10b] أَلَيْهِ وَمِنَى قَوْلُ أَيْ سَبَقَ  
وَمِنْهُ قَوْلُهُمْ فِي الدُّعَاءِ لِلْمَوْلُودِ الْمَيِّتِ \* أَللَّهُمَّ اجْعَلْهُ فَرَطًا أَيْ  
أَجْرًا يَتَنَدَّمُنَا حَتَّى نَرُدَّ عَلَيْهِ وَمِنْهُ حَدِيثُ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ  
وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ \* أَنَا فَرَطُكُمْ عَلَى الْحَوْضِ \* وَالْمُتَسَرِّبُ الَّذِي يَمْضِي  
سُرْبَةً سُرْبَةً أَيْ قِطْعَةً قِطْعَةً

٣٦ وَعَارَضَتْهَا رَهْوًا<sup>١</sup> عَلَى مُتَتَابِعٍ

شَدِيدِ التَّصِيرِ خَارِجِيٍّ مُحَنَّبٍ

رَهْوًا<sup>١</sup> سَيْرًا سَهْلًا يَقَالُ تَكَلَّمَ فَلَانٌ رَهْوًا زَهْوًا وَالْمُتَتَابِعُ الَّذِي  
أَشْبَهَ بَعْضُ خَلْقِهِ بَعْضًا يَقَالُ تَتَابَعَ أَمْرُ الْقَوْمِ إِذَا آتَسَّقَ وَقَوْلُهُ

<sup>1</sup> MS. زَهْوًا also in Comments.

شَدِيدُ الْقُصَيْرَى قَالَ الْأَصْمَعِيُّ فِيهَا قَوْلَانِ لِأَتَمَّا الضِّلَعُ الَّتِي فِي أَقْصَى الْأَضْلَاعِ مِمَّا يَلِي النَّاخِصَةَ وَهِيَ ضِلَعُ الْخِلْفِ وَيُقَالُ هِيَ الْجَائِحَةُ<sup>١</sup> الَّتِي فِي الصَّدْرِ وَالنَّحَارِجِيِّ مِنَ النَّاسِ وَالذَّوَابِ الْبَارِعِ الَّذِي خَرَجَ عَلَيَّ غَيْرَ نَسَبِهِ بِقُوَّةٍ وَنِيلٍ وَسَخَاءٍ وَكَرَمٍ أَوْ جُودَةٍ فِي الْحَضَرِ عَلَى غَيْرِ إِرْثٍ أَيْ أَوَّلِ وَالْمُحْتَبُّ الَّذِي هُوَ أَفْنَى<sup>٢</sup> صَلْبٍ وَهُوَ أَنْ تَكُونَ عَضْبَةً فِرَاعِهِ ظَاهِرَةٌ لَيْسَتْ بِمَلَسَاءٍ وَهُوَ يُسَاتَحَبُّ

٣٧ كَانَ عَلَى أَعْطَافِهِ ثَوْبٌ مَائِجٌ \*

وَأَنْ يُلْقَى كَلْبٌ بَيْنَ لَحْيَيْهِ يَذْهَبُ

أَعْطَافُهُ جَوَانِبُهُ وَأَتَمَّا لَهُ عِطْفَانِ فَجَمَعَهُمَا بِمَا حَوْلَهُمَا فَيَقُولُ قَدْ بَدَأَ مِنَ الْعَرَقِ فَكَأَنَّ عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبٌ مَائِجٌ وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَنْزِلُ فِي الْبُئْرِ إِذَا قَلَّ الْمَاءُ فَيَمْلَأُ الدَّلَاءَ فَإِذَا خَرَجَتْ الدَّلَاءُ أَنْصَبَ عَلَيْهِ [Fol. 11a] مِنْ مَائِهَا فَمَلَّتْ ثِيَابُهُ وَقَالَ

أُبَيْتٌ كَأَنِّي كُلُّ آخِرِ لَيْلَةٍ \* مِنْ الرِّخْصَاءِ آخِرِ اللَّيْلِ مَائِجٌ  
وَأِنْ يُلْقَى كَلْبٌ لِسَعَةِ شِدْقَيْهِ وَفَمِهِ

٣٨ كَانَ عَلَى أَعْرَافِهِ وَلِجَامِيهِ \*

سَنَا ضَرَمٍ مِنْ عَرَفَجٍ مُتَلَهِّبٍ

وَيُرْوَى \* تَخَالَ بِكَتْفَيْهِ إِذَا أَشَدَّ مُلَهَّبًا سَنَى ضَرَمٍ \* السَّنَا الضَّوُّ فَيَقُولُ كَأَنَّ عَلَى أَعْرَافِهِ وَلِجَامِهِ ضَوْءَ ضَرَمٍ وَإِذَا كَانَ لَهُ ضَوْءٌ كَانَ لَهُ

<sup>١</sup> الحامحة. MS.

<sup>٢</sup> افنى. MS.

حَمَفٌ وَلَا يَكُونُ حَيْفَ الْمَارِ حَتَّى نَسْعِدَ بَعُولَ حَيْفٍ مِنْ شَدَّةِ  
الْعَدُوِّ حَتَّى كَأَنَّ عَرَفَاجًا يَصْرُمُ عَلَى عِمَامَةٍ وَنَعْمَةٍ وَالصَّرْمُ حَمْعُ  
عَرْمَةٍ وَهُوَ كُلُّ هَذِهِ نُشْرِعُ فِيهِ الْمَارَ لِمَنْ يَجْرُلُ<sup>١</sup> وَقَالَ أَبُو سُوَيْدٍ  
إِذَا آخِجَهِدَا شَدًّا حَسَبَتْ عَلَيْهِمَا \* عَرِشًا عَلَيْهِ الْمَارُ مَهْوً يُحَرِّقُ \*  
وَالْعَرِشُ الطَّلَّةُ مِنَ السَّمَامِ وَتَعْمِدُ شَتَّةٌ حَمَمُهُمَا حَسَّ تَعْمُرَانِ  
حَمَفٌ طَلَّةٌ وَدَاشَعَلَبُ فِيهِ الْمَارُ

٣٩ إِذَا أَنْصَرَفَتْ مِنْ عِنْدِ بَعْدَ عِنْدَةٍ :

وَحَرَسَ عَلَى آدَارِهَا كَالْمَوْلَى<sup>٢</sup>

وَيُرْوَى : مِنْ عَمَةٍ بَعْدَ عَمَةٍ : وَالْعِنْدَةُ الْعَطْفَةُ أَوْ عَطْفٌ بَعْدَ تَقْلَعِهِ  
وَقَوْلُهُ تَعْمِدُ شَدَّةٌ : كَقَوْلِهِ صَوَّبَ حَرَسٌ وَحَرَسٌ<sup>٣</sup> وَقَدْ اخْرَسَ  
الظَّائِرُ إِذَا سَمِعَ صَوْبَ مَرْدٍ وَأَتَمَّا عَلَى قَوْمًا بَطَلُوهُ وَالْمَوْلَى  
الْمَحْرَسُ<sup>٤</sup>

٤ تَصَانِعُ أُنْدِييَهَا السَّرِيحَ كَانَهَا :

كِلَابُ جَمِيعٍ عَرْدَ الصَّفِّ مَهْرَبٍ<sup>٥</sup>

[Fol 11b] يَقُولُ بَدَائِي فِي السَّعْيِ مِنْ أُنْدِييَهَا وَالْمُهَاجِرَةُ الْمَدَارِدُ

<sup>١</sup> مَجْرَأ. MS.

<sup>٢</sup> So MS, perhaps أي The text is here in confusion, perhaps عَمِدُ should be inserted before عَمَةٍ

<sup>٣</sup> MS حَرَسَ وَحَرَسَ.

<sup>٤</sup> MS مَحْرَس.

<sup>٥</sup> So MS

والسَّريجُ جمع سَرِيحَةٍ وهى شِقَّة تشدُّ بها نعل الفرس اذا أنعل وقال  
ابو عمرو الشيبانى يريد كِلَابَ جميع مَهْرَبٍ غُرَدَ الصيف يقول جاء  
الصيفُ فَأَرْحَلُوا عن ذلك المكان فصارت الخيل مرسلَةٌ مجيئة  
وتذهب كأنها كلاب مختلف من شدة الحر ويقال ما زال مَهْرَبًا  
اذا جاء دَعِرًا خَائِفًا ويقال للمرأة اذا جاءت مَهْرَبَةً مثل ذلك  
ورواها ابو عبيدة \* كَأَنَّهَا كِلَابٌ يَطَّانُ فِي هَرَّاسٍ مُقْتَبِبٍ \* وقال  
الهراسة شوكة مُقْتَبِبَةٌ

٤١ إِذَا انْقَلَبَتْ أَدَّتْ وَجُوهًا كَرِيمَةً \*

مَحَبَّةٌ أَدَيْنَ كُلَّ مَحَبِّبٍ

أَنقَلَبَتْ رجعت النخمل من العزو وأدَّتْ وَجُوهًا كَرِيمَةً أى  
رجعت بها أى يعنى فرسانها مَحَبَّبَةً يعنى النخمل

٤٢ حَدَّتْ حَوْلَ أَطْنَابِ الْبُيُوتِ وَسَوَّفَتْ \*

مَرَادًا وَإِنْ تُفَرِّغَ عَصَى النَّحْرِ قَرْكِبَ

الْحَدْيُ خرب من السير يقال خَدَى الْفَرَسُ يَخْدِي خَدْيًا  
وَحَدَيَانًا وَخَدَّ يَخْدُ وَخَدَاً وهو أَنْ يَزْرَجَ بقوائمه محو عذو النعامة  
سَوَّفَتْ يقول شَمَّتْ مواضع قد عرفتها كانت تَرُونُ فيها وَالْمَرَاثُ  
حيث تسرح وقوله وَإِنْ تُفَرِّغَ عَصَى<sup>١</sup> الْحَرْبِ أى يؤذن بالحرب  
وليس للحرب عَصَا اذا كان قَرْعٌ قيل قَرِعَتِ الْعَصَا وقوله تُرْكَبُ يقول

<sup>١</sup> MS. حصى .

فيها فضل للتعقيب وقوله حول أططاب البيوت اى هي مكرمة  
[Fol. 12a] مكرمة

٤٣ فلما بدا هضب التنان وصارده  
ووازن من شرقي سلمى بمنكب

التنان جبل لبنى اسد ويروى \* حبس<sup>١</sup> التنان \* وهو جبل الى  
جنب عمان وازن ساوين وخاذين وحكى الفراء داري توازن [دارد]  
اى بحذائها وسلمى أحد جبلى طي

٤٤ اخنا فسمناها النطاف فشارب \*  
قليلا وآب صد عن كل مشب

اى صبنا لها الماء وعرضاها عليه يقال نعمته كذى وكذى اى  
عرضته عليه ويغال سامة سؤم عالة اى عرض عليه عرضا ليس  
بالمحكم والعالة النى قد نهلت فشربت شره ثم علّت ثانية فهي  
لا تعرض عليها الماء عرضا تبالع فمه والنطاف جمع نطفة وهي  
البغايا الثقيلة في المزاد والقرب وقوله صد عن كل مشرب يقول هو  
مجرّب قد علم أنه يعاد عليه فيترك الشرب لأنه اذا طرد وقد شرب  
كان اشد عليه فبقول اخنا الإبل لتسقى الخبل وقال غير الأصمعي  
تعاف الماء فلا تشربه من التعب والكلال

<sup>١</sup> MS. . حمس .

١٤٥ تَرَادَى عَلَى فَاسٍ اللَّجَامِ كَأَنَّمَا \*

تَرَادَى بِهِ مِرْقَاةٌ جِذْعٌ مُشَدَّبٌ

تَرَادَى تَعَالَجٌ وَتَزَاوُلٌ عَلَيْهِ فَعْلِيهِ وَقَدْ يَكُونُ تَرَادَى مِنَ الْمُدَافَعَةِ  
يُقَالُ رَادَاهُ عَلَيَّ ذَلِكَ الْأَمْرُ مِنَ الرَّدَى قَالَ الْأَصْمَعِيُّ وَمِنْ ثَمَّ قِيلَ  
مِرْدَى حُرُوبٌ \* وَمِرْقَاةٌ جِذْعٌ يَرِيدُ الْمَوْضِعَ الَّذِي يَرْتَقَى فِي النَّخْلَةِ  
مِنْهُ \* مُشَدَّبٌ مَتَزَوِّعٌ شَدَبَهُ [Fol. 12b] وَشَدَبَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مَا إِذَا  
أَنْقَسَى أَلْقَى فَبَقُولُ كَأَنَّمَا يُعَالِجُ بِعَلَاغِهِ جِذْعًا فِي طَوْلِهِ وَسَمِعْتُ أَبَا  
عَمْرٍو يَقُولُ الْمَرَادُ الْمَصَانَعَةُ وَالْمُدَارَاةُ وَهِيَ الْمُدَالَاةُ وَالْمُضَاوَاةُ  
وَالْمُقَانَاةُ وَالْمَغَانَاةُ<sup>١</sup> وَالْمُدَايَاةُ وَالْمُسَانَاةُ وَانْشَدَ لِكُثَيْرٍ \* وَلِلضَّرَمِ مِنْ  
أَسْمَاءَ مَا لَمْ نُدَالِهَا \*

١٤٦ وَشَدَّ الْعَصَارِيْطُ الرِّحَالَ وَأَسْلِمَتْ \*

إِلَى كُلِّ مِغْوَارٍ الضُّحَى مُتَلَبِّبٌ

يَقُولُ شَدَّ الْأَشْوَانُ الرِّحَالَ وَأَسْلِمَتْ الْحَبْلُ أَيْ أَنَّ الْعَصَارِيْطَ كَانُوا  
يَقُودُونَهَا وَرَكَبَ الْقَوْمُ الْإِبِلَ فَلَمَّا دَنَا الْقِتَالُ أَسْلَمُوهَا إِلَى الْفَرَسَانِ \*  
مِغْوَارُ الضُّحَى يَرِيدُ صَاحِبَ غَارَةٍ بِالضُّحَا وَالْغَارَةُ تَكُونُ مَعَ الضُّحَى  
فَلَمْ يَقْدِرْ أَنْ يَقُولَهُ فَقَالَ الضُّحَى وَالْمُتَلَبِّبُ الْمُتَحَرِّمُ بِالسَّلَاحِ قَالَ  
وَأَنْشَدَنِي أَبُو عَمْرٍو بْنُ الْعَلَاءِ [لِلْمُتَخَلِّ]

وَأَسْلَمُوا وَتَلَبَّبُوا \* إِنَّ التَّلَبُّبَ لِلْمُغِيرِ<sup>٢</sup>

<sup>١</sup> So in MS.

<sup>٢</sup> Aṣm. 32, v. 7 ; Ham. 265.

١٤٧ فَلَمْ يَرَهَا الْمَرُورُونَ<sup>١</sup> إِلَّا فُجَاءَةً \*

بِوَادٍ تُنَاصِيهِ الْعِضَادُ مُصَوِّبٌ

تُنَاصِيهِ تُوَاصِلُهُ يُقَالُ بِلَدٍ بَنَى فُلَانٌ وَ بِلَدٍ بَنَى فُلَانٌ يَشْتَاصِيَانِ قَالَ الْعَجَّاجُ \* قَتَّى تُنَاصِبُهُ بِلَادٌ فَنِي<sup>٢</sup> \* وَقَالَ أَيْضًا \* لَمْ تَرْهَبِ الشَّعْوَاءَ إِنْ تَنَاصَا<sup>٣</sup> \* وَالشَّعْوَاءُ اسْمُ نَاقَةٍ لَهَا أُغْيَرٌ عَلَيْهَا وَقَالَ لَمْ تَرْهَبِ إِنْ يَصِلَ إِلَيْهَا أَحَدٌ وَالْعِضَادُ شَجَرٌ يَعِظُكُمْ لَهُ شَوْكٌ مَنْ أَعْرَفَ ذَلِكَ الطَّلُحُ وَالسَّلَمُ وَالسِّيَالُ وَالْعَرْفُطُ

١٤٨ ضَوَابِعُ تَنْوِي بَيْضَةَ الْحَيِّ بَعْدَمَا \*

أَذَاعَتْ بِرِيعَانِ السَّوَامِ الْمُعْزَبِ

[Fol. 13a] الضَّابِعُ الَّذِي يَهْوِي بِحَافِرِيهِ إِلَى عَصْدِهِ قَالَ وَالْعَصْدُ بِفَالٍ لَهَا الضَّبْعُ قَالَ أَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ الضَّبْعُ أَنْ يَمُدَّ ضَبْعِيهِ حَتَّى لَا يَجِدَ مَزِيدًا حَتَّى تَسَاوِيَ يَدَادُ بَعْنَتِهِ وَرَأْسُهُ \* قَالَ الرَّاجِزُ \* إِنَّ الْجِيَادَ الضَّامِعَاتِ فِي الْعَذْرِ \* قَالَ وَيَحْوُلُونَ الْعَيْنَ حَاءً فَيَقُولُونَ الضَّبْعُ قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ \* وَالْعَادِيَاتِ ضَبْحًا<sup>٤</sup> \* قَالَ وَكَانَ الْحَسَنُ يَقُولُ الضَّبْعُ فِي الصَّوْتِ \* تَنْوِي تَرِيدُ وَبَيْضَةُ الْحَيِّ جَمَاعَةُ الْحَيِّ وَمَعْظَمُهُمْ \* أَذَاعَتْ طَيَّرَتْهُمْ وَقَرَّقَتْهُمْ يُقَالُ لِلرَّجُلِ إِذَا قَرَّقَ الشَّيْءُ فِي كُلِّ جِهَةٍ

<sup>1</sup> MS. التَّارُورُونَ, perhaps better المرارُونَ [Geyer].

<sup>2</sup> 40, v. 52.

<sup>3</sup> 17, v. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Qor. 100, v. 1.

أَدَاعَ بِهِ رِيْعَانُ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ أَوَائِلُهُ وَكُلُّ إِبِلٍ تُرْتَلُ فَلَا تَعْلَفُ فِي الْحَيِّ  
عِنْدَ أَهْلِهَا فَهِيَ سَائِمَةٌ فَيَقُولُ تَتَوَى بَيْضَةَ الْحَيِّ بَعْدَ أَنْ أَدَاعَتْ بِأَوَائِلِ  
السَّوَامِ مَا عَزَبَ عَنْ أَهْلِهِ فَفَرَقَتْهُ وَالْمُعَزَّبُ الَّذِي يَبِيتُ فِي الْمَرْعَى  
فَلَا يَرُوحُ إِلَى أَهْلِهِ يُقَالُ مَالٌ عَازِبٌ وَعَزِيبٌ وَيُقَالُ لِلرَّجُلِ إِذَا خَفَّ  
عَزَبَ عَنْهُ جِلْمُهُ

١٣٩ رَأَى مُاجِتِنُوا الْكِرَاثِ مِنْ أَهْلِ عَالِيَةٍ \*

وَعَالًا مَطَلَتْ مِنْ أَهْلِ شَرْجٍ<sup>١</sup> وَآيَهَبِ

الْكِرَاثُ نَبَتٌ يَنْبَتُ فِي الرَّمْلِ وَعَالِيَةٌ بَدَ يَمْدٌ سَمِ طَى وَفَزَارَدَ  
فَقَالَ يُصَغِّرُ أَمْرَهُمْ رَأَى مُجَاتِنُوا الْكِرَاثِ يَرِيدُ أَنَّهُ مِنْ طَعْمَتِهِمْ وَعَمَلِهِمْ  
قَالَ هَذَا مِثْلُ قَوْلِهِ

أَتَجَنِّي حَرْبَنَا وَتَخْضَمُ عَشْمَنَا \* أَجَبْنَا يَأْنِي أَكَلَةَ الْبَرِيرِ [Fol. 13b]  
وَالرِّعَالُ أَقَاطِبُ الْحَمَلِ وَالْحُمْرُ وَالْفَطَا وَالْوَاحِدُ رَغْلُهُ \* مَطَلَتْ مَدَّتْ  
بِهِمْ فِي ' سِيرٍ يُقَالُ مَطَا بِهِمْ كَيْلَسُهُ

٥٠ فَالَوْتُ بَغَايَاهُمْ بِهِمْ وَتَبَاشَرْتُ \*

إِلَى عَرْضِ جَيْشٍ غَيْرِ أَنْ لَمْ يَكْتَبِ

الْوَتُّ لَمَعَتْ لَهُمْ بِقُوبِ أَوْسَيْفٍ \* بَغَايَاهُمْ أَيُ بَغَايَا مُجَتَّنِي  
الْكِرَاثِ الَّذِينَ يَبْغُونَ لَهُمُ الْخَيْرَ وَيَلْتَمِسُونَهُ وَقَوْلُهُ بِهِمْ أَيُ بِالْجَيْشِ  
يَقُولُ تَبَاشَرْتُ الْبَغَايَا إِلَى ذَلِكَ الْجَيْشِ حِينَ رَأَتْهُ وَظَلَّتْ أَنَّهُ

<sup>١</sup> MS. شرح.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. نمر.

شَيْءٌ يَسْرُهُمْ \* لَمْ يُكْتَبْ لَمْ يَجْمَعْ فَيَصِيرُ كَتَيْبَةٍ وَاصِلِ الْكُتُبِ  
الْجَمْعُ فَمِنْهُ كُتِبَ الْبَعْلَةُ إِذَا ضَمَّ شَفَرِيهَا بِحُلُقَةٍ قَالَ وَمِنْهُ الْكُتُبُ  
الْمُحَرَّرُ وَيُرْوَى \* إِلَى غَرْضِ جَيْشٍ \* يَقُولُ ذَهَبَ هَذَا الْجَبَشُ غَرْصًا  
قَالَ إِذَا جَاءَ الْجَيْشُ مُتَفَرِّقًا غَبَرُ الْكُتُبِ فَهُوَ لَا يَرِيدُ مَنْ دَنَا مِنْهُ  
وَإِذَا جَاءَ مُجْتَمِعًا فَهُوَ يَرِيدُ الْغَارِ

٥١ فَقَالُوا ' أَلَا مَا هُوَ لَا وَقَدْ بَدَتْ \*

سَوَابِقُهَا فِي سَاطِعٍ مُتَنَصِّبٍ

يَقُولُ فَقَالُوا مَا هُوَ لَا بِمَا نَقَّوْا<sup>١</sup> وَقَدْ بَدَتْ سَوَابِقُ الْخَيْلِ فِي غُبَارٍ وَدَّ  
ارْتَفَعَ وَآتَنَصَّبَ

٥٢ فَقَالَ بَصِيرٌ يَسْتَبِينُ رِعَالَهَا \*

هُمْ وَآلَاهُ مِنْ تَخَافِينَ فَادْهَبِي

وَيُرْوَى

وَقَالَ بَصِيرٌ قَدْ أَبَانَ رِعَالَهَا \* فَهَبِي وَرُضِي<sup>٢</sup> مِنْ تَخَافِينَ فَادْهَبِي  
وَرُضِي اسْمُ عَنَمٍ تَخَافِينَ يَعْنِي الْقَبِيلَةَ

٥٣ عَلَى كُلِّ مُنْشَقٍّ نَسَاهَا طِمْرَةٌ \*

وَمُنْجَرِدٍ كَأَنَّهُ تَيْسٌ حَلَبٍ

[Fol. 14a] يَرِيدُ عَلَى كُلِّ فَرَسٍ مُنْشَقٍّ نَسَاهَا أَيْ مَوْضِعَ النِّسَاءِ

<sup>١</sup> MS. فقال.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. بما استوا.

<sup>٣</sup> MS. رُضِي.

منها قد انفلق اللحم عنه والنَّسَا عرق يخرج من الورث فيستبطن  
الفخذ ثم يجري في الساق فيحرف عن الكعب ثم يجري في الوظيف  
حتى يبلغ الحافر فاذا سَمِنَ الدَّابَّةُ انفلق اللحم عن النَّسَا فبدا  
فَمِنْ ثَمَّ نقول العرب للفرس مُنَشَّقُ النَّسَا \* طِمْرَةٌ مُشْرِقَةٌ ويقال  
للبناء العالى طَمَارٌ \* مُتَجَرِّدٌ قصير الشَّعْرَةِ فهو اَكْرَمُ له وطول الشعرة  
هُجْنَةٌ وقال ابو عبيدة الطِمْرَةُ الطويلة الفوائم المرتفعة عن الارض  
الخفيفة الوثب والمُتَجَرِّدُ انذى لا ينعلق به شئ \* تَيْسٌ حُلْبٍ  
اى تيس الظباء يأكل الحُلْبَ فذاث أشد له و أَنْشَطُ

٥٤ يَذْدَنَ ذِيَادَ الْخَامِسَاتِ وَقَدْ بَدَأَ \*

ثَرَى الْمَاءِ مِنْ أَعْطَافِهَا الْمُتَحَلِّبِ

الْمَذَوُّ الرِّقْ يَنَالُ دُذْتُ إِذَا رَدَدْتُ وَأَذْدْتُ إِذَا كُنْتُ تَعِينُ عَلَيَّ  
الذود قال الراجز \* نَادَيْتُ فِي الْحَيِّ أَلَا مُذِيدَا \* فَأَقْبَلْتُ فِتْيَانَهُمْ  
مُخَوِّدَا \* فيقول يرون كما مضى الأبل تَرَى النِّجْمَسَ فَتُرَدُّ عَنِ الْمَاءِ  
لِيُرْسَلَ أَرْسَالًا يكسر بعضها بعضاً والخَامِسَاتِ الَّتِي وَرَدَتْ يَوْمًا وَرَعَتْ  
ثَلَاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ ثُمَّ وَرَدَتْ الْيَوْمَ الْخَامِسَ وَأَصْحَابُهَا مُخْمِسُونَ [Fol. 14b]  
وَتَرَى الْمَاءَ نَدَاوَتُهُ<sup>١</sup> وَأَنَّمَا يَتَنَمَّى يَعْنِي الْعَرَقُ وَأَعْطَافُهَا جَوَانِبُهَا  
وَالْمُتَحَلِّبِ السَّائِلِ

٥٥ وَقِيلَ أَقْدَمِي وَأَقْدَمَ وَآخِرَ وَآرَحِي \*

وَهَا وَهَلَا وَأَضْرَحَ وَقَادِعُهَا هَبِي

زَجَرَ كُلُّهُ وَانْشَدَ \* تَسْمَعُ زَجَرَ الْكَمَاةِ بَيْتَهُمْ \* قَدَّمَ وَآخَرَ وَأَرْحِي

<sup>١</sup> نُدْوَتُهُ MS. بذوته.

وَهَبِي \* يَقُولُ وَالَّذِي يَقْدَعُهَا وَيُكْفِّهَا إِنْ يَقُولُ لَهَا هَبِي وَقَالَ أَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ  
 أَقْدَمَ لِلذِّكْرِ وَاللَّانِثِي أَقْدَمِي يَا مَرَّةً بِالتَّقْدَمِ وَأَخَّرَ وَأَخَّرِي يَا مَرَّةً  
 بِالتَّأْخِيرِ وَأَرْجِي أَخْرَجِي إِلَى السَّعَةِ وَتَجِي هَلَا فِي مَوْضِعِ إِبْعَادِ  
 وَنَهِي وَتَجِي فِي مَوْضِعِ آخِرٍ وَأَنْشُد \* تَكْرُ بَنَاتُ حَلَّابٍ عَلَيْهِنَّ \*  
 وَيَزُجْرُهُنَّ بَيْنَ هَلَا وَهَابٍ \* وَتَجِي تَوْقِيرًا وَهِيَ فِي مَوْضِعِ الْإِسْكَانِ

٥٦ فَمَا بَرَحُوا حَتَّى رَأَوْا فِي دِيَارِهِمْ \*

لَوْاءٍ كَظِلِّ الطَّائِرِ الْمُتَقَلِّبِ

٥٧ رَمَتْ عَنْ قِيسٍ الْمَاسِيخِي رِجَالَنَا \*

بِأَحْسَنَ مَا يَبْتَاعُ مِنْ نَبْلِ يَتَرِبِ

يُنَالُ رَمَيْتُ عَنِ الْقَوْسِ وَرَمَيْتُ عَلَيْهَا وَلَا يُقَالُ رَمَيْتُ بِهَا قَالَ

الْأَرَاجزُ

أَرَمِي عَلَيْهَا وَهِيَ فَرَعٌ أَجْمَعُ \* وَهِيَ ثَلَاثَةُ أَذْرُعٍ وَالْإِصْبَعُ

قَالَ وَالْمَاسِيخِيُّ مَنْسُوبٌ إِلَى رَجُلٍ \* رِجَالُنَا رِجَالُهُ فِي صَدْرِ النَخِيلِ

يَعَالُ رَجُلٌ رَاجِلٌ وَرَجُلَانُ وَرَجُلٌ وَرَجُلٌ وَأَنْشُدُ الْفَرَّاءَ

عَلَى إِذَا أَبْصَرْتُ لَيْلَى بِخَلْوَةٍ \* أَنْ أَزْدَارَ بَيْتِ اللَّهِ رَجُلَانِ حَافِيَا

وَقَوْمٌ رِجَالٌ قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ \* يَا تُثُوكَ رِجَالًا وَعَلَيَّ كُلِّ ضَامِرٍ<sup>١</sup>

وَقَوْمٌ رَجُلٌ وَرِجَالُهُ [Fol. 15a] وَرِجَالِي وَرِجَالِي قَالَ أَبُو يُوسُفَ

قَالَ ابْنُ الْكَلْبِيِّ أَوَّلُ مَنْ عَمِلَ الْقِيسَى مِنَ الْعَرَبِ مَا سَخَّهَ رَجُلٌ مِنْ

الْأَزْدِ فَلِذَلِكَ قِيلَ لِلْقِيسَى مَا سَخِيَّةٌ وَأَوَّلُ مَنْ عَمِلَ الرِّجَالَ عِلَافُ

<sup>1</sup> Qor. 22, v. 28.

وهو رِيَّانُ ابو حَزْمٍ فلذلك قيل للرجال عِلَافِيَّةٌ وَاوَّلُ من عمل الحديد من العرب الهالك بن اسد بن خُزَيْمَةَ فلذلك قيل لبنى أَسَدِ الْقُيُورِ قال ابو عبيدة واجود السهام في الجاهليَّةِ التي وصفتها الشُعْرَاءُ بِسَهَامٍ بِلَادٍ وَسَهَامٌ يَثْرَبُ وَهُمَا بِلَدَانِ قَرِيبَانِ من حَجَرِ الْيَمَامَةِ يجود بِسَهَامِهَا<sup>1</sup> قال الْأَعْشَى \* بِسَهَامٍ يَثْرَبُ أَوْ سَهَامٍ تِلَادُ \*

٥٨ كَانَ عَرَاقِيبَ الْقَطَا أَطْرَ لَهَا \*

حَدِيثٌ نَوَاحِيهَا يَوْعَعُ وَصَلِّ

شبهه الْأَطَرُ بعراقيب القطا وَالْأَطَرُ العنفة المشدودة على مجمع الفُوق لئلا يَتَفَتَّقَ وقوله حَدِيثٌ نَوَاحِيهِ اى حديث نواحي هذه السهام بالتحديد لم نَقْدَمْ فَتَكِلْ يَوْعَعُ يُقَالُ قَعُ نَصَلْتُ اضْرَبُهُ بِالْمِيعَةِ وَهِيَ الْمِطْرَقَةُ حَتَّى يَرِقَ وَيُقَالُ نَضَلْتُ قَمَعَ وَالضَّلْبُ حِمَارَةُ الْمَسَانِ وَيُقَالُ لَهَا الصَّلِمَةُ<sup>2</sup> وَاسْدُ \* هُوِيَ الْمَدْيِ مِنَ الضَّلْبِ \* وَيُقَالُ سَنَاجٌ مُضَلَّبٌ اى يُسَنُّ عَلَى سِنَانٍ صُلِمَتِ قَالَ ابو يوسف وسمعت ابا عمرو الشَّيْبَانِي يَقُولُ [Fol. 15b] الرَّمَضُ مثل الرَّوْعِ يُقَالُ قَعُ شَفَرَتَكَ وَأَرَمَضُ شَفَرَتَكَ وَهِيَ شَفَرَةُ رَمِيضٍ وَوَقِيْعٌ وَهُوَ أَنْ يُرْقَتَا بَيْنَ حَجَرَيْنِ ثُمَّ يَسْتَبَا بَعْدَ بِالْمَسْنِ

٥٩ كُسَيْنَ ظَهَارَ الرِّيشِ مِنْ كُلِّ نَاهِيضٍ \*

إِلَى وَكْرِهِ وَكُلِّ جَوْنٍ مُقَشَّبٍ

للريشة ناحيتان فالناحية التي هي اقصر ظَهْرُهَا والتي هي اطول

<sup>1</sup> MS. نَمِيهَا نَهَا .

<sup>2</sup> MS. الصليبة .

البَطْنُ والبَطْنَانُ [جمع] بَطْنٍ والظُّهْرَانُ جمع ظَهْرٍ فاذا كانت قُدَّةٌ  
من ظَهْرٍ وقُدَّةٌ من بَطْنٍ فهو لُعَابٌ \* من كُلِّ نَاهِضٍ يريد ريش الفراع  
والناهض أقوى من المُسَنِّ وأجود و الأسود لا يكون إلا فِتْيَا فاذا كبر  
آشْهَابٌ ورق سوادد و ضَعَفَ ريشه والمَقْشَبُ المَسْمُومُ يُغْمِيزُهُمْ  
فيجعلون له الحَرِيقَ أو سُمًّا يُقَشِّبُونَهُ في طعامه اى يَخْلِطُونَهُ يعنى  
النسر وانشد للمَهْدِيِّ [وهو ابو خِرَاسٍ] مَحَالُهُ نُسْرًا قَشِيبًا \* اى  
مَقْشُوبًا ويقال قَشَبَهُ بِشَرٍّ<sup>1</sup> وَأَشَبَهُ بِشَرٍّ<sup>1</sup>

٦٠ فَلَمَّا فَنَّا مَا فِي الكَنَائِنِ ضَارَبُوا \*

إِلَى التَّمْرِ مِنْ جِلْدِ الْهَبْجَانِ الْمَجُوبِ

قوله فَنَّا اراد فَنِي وهي لغة طائيّة يُصَرِّون الياء اذا كانت متحركة  
الفا قال زَيْدُ الْخَيْلِ<sup>2</sup>

فَلَسُوا زُهَيْرَانُ أَكْذَبَ نِعْمَةٍ \* لَقَادَعْتُ عَمْرًا مَا بَقِيَتْ وَمَا بَقَا  
إِلَى كُلِّ عَامٍ مَاتَتْ جَمْعُونُهُ \* عَلَى مِحْمَرِ عَمُودِ أَثِيبٍ<sup>3</sup> وَمَارِضًا  
[Fol. 16a]

مُجِدِّدُونَ خَمَشًا بَعْدَ خَمَشٍ ثَانِيًا \* عَلَى سَيْدٍ مِنْ خَيْرِ قَوْمِكُمْ نَعَا  
يريد نُعَى وَرُضَى وَبَقَى \* يقول لَمَّا نَفَدَتِ السَّهَامُ فَرَبُوا بِأَيْدِيهِمْ إِلَى  
الْتِرْسَةِ والسيوف ليقتاتلوا والقَرْعُ هِى التِّرْسَةُ \* يقال للترس اذا كان  
صلبًا إِنَّهُ لَقَرْعٌ وانشد [أَبَى قَيْسٍ بَنِ الْأَسَلْتِ] \* وَمُجَنِّإِ  
أَسْمَرَ قَرْعٍ \* والهَبْجَانُ الكرام من الابل وهَبْجَانُ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ خِيَارُهُ وَهَبْجَانُ

<sup>1</sup> MS لِسَرٍّ twice.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Zaid Nawādir, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> MS. ابيت.

يكون للواحد والجميع وقد يجمع فيقال هَجَائِرُ الثَّغَمَانِ وَأَنْشُدَ \*  
 ذُنْدَا جَنَائِي وَهَجَائُهُ فِيهِ<sup>1</sup> \* اى خياره وانشد [ابن قيس الرقيات]  
 وَإِذَا قِيلَ مَنْ هِجَانُ قُرَيْشٍ \* كُنْتُ أَنْتَ الْغَنَى وَأَنْتَ الْهَجَانَا  
 مُجَوَّبٌ مَعْمُولٌ جَوْنَا وَالْجَوْبُ التَّرْسُ

٦١ فَذَاقُوا كَمَا ذُقْنَا غَدَاةَ مُحَاجِرٍ \*

مِنَ الْغَيْظِ فِي أَكْبَادِنَا وَالتَّحَوُّبِ

مُحَاجِرٌ يَوْمَ كَانَ عَلَى غَنَى وَالتَّحَوُّبُ التَّوَجُّعُ

٦٢ أَبَانَا بِقَتْلَانَا مِنَ الْقَوْمِ مِثْلَهُمْ \*

وَمَا لَا يُعَدُّ مِنْ أَسِيرٍ مُكَلَّبٍ

يقول - ذافأنا بقتلانا مثلهم يقال بآء فلان بفلان يبوء به اذا كان كِفَاءً  
 به ان يُقْتَلَ به وما فلان بِبَوَاءٍ بفلان اى ما هو منه بِكِفَاءٍ وقد أَبَانَتْ  
 فلانا بفلان اى جعلت دَمَهُ بِدَمِيهِ وَيُرَوَّى نِعْمَتُهُمْ اى مثلهم مَرَّتَيْنِ  
 وما لَا يُعَدُّ اى وما لَا يُحْصَى اى ان هؤلاء الاسارى افضلوا [Fol. 16b] على  
 الضِعْفِ الذى اتاهم وَالْمُكَلَّبُ وَالْمُكَبَّلُ سواءٌ وهو المَوْثَقُ فى الحديد  
 فَقَلَبَ

<sup>1</sup> Tabarī Tafsīr, xvi, 49, where also a second line إِذَا كُلُّ جَانٍ يَكْدُهُ إِلَى فِيهِ. Also Tab. Annals, i, 754, and Lane 4720.

<sup>2</sup> MS. يقال.

٦٣ نَرَوِي صُدُورَ الْمَشْرِفِيَّةِ مِنْهُمْ \*

وَكُلَّ شِرَاعِيٍّ<sup>١</sup> مِنَ الْهِنْدِ شَرَعِبَ

الْمَشْرِفِيَّةُ السُّيُوفُ مَنْسُوبَةٌ إِلَى الْمَشَارِفِ وَهِيَ أَدْنَى الرِّيفِ مِنَ  
الْبَدْوِ وَالشَّرَعِبُ الْجَسِيمُ الطَّوِيلُ

٦٤ بِضَرْبٍ يُزِيلُ الْهَامَ عَنْ سَكِنَاتِهِ \*

وَيَنْتَعُ مِنْ هَامِ الرِّجَالِ بِمَشْرَبٍ

الْهَامُ جَمْعُ هَامَةٍ وَهِيَ مُعْظَمُ الرَّاسِ \* سَكِنَاتُهُ مَفْرَدٌ وَمُسْكِنُهُ  
وَمَقِيلُهُ مَوْضَعُهُ الَّذِي يَكُونُ فِيهِ فَمَقُولُ يُزِيلُهُ عَنْ حَيْثُ يَسْكُنُ وَقَوْلُهُ  
يَنْتَعُ يُقَالُ لِلرَّجُلِ إِذَا بَلَغَ التَّرْتِي<sup>٢</sup> قَدْ نَقَعَ يَنْتَعُ نَقْعًا وَبَصَعَ يَبْصَعُ  
بُصُوعًا فَبَتَوَلَّى يَرُدُّ هَامَ الرِّجَالِ بُرُودًا يُذْهَبُ مَا فِي صَدْرِهِ يَعْنِي  
السَّيْفَ وَهَذَا شَلٌّ كَمَا يُذْهَبُ مَا فِي صُدُورِ الْحَرَامِ مِنْ حَرَّةِ الْعَطَشِ  
إِذَا شَرِبَ فَرَوَى فَالْإِلْفُظُ عَلَى السَّيْفِ وَالْمَعْنَى عَلَى صَاحِبِهِ لِأَنَّ  
السَّيْفَ لَا يَنْتَعُ

٦٥ فَيَا لِقَتْلٍ قَتْلٌ وَالسَّوَامُ بِمِثْلِهِ \*

وَبِالشَّلِّ شَلٌّ الْغَائِطِ الْمُتَصَوِّبِ

أَيُّ أَصَابَنَا قَتْلٌ فَأَصَبْنَاهُمْ بِمِثْلِهِ وَقَوْلُهُ وَالسَّوَامُ بِمِثْلِهِ يَقُولُ وَمَا أُخِذَ

<sup>١</sup> MS. شِرَاعِي، corrected by later hand.

<sup>٢</sup> MS. الَّذِي.

من سَوَامِهِمْ فَمِثْلُ مَا أَخَذَ مِنْ سَوَامِنَا وَالسَّوَامُ الْمَالُ الرَّاعِي وَالشَّلُّ  
الطرد<sup>1</sup> وَالغَائِطُ الْمَكَانُ [المُطْمَئِنُّ] [Fol. 17a] مِنَ الْأَرْضِ

٦٦ وَجَمْعُ خَيْطًا مِنْ رِعَا أَفَانِهِمْ \*

وَأَسْقَطْنَ عَنْ أَقْفَائِهِمْ كُلَّ مِحْلَبٍ

خَيْطًا أَيْ فِرْقًا نُبَذَ مِنْ جَمَاعَةٍ يُقَالُ فِيهَا خَيْطٌ مِنْ نَعَامٍ وَخَيْطٌ  
وَالْجَمْعُ خَيْطَانٌ وَيُقَالُ بِهَا خَيْطَى مِنْ نَعَامٍ عَلَى لَفْظِ سَكْرَى \*  
أَفَانُهُمْ جَعَلْنَاهُمْ فَيًّا<sup>2</sup> \* قَوْلُهُ وَأَسْقَطْنَ عَنْ أَقْفَائِهِمْ هَؤُلَاءِ قَوْمٌ كَانُوا يَرْعُونَ  
فَأَقْرَعْنَاهُمُ الْخَبْلَ وَمَحَالِبَهُمْ مَعْلَعَةٌ خَلْفَهُمْ فَأَسْفَطُوهَا وَالْمَحَالِبُ  
الْعَلْبُ وَاحِدُهَا مِحْلَبٌ

٦٧ فَرَحْنُ يَبَارِينَ النَّهَابِ عَشِيَّةً

مُتَلَدَّةً أَرْسَانَهَا غَيْرَ خَيْبٍ

يُبَارِ : أَيْ يُسَايِرُنَ ١٠ انْتَهَبَ وَالنَّهَابُ جَمْعُ نَهَبٍ قَوْلُهُ مُتَلَدَّةً  
أَرْسَانَهَا يَقُولُ أُلْعَبَتِ الثَّجْمُ عَنْهَا فَصَارَتْ تُقَادُ مَعَ النَّهَابِ \* عَمْرُ  
خَيْبٍ يَقُولُ رَجَعْتُ لَمْ تَخُتْ قَدْ ظَنَنْتُ بِمَا أَرَادَتْ

٦٨ مَعْرَقَةُ الْأَلْحِي تَلُوحُ مَتُونَهَا \*

تَشِيرُ الْقَطَا فِي مَنْقَلٍ<sup>3</sup> بَعْدَ مَقَرِّبٍ

أَيْ لَيْسَتْ بِغِلَظِ الْوُجُوهِ وَلَا اللَّحْمِ كَثِيرٍ فِيهَا وَيُسَاحَبُ أَنْ يَكُونَ

<sup>1</sup> MS. الطارد.

<sup>2</sup> MS. فَنَّا.

<sup>3</sup> MS. منقل, also in Comments.

اللحم مغزوقا قوله تلوح مثنونها يقول هي معرّفة المثنون تكاد تستبين  
العصب من ملّة اللحم والمنقل الطريق في العلط والمقرب طريق  
يختصر منه [Fol. 17b]

٦٩ لَيَّامَهَا قِيدَتْ وَايَامَهَا غَزَتْ \*

بِغْنَمٍ وَلَمْ تُؤْخَذْ بِأَرْضٍ فَتَغْصِبِ

يقول هُتَيْتْ وقدمت وصنعت لَيَّامَهَا التي يحتاج اليها وقوله  
أَيَّامَهَا غَزَتْ أي وذاك أرادت الخيل أيضا يقال إن فلانا ليسغزو  
كذى وكذى أى يريدده وقال غير الأصمعي هو من السغزو \* قوله وَلَمْ  
تُؤْخَذْ يقول لم يأخذوها جماعتها من النعم غصبا ولكنها أنشقيت<sup>١</sup>  
من كل حيّ فهي خبار ويروى : وَلَمْ تُؤْخَذْ أى مهيمة

٧٠ كَانَ خِيَالُ السَّخْلِ فِي كُلِّ مَنْزِلٍ \*

يَضَعَنَّ بِهِ الْأَسْلَاءَ طَلَاءً طَحْلِبِ

ويروى طَلَاءٌ<sup>٢</sup> وَدُنْ ما طلا شيئا<sup>٣</sup> فالْبَسَهُ فهو طلاء نال يُطْرَحُ السَّخْلَةُ  
وهي كائنها ماء في سلاها فتجف فكأنتها خطا من طحلب في يُبْسِهِ

<sup>١</sup> MS. نقتت

<sup>٢</sup> MS. توجد .

<sup>٣</sup> MS. يَضَعَنَّ .

<sup>٤</sup> MS. طلاء .

<sup>٥</sup> MS. سنا .

٧١ طَوَامِعُ بِالطَّرَفِ الظَّرَابُ<sup>١</sup> إِذَا بَدَتْ \*  
مُحَاجَلَةُ الْأَيْدِي دَمًا بِالْمُخَضَّبِ

أى يَطْمَحْنَ بظرفهن إلى الظَّرَابِ وهى جمع ظَرْبٍ وهو جَبَلٌ  
صغير يقول لم يكسرها الغزو وهى سَامِيَّةُ الْعُيُونِ وقوله مُحَاجَلَةُ أى  
صارت مُحَاجَلَةً بِالْأَيْدِي وَالْمُخَضَّبُ موضع الخَضَابِ مِنَ الْمَرْأَةِ

٧٢ وَلِلْخَلِيلِ أَيَّامٌ فَمَنْ يَصْطَبِرُ لَهَا \*  
وَيَعْرِفُ لَهَا أَيَّامَهَا الْخَيْرَ تَعْتَبِ

· قوله وَلِلْخَلِيلِ أَيَّامٌ فَمَنْ يَصْطَبِرُ لَهَا أى يَصْطَبِرُ لِلْأَيَّامِ وقوله أَيَّامَهَا  
الْخَيْرَ يقول أَيَّامَهَا الصَّالِحَةَ وَيَعَالِ مَعْنَادُ تَعَبٍ الْخَيْرِ [Fol. 18a]

٧٣ وَقَدْ كَانَ حَيَانًا عَدُوِّينَ فِي الذِّى \*  
خَلَا فَعَلَى مَا كَانَ فِي الدَّهْرِ فَارْتَبِي

أراد آرْتَبِي أَتَيْتُهَا الْعَدَاوَةَ أى اثْبَتْتُ يَقَالُ مَا زَالَ رَاتِبًا لِيَلْتَهُ أى  
ثَابِتًا وَمَا زَالَ رَاتِبًا بَيْنَ يَدَيِ فَلَانٍ وَتَرْتَبُ بِفِعْلٍ مِنْهُ وَمِثْلُهُ لَهُ  
لَدُو تَدَرُّزٌ<sup>٢</sup> عَنْ قَوْمِهِ أى كَرَّةٌ أى يَدْفَعُ

<sup>1</sup> MS. originally الضَّرَابِ, also in glosses, both corrected by a later hand.

<sup>2</sup> So MS. should we read تَدَرُّزٌ.

٧٤ إِلَيَّ الْيَوْمَ لَمْ نَحْدِثْ إِلَيْكُمْ وَسِيلَةً \*

وَلَمْ تَجِدُوهَا عِنْدَنَا فِي التَّنَسُّبِ

يقول لم تأتكم نتلين لكم و لكن جئنا بقائلكم وقوله لم تجدوها  
يقول ليست بيننا وبينكم مودة ولا نسب من قبل شئ من الاشياء  
نعطفكم به

٧٥ جَزِينَاهُمْ أَمْسِ الْفَطِيْمَةَ إِنَّا

مَتَى مَا تَكُنْ مِنَّا الْوَسِيْقَةُ نَطْلُبُ

يقول فعَلْنَا بِهِمْ مَا فَطَمَهُمْ عَنَّا لَا يَعْرِوْنَهَا بَعْدَهَا وَلَا يَتَعَرَّضُونَ لَهَا  
و أصل الفطم التطلع والوسقة الضريد والجمع وماتى وهى سيقته أيضا  
والجمع سياتى وكل ما طرد وسقى فدى ويبقى فبقول متى تكن أموالنا  
الطريدة نطلبها

٧٦ فَاتْلَعَتِ الْآيَامُ عَنَّا ذَوَابَّةَ \*

بِمَوَاقِعِنَا فِي مَحَرَبٍ بَعْدَ مَحَرَبٍ

بِمَوَاقِعِنَا اى بِمَوَاقِعِنَا \* مَحَرَبٍ بَعْدَ مَحَرَبٍ اى مُحَارَبَةٍ بَعْدَ مُحَارَبَةٍ  
وَذَوَابَّةٍ اى مَحْنٌ ذَوَابَّةٌ وَفَرَعٌ لَسْنَا بِأَدْنَابِ [Fol. 18b]

٧٧ فَلَمْ تَجِدِ الْأَقْوَامَ فِيْنَا مَسْبَةً \*

إِذَا اسْتَدْبِرْتَ أَيَّامَنَا بِالتَّعَقُّبِ

أُسْتَدْبِرْتَ نُظَرَ فِي أَدْبَارِهَا وَالتَّعَقُّبُ الْمُنْظَرُ فِي تَأْقِبَتِهَا فَيَقُولُ  
لَا يَجْدُونَ فَمَنَا مَسْبَةً إِذَا تَعَقَّبُوا أَيَّامَنَا وَطَلَبُوا مَعَانِيَهَا \*

تَمَّتِ الْفَصِيدَةُ • مع شرحها

#### TRANSLATION.

1. At al-Uqr an abode, erstwhile of Jamila, stirred afresh  
past longings of a love that brings back pain to  
thy heart.
2. Yet when she was far away, thou usedst to be  
Strong, paying no heed to the words of the mischief-  
maker.
3. Of noble countenance, she does not wail over one who  
perished  
On a morrow, as having perished leaving no (worthy)  
successor.
4. With oval cheek and slender waist,  
Refreshing teeth and of tall stature,
5. The eye sees what it loves, and in her is superabundance.  
Of blessing, whenever she appears, and playfulness  
(responds to) playfulness.
6. Many a tent in whose sides the (fresh) wind blows.  
In a spacious country, the door of which is never closed.
7. Its roof of worn-out embroidered garments,  
Its inner covering of draped Athamī-cloth ;

8. Its ropes, halters of short-haired (horses, straight) like  
The lance-shafts, equal to any exertion, whether of  
the first expedition or one following immediately  
after.
9. (Such a tent) have I raised over people, whose lances  
let flow  
The veins of the enemies, both young and hoary.
10. Great deeds do you see among us and nothing but heroes,  
Trained for war, and sons of war-trained men,
11. Who wear long sword-belts; who have never accepted  
an alternative  
Of ignominy, often facing death, tall ones.
12. Like the vultures of as-Surail spend its men on foot  
the night,  
Whenever they intend the renewal of a spoiled under-  
taking.
13. Among us is found a strain of nothing but lank  
(horses),  
Strong on the feet like the wolf of the Ghadā-busues,  
when running homewards.
14. (Horses) which make him, who mounts on their backs,  
taste  
The whirling of a spinning-top, when galloping.
15. And (nothing but) short-haired fiery mares with wide  
girth,  
Taking steps that send you forward like (a bow of)  
selected Nab'a-wood.
16. When they have got lean through being trained, they  
(still) tower high and bend  
A raised strong neck, which overtops the (other) horses.
17. With ribs bent like saddle-bows of Surā-wood, with  
whom are hastening  
Short spears, which are headed by spear-heads of Qu'dab's  
make.
18. When the word is given, "Hold them in!" and they,  
hastening their pace,  
Shoot past one after another like a lad's perforated  
spinning-top.

19. Tribesmen (are they) of the loftiest of Ġanī, by whose  
sides (as they ride their camels) amble with equal  
pace the steeds;—they are not without weapons  
nor a medley crowd.
  
20. Ho! have not the people of the Hijāz heard of our raid  
Against the tribe of Ward and Ibn Rayyā, the beaten one?
21. We led the horses by the side (of our camels) from  
the sand-hills of Ġamra  
And the sandhills of Lubn, how far to lead them!
22. Off-spring of al-Ġurāb, al-Wajīh, and Lāhiq,  
And A'waj, they are exalted in the tracing of their  
stock by those who trace pedigrees.
23. Chestnut-red and dark brown with prominent haunch  
bones, the foals of sires well-known and famous,  
of noble stock.
24. And blood-red bays, as though along their backs there  
ran a tint of gold, and their skin had become  
suffused therewith.
25. Steeds obtained by capture, (the trappings) thrown  
upon their backs,  
Instead (of the ease they enjoyed when) no raiders were  
there to snatch them, and they wandered at will.
26. Running at full gallop they try to overtake the spear-  
heads,  
As if they were hounds that have perceived the sign  
given by the hunter.
27. The dried sweat on their backs is like  
Palm-leaf mats with salt in the dwelling of one who  
owns many camels.
28. On account of the raid, and they have become lean;  
their backs are like  
Slides of boys, which have been effaced after having  
been a playground.
29. Their tails are of luxuriant hair, as though their trails  
Were fruit-bearing young palms of Sumaiha, which  
are drawn along the ground.

30. They have lost all fat that only the flesh of the bellies  
remains, and the collars  
Which have not been shortened hang loosely round  
their necks.
31. (The dust-clouds) are like the fluff of cotton of carding-  
women behind them,  
When they leave them (the clouds) behind in every  
hollow and torrent-bed.
32. When they descend to even ground, the dust-clouds are  
In the far distance like smoke-clouds of Tandub-wood,
33. As if the troops of horses, when they unexpectedly rush  
forward,  
Were the first swarm of locusts descending upon de-  
pressed ground.
34. They trample upon the flint-stones till their fragments  
(fly) like  
Scattered hailstones of a torrential downpour.
35. They rush with the riders to every narrow mountain pass,  
Flying like the first arriving sand-grouse, which fly in  
swarms.
36. And I kept up with them, speeding along easily upon  
a symmetrical (horse)  
With strong short ribs, one that outclasses others, with  
strong sinewy legs.
37. His sides (wet) like the garment of a water-drawer;  
If a dog were thrown between his jaws, it would dis-  
appear;
38. As if on his mane and his bridle were  
The flaring light of a bright burning firebrand of  
'Arfuj-wood
39. When it spreads from trellis to trellis,  
Then there is a sound on its track like that of gathered  
people.
40. Their fore-feet take kindly to the hoof straps as if they  
were

Dogs of a frightened-away crowd at the beginning of  
Summer.

41. When they return, they deliver safely noble faces (their  
owners),

Beloved ones, who deliver safely every beloved one (the  
horses).

42. They run with long strides round the ropes of the tents  
and smell the pasture-ground as they wander, and  
when the signal for warfare is given they are  
ridden.

43. Then when the hills of al-Qanān and Sāra came into  
sight,

And they were in the neighbourhood of the highland  
to the east of (mount) Salmā,

44. We made them (the camels) lie down, and offered them  
(the horses) the remains in the waterskins;

Then there were some who drank a little, while others,  
refusing, shrank from drinking at all.

45. They are compelled to have the sharp bit of the bridle  
put on

As if it were put on the trunk of a palm that is stripped  
of its bark,

46. And the grooms made the saddles firm, then they were  
handed over .

To men armed for war, who make frequent raids in the  
morning.

47. The men (who are the objects of attack) do not see  
them until they are upon them

In a wādī bordered by acacia, into which torrents drain.

48. (Horses) which touch their forelegs with their hoofs (in  
running), having the centre of the camp for their aim,

After they have scattered the choice portion of the  
camel-herd, pasturing away from the camp (of the  
enemy).

49. The people of 'Ālij, who were gathering leeks, saw  
Troops of horses hastening, people of Šarj and Aihab.
50. Then their wenches signalled to them and conveyed  
(what they thought good news)  
To the main portion of an army, which was not in battle  
array.
51. Then said some, "Who are those?" But already  
appeared  
Those who were first in a cloud of rising dust.
52. One who was perspicuous, however, said, discerning their  
cavalry,  
"They are by the goddess Raddā those whom you fear,  
therefore begone!"
53. On (horses) all with the large veins of the legs apparent,  
of tall build,  
And short-haired ones (running) as if they were gazelle-  
bucks, which graze on Hullab.
54. They are repelled like camels which have thirsted four  
days,  
And already appeared the moisture of sweat, which ran  
from their flanks.
55. One shouts, "Forward! Press on!" (another), "Give  
way! Out to the open!" "Ha! back there!  
Thrust them back!" cry the defenders, "advance  
boldly!"
56. But they did not stop till they saw in (the midst) of  
their homes  
A standard (fluttering) like the shadow of a restless bird.
57. Our infantry shot from Māsihī-bows;  
Arrows, the best which can be bought in Yatrab.
58. Bound round above the notch with sinews (strong) like  
the tendons in the legs of the sand-grouse, with  
their points newly beaten out (on the anvil and  
sharpened on) whetstones.
59. They are trimmed with the narrow sides of the wing  
feathers of young vultures which are ready to fly  
To their nests and of black vultures poisoned (to get  
their feathers).

60. When (the supply of arrows) in the quivers was exhausted, they betook themselves to (sword-play) on shields, made concave out of the hides of camels of good breed.
61. Then they tasted what we had tasted on the morning of Muhajjar of rage and anguish in our hearts.
62. We slew in requital for our slain an equal number (of them),  
And (carried away) an uncountable multitude of fettered prisoners.
63. We quench (the thirst of) the blades of the Masrafi swords with their (blood)  
And all long lances of India, long and strong ones,
64. With a stroke, which topples the skulls from their sockets,  
And (the striker) quenches the thirst of (the sword) with a drink from the skulls of men.
65. Therefore slaughter for slaughter, and (robbed) cattle for the like  
And for driving away camels, the driving away in a lowland into which streams drain.
66. They gathered flocks from herdsmen, which they made their prey,  
And caused them to drop (in their hurry) the milking buckets from off their necks.
67. Then they come home in the early night, walking alongside their plunder with their bridles replaced by halters, not disappointed (of booty),
68. With sinewy lower jaws, their shoulder-blades shining, Scaring the sand-grouse, (as they pass) over rough ground after leaving the highway.
69. For their battle-days were they trained, and on their days they make raids  
For booty, nor are they captured in any land, nor forcibly snatched away.
70. As if the outlines of the foals in every halting-place, Where (the mares) cast forth the secundines, were streaks of slime.

71. Raising the look to the knolls, when they come into sight,  
The forefeet dyed in blood in the place where women  
apply the dye (i.e. the wrist).
72. There are days for horses, and he who patiently waits  
for them  
And knows their lucky days, they will reward with  
good success.
73. Of a truth our two tribes (Ġanī and ʿTaizzī) have been  
enemies from of old, and as for that which remains  
of time, continue unchanged, oh enmity !
74. To this day we have never started any relationship  
with you,  
Nor do you find any with us, when tracing back  
genealogies.
75. We wreaked upon them yesternight a vengeance that  
severs them from us for evermore ; behold, we,  
Whenever a herd of camels is robbed from us, go in  
search of it.
76. The days thus raised us to be foremost  
With our battles in warfare after warfare.
77. Men find among us nothing at which to point their  
finger of scorn, when our days are searched through  
and explored one by one.

I do not know if I have everywhere expressed correctly the meaning of the text, but it cannot be denied that the poem is full of vigour, and though undoubtedly only partly preserved, it is a fine specimen of the poetry of the heathen Arabs, and we must regret that we do not possess the whole *diwān* of ʿTufail. The *Nasīb* is remarkably short, and has no connection with the following verse ; many verses appear to be out of their proper places, but I should not like to attempt a rearrangement.

## NOTES.

v. 1. **الْعُقْرُ**. This is the form in which the name of this place is given both in the manuscript and by al-Hamdānī, but al-Bakrī, 674, pointedly fixes the name as **العُقْرُ**.

v. 4. **أَسِيلَةٌ مَجْرَى الدَّمْعِ** is also used by Tufail, L.A. xv, 57.  
**وَفِي الظَّاعِنِينَ الْقَلْبُ قَدْ ذَهَبَتْ بِهِ \* أَسِيلَةٌ مَجْرَى الدَّمْعِ رَيَّا الْمُخَدَّمِ**  
 "The heart is with those who departed; (a maiden) with oval cheeks, plump where the garter is tied, has gone away with it."

Also al-Aḥṭal, 211, 6.

v. 5. The verse of ar-Rā'ī is found in a different form Jamhara, 173, 5.

v. 7. This verse is attributed to Imrūl-Qais, App. 5, v. 2. Cf. Imq. 4, v. 57.

v. 8. The verse of as-Šammālī Jamhara 158, 10.

v. 12. **الشَّرَفُ**. So vocalized in the commentary; al-Hamdānī and al-Bakrī read **الشَّرْفُ**.

v. 13. Cf. Imq. 4, v. 63. **رَجِيلٌ** "strong on the foot" of a horse, al-Marrār, al-Faq'asī, Majmū'at al-Ma'ānī, 181, 8.

**عَلَى كُلِّ جَيَّاشٍ إِذَا رَدَّ غَرَبَهُ \* تَلَفَتْ نَهْدُ الْمَرْكَلِينَ رَجِيلٌ**  
 of a camel, 'Āmira b. Tāriq, Naqāid, i, 55, 6.

The statement about "the worst kind of jackals," etc., is, according to al-Maidānī (Cairo, 1312), i, 171, from a Saj' of the Bint al-Ḥuss.

v. 14. The manuscript gives the root **خدرف** here as v. 18, both in text and comments with **ح** emphasizing the pronunciation always by placing a second **ح** under the letter. As I cannot produce evidence for this form I have altered the letter throughout.

v. 15. The verse of Abū-n-Najm = I. Wallād, 131, L.A. vii, 293, **نَحْي**.

v. 16. The verse of 'Adī b. ar-Riqā' is found incorrectly L.A. xi, 257, also al-Ḥarīrī, *Durra* (Const. 1299), p. 107, with **حَلَلْتُ**.

v. 17. Cf. *Imq.* 1, v. 58. In the comments I have altered **بأصاح** of the MS. with a small **ص** under the word into **بأصاخ**, not finding a better alternative. Uḏāḥ, as town belonging to Numair or Quṣair, may possibly have been the home of the smith Qa'ḏab. I do not think the vocative **يا صاحب** for **يا صاح** deserves consideration.

Towards the end the commentary is confused; the hemistich of Imrūl-Qais (35, v. 13), as also a hemistich of the very poem of Ṭufail (v. 26a) which is commented, introduced by the words "and another said," are strange.

v. 20. I have been unable to trace who are the two persons referred to in this verse. Perhaps Ibn Rayyā is Zaid al-Ḥail, and I believe my correction of the senseless **طابيات** of the manuscript is right, considering the whole bearing of the poem.

v. 21. Though the text and comments are emphatic in pronouncing the name of the place **لُبَيْن**, the reading of al-Ḥamdānī, **لُبْنَى**, is supported by v. 5 of the poem of Zaid al-Ḥail quoted in the introduction.

v. 22. The manuscript reads both in the verse and glosses **العَرَاب** with small **ع** to secure the letter 'Ain, but all quotations of this verse have **العُرَاب**; moreover, the famous stallions belonging to Ḡanī are frequently named, and we always find the latter form. Al-Ḥuṭai'a, 12, v. 9, also appears to have this verse of Ṭufail's in view, and after a little hesitation I have altered the text accordingly. Cf. also Ṭufail quoted L.A. iii, 311:

**وَحَيْلٍ كَأَمْثَالِ السِّرَاحِ مَصُونَةٍ \* نَحَايِرِ مَا أَبْقَى الْعُرَابِ وَمُدْهَبِ**

Also Tufail, T.A. ix, 39 :

أَبُوهُنَّ مَكْتُومٌ وَأَعْوَجُ الْخُحْبَا \* وَرَادَا وَخَوَّا لَيْسَ فِيهِنَّ مُعْرَبٌ

Tufail, L.A. iii, 341 :

عَنَاجِيحٍ فِيهِنَّ الصَّرِيحُ وَلَا حَقُّ \* مَغَاوِيرُ فِيهَا لِلْأَرِيبِ مُعْتَبٌ

with the variant مِنْ آلِ الصَّرِيحِ وَأَعْوَجِ.

v. 24. The plural كُمْتُ has given occasion to many comments by grammarians. Interesting is a passage in Jāhiz, Bayān, ii, 151 ult., قال بعض الكُمت “one of the poets named al-Kumait” said, etc.

v. 26. Imrūl-Qais, 35, v. 13 ; al-Mutanabhih = Ag. xx, 146, 23.

v. 27. Al-‘Ajjāj, App. 22, v. 9. Bīr. v. 39, of a poem found in the manuscript.

v. 28. The Rajaz is practically devoid of diacritical points in the manuscript.

v. 29. Cf. Imq. 4, v. 35 ; ‘Alqama, 1, v. 17.

v. 34. The comments require the reading ذَرَى. I have no hesitation in reading ذَرَى and translate accordingly.

v. 38. The verse of Aus is not found in Geyer’s edition.

v. 40. Compare an-Nābigha al-Ja’dī (al-‘Askarī, Šinū’atāin, Const. p. 238).

وَحَيْلٍ تُطَابِقُ بِالْأَعْيُنِ \* طَبَاقِ الْكَلَابِ يَطَّانُ الْهَرَّاسَا

I do not understand the meaning of السَّفِيْطُ.

v. 45. Cf. Ibn as-Sikkīt, Alfāz, p. 76. I cannot find a word having the desired meaning following الْمُفَانَاةُ in the commentary ; possibly the scribe copied the word twice.

v. 46. Al-Munahhal, L.A. ii, 230 ; Asma‘īyāt, v.

v. 47. Al-‘Ajjāj, 40, v. 52, and 17, v. 1.

v. 56. Cf. ‘Antara, 4, v. 5.

Ilāf. According to L.A. √ علف his name was Abū Jarm Zabbān of Qudā’a.

v. 60. The verses of Zaid al-Ḥail are found with others and comment, A. Zaid Nawādir, 80, Ḥizāna, iv, 148 sqq.

v. 61. This verse is very frequently quoted, at times on the authority of al-Aṣma'i, always with فِدْوُكُمَا in the imperative, but the context of the poem hardly admits this reading.

مُحَجَّر is not vocalized in the manuscript, according to al-Bakrī, 512. Ibn as-Sikkīt pronounced Muḥajjar; Ibn al-Anbārī, Aḍḍād has Muḥajjir, which is said to have been the reading of al-Aṣma'i. The place is mentioned by Labīd in his Mu'allāqa, v. 18. I have not been able to trace anything definite about this fight at al-Muḥajjar; 'Āmīr b. aṭ-Ṭufail was present; the place is said to be situated somewhere in the territory belonging to the Banū Bakr b. Kilāb, not far from Mutāli', which belonged to Ḡanī. It is frequently referred to by Ṭufail and Zaid al-Ḥail, but I consider it useless to quote here the passages found in Yāqūt and al-Bakrī.

v. 64. Cf. an-Nābiga 1, v. 22.



**XXVIII.**

**THE HEBREW VERSION OF THE  
"SECRETUM SECRETORUM."**

**By M. GASTER.**

טבעת מהמרגלית האדומה. יחזק לבו. ויתכבד בעיני האנשים: ומי שמפתח בו צורת אריה והמול מול אריה<sup>1</sup>. והשמש בו והדיעות<sup>2</sup> רחוקות ממנו יהיה נכבד הרבה. וישיג עניינו ומהר<sup>3</sup> במהירות ישלים כל חפצו מהר<sup>4</sup> ולא יראה במשכבו חלומות מפחידים:

(132) זמרד. הוא אבן שסגולתו שמכבדים מי שישים ממנו טבעת בידו. והוא משקים כאב האסטומכא כשתולים אותו. וכל שכן אם נוגע בה. והוא מועיל מהצרעת כשמחכים אותו ושותים ממנו. ומי שישים ממנו טבעת או יתלה אותו יסיר ממנו חולי הבטן<sup>5</sup> כשתולים אותו קודם שיבוא החולי:

(133) אבן אחלאמה הוא פירזאג בערבי: הוא אבן שהמלכים הנדולים מתכבדים בו. ואוצרים אותו באוצרם. וסגולתו הנדולה שאין אדם יכול להרוג מי שאוחז אותו. ומעוד לא נראה ביד אדם הרוג. וכששוחקים אותו ושותים ממנו מועיל טנישית העקרבים והשרצים<sup>6</sup> הממיתים:

(134) אבן אלקהת<sup>7</sup>: האבן הזה הוא אבן רפה והוא כושי. והוא מאיר. ומי שישו קר. לא תשלוט בו האש. ולא תטרפנו. וסגולתו. שהוא מועיל מכל החלאים החמים המתגברים עד כי איש-יאחז אותו ימצא קור מרובה. והוא משמר אותו אליו עד שלא יוכל להסיר עינו ממנו: ומי שאוחז ממנו אבן אחת נראה גדול<sup>8</sup> בעיני האנשים ויכבדו אותו. ומי שיצא להלחם ויאחז אותו בידו אין אדם יכול להלחם בו. ויתמה בהבטתו אליו. ולכן תרבה ממנו. ותפעל בו כמו שאתה עושה בסוד אשר הודעתך:

(135) אכסנדר. זה מספיק לך במה ששאלת ממני. אם תעיין אותו ותביט בו. ולכן תתבונן בו והאל ברחמיו יצילך<sup>9</sup> בו:

נשלם ספר סוד הסודות. ישבח למבין כל תעלומות:

<sup>1</sup> O. M. אורת אריה.

<sup>2</sup> O. והזעות

<sup>3</sup> O. omits.

<sup>4</sup> O. omits.

<sup>5</sup> O. M. הכרס.

<sup>6</sup> O. M. והשרפים.

<sup>7</sup> O. M. Before last §.

<sup>8</sup> O. ינדל.

<sup>9</sup> O. M. יצליחך.

רחוקים ממנו: ומי שמישים טבעת זו יכבדו אותו. ושומעים לקולו. ועושים כל חפצו בעולם הזה. זאין אדם מוחה בידו.

(127) בייט. הוא מהארסים הגדולים. אלא שהוא נראה במעמו ונוונו כשמועמים אותו. ואשר אין מרירות. ולא ממעם כמו מרירת האפעה ומרירת הנמר. והסיד' הזהבי הנק' קלם אז יהיה מהארסים שאין ראוי שלא יהיה אצלך. לפי שהוא מכיל המלחמה הנעלמים אשר תדחה בהם היוזק בהנהנתך בהם. כמה שהודעתך כבר. אך סמך הדבר בזה. הוא המזל הטוב העיקרי אשר נולדת בו. ולא יועיל החידוד ולא ההסתדלות. ולכן תעבוד בעולם הזה עבודת מי שיחיה לעולם. וחשוב לעולם הבא. כמו כשימות למחר: ויאות שתעשה העניינים המדיניים מהנפש הכללית. ותאצר בה הפרטות. והתבונן בזה כאשר יאות. לפי שהוא אות גדול:

(128) ודע. כי הקימיהא היא חכמה שאינה אמיתית. אלא החרישה והזריעה. ולכן יהיה היותר אהובים בעיניך ובה תצליח. ותראה הנהנתך ותגדל ממשתלך בעיה:

(129) ולפי ישיש אל האבנים מהסגולות מה שאני זוכר אחר זה. ראיתי לזכור לך סגולתם הנפלאות מה שתמצא בו תועלת. ושהנסיון העיר עליו. ונסיתי אותו:

(130) אבן בזהאר<sup>5</sup> הוא יש פרסי. ור"ל מנהג הנזק ואמרו שר"ל עוצר הרוח. והוא שני גוונים. יש ממנו מכורכם כאילו היא חתיכת דונג. ויש ממנו הזיתי. והוא צבוע בירקות כאילו הוא עור מכורכם וירוק. וזהו היותר משובח ומחצבו בארצות<sup>6</sup> צין. ואמרו שהוא נמצא במרירת הפתנים. וגוררים<sup>7</sup> אותו בחום גר לבן רפה המייטוש: וסגולתו שהוא מועיל מן הארסים כולם החיונים. והצמחים. והמחצביים. ומנשיכת השרצים. ועקיצתם. וכשקוטים ממנו שחוק משקל שנים עשר נגרים. יציל מהמיתה ויוציא הארס בזיעה: ומי שמישים ממנו טבעת בידו. יכבדו אותו כל האנשים: וכל מי שמביט אליו: ואם ישחקו אותו ויזרו ממנו על מקום נשיכת השרצים ימטוך הארס<sup>8</sup>. ואם יתעפש המקום יתרפא. ואם ישחקו ממנו משקל שני נגרים שעורים ויתיכו אותו וישליכו ממנו בפיות האפעים והשרצים יחנק אותם. וימותו: ואם יתלו ממנו בצואר הנער שלא נכפה ולא אירע לו מאורע. יציל אותו מהמאורעים.

(131) אבן מרגלית<sup>9</sup> והיא אליקות בערבי: הוא שלשה מינים. יש ממנו אדום. ומכורכם. וכחול: ומי שמישים ממנו בטבעת בו. או יתלה על צווארו אחד מסוגי המרגליות. ויכנס בה בעיר שנפל בה החולי הנקרא מאמון שאירע<sup>10</sup> לו: מה שאירע לאנשי אותה העיר. ומי שמישים בידו

<sup>1</sup> O. M. add. בן.

<sup>4</sup> O. M. add. חידות.

<sup>7</sup> O. M. add. ובם.

<sup>10</sup> M. add. בארץ.

<sup>12</sup> O. M. add. ליות.

<sup>2</sup> M. add. והסיר.

<sup>5</sup> O. M. add. כפי.

<sup>8</sup> O. M. add. הנפלאות.

<sup>11</sup> O. M. add. וגוררים.

<sup>14</sup> O. M. add. שיארע.

<sup>3</sup> M. add. הנעלים.

<sup>6</sup> O. M. add. פה.

<sup>9</sup> O. M. add. באזהר.

<sup>12</sup> M. O. M. add. הארסים.

## XIII.

שער' בחכמות מיוחדות. וסודות  
נימוסיות וזכר' סגולת אבני מרגליות.<sup>1</sup>

(124) כבר ידעת ממה שהקדמתי לך. והחזרתי עליך פעמים. כי עצם העולם כולו העליון והתחתון והקרוב והרחוק אין בו חילוף עצמי. ואמנם חילופו במקרה. והוא. נפרט בצורות והתבנית. ואחר שלא יתחלף דברי מעצמו. יהיה חלופו מבלעדיו. ומה שאתה רואה בעולם הגיטמי מהפרט. הוא ארבעה חלקים. והם הארבעה טבעים. ואחר כן יולד מהם במחצבים והצמחים והחיונים המפעל אשר בהם העולם המקיף הכל. ואחר כן יחלק לחלקים. וישוב סוגים ומינים יארך לזכור אותם ולבארם. ואין זה כוונת ספרנו זה. אך כוונתי מזה. מה שייעדתי לך לזכור אותו מחידות הסוד הגדול הזה. ואתה כאשר הקדמתי לבאר אליך תדענו. ותוציא אמיתתו. ואחר כן אזכור סגולת האבנים. לפי יראוי לדעת אותם. מפני שהם מיעילים בע"ה:

(125) חכמת החכמות הוא ידיעת הכסף והזהב. ידיעת אמיתתם נמנע. לפי שאי אפשר לרדמות לאל יתע' במעשיו העצמיות. וכייתבאר זה המקרים הם מושגות כ"אין מונע אותם. וזה מכלל הנימוסים ההכרחיים ואם בן להתעסק במקרים. כי כשהולכים בהם מהלך הישר נעלם עניינם. אך תקח מזוהרניך חלק. חשים אותו בחומין עד שיתלבן. ואחר כן תשים מלוגמת כסף חי. וכסף. ותחברם ביטמן ביצים. ותשים בכור<sup>2</sup> כמו שהודעתך קודם. ואם יצא לבן כמו העוף הנקרא פרס ובערבי עקאב מוטב. ואם לאו תחזירנו. עד שישוב כרצונך. ותשים חלק על טבעה ממאדים. וזוהי תלבנה. ויהיה משובח [O. M.] ותעשה טבעת מכסף וזהב משובץ מיאקו"ט. ואחר כן תקח מהרום<sup>3</sup> כתג ותאכיל ממנו הפרס הנק' עקאב בערבי עד שישוב ירוק. ותערב עמו שב וזאג ודונג'. והכל עם שמן ביצים. ותשים ממנו זוז על שני זווים מלבנה ושמש. בשני חלקים. ויהיה משובח.

(126) ותעשה טבעת מכסף ומוזהב משובץ מיאקות אדום. ופתחת בו צורת נערה מגולה מתגדלת ומתנברת. והיא רכבת על אריה. ישיתחתו לפניה ששה אנשים. וזה בקר יום אחד ושעת הישמש והמזל אריה. והשמש בו והלבנה במדריגה העשירית מהמרום הנק' שרף בערבי. ויהיה הרשת<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> O. M. המאמר השמיני<sup>4</sup> O. M. omit.<sup>7</sup> O. M. add מעשה.<sup>10</sup> O. M. בכור.<sup>2</sup> O. omits.<sup>5</sup> O. בעולם.<sup>8</sup> O. M. add יאות.<sup>11</sup> O. M. מהדום.<sup>3</sup> O. ומר.<sup>6</sup> O. <sup>1</sup> ועתה.<sup>9</sup> O. <sup>1</sup> דניק.

והשמור מן השילשול והוצאת הדם. אלא אם תצטרך אריו בעת הצורך הגדול. ואז יאות שתשנה האויר. ותחמם אותו. ותקדים<sup>1</sup> למרוח הגוף בישמים החמים. ולהיכנס למרחץ הכלי הישר. ולא תזיק בזמן הזה התנועה המתגברת. ולא התשמיש. ולא האכילה המרובה. וזה. בעבור חוזק העיכול בו.

(120) אכסנדר. שמור ההיכל הזה הנכבד. ושמור החום העיקרי בכך יכולתך: וזה כי כל זמן שיש באדם חום ישר ורומבה שאינה מתגברת. יהיה נוון באותו החום. ואז ההתמדה והבריאות יהיו תמיד: ואמנם יחלש האדם ויכלה נופו לשני פנים. האחת. חלישות טיבעי ברוב התנועה. וזה בעד<sup>2</sup> יבשות יתגבר על הגוף והפסד ההויה. והאחר חלישות מקרי. כמו מה שארע מהפנעים. והחלאים. והפסד המחשבה. ומהי שישמין הגוף וירטיב אותו. הוא המנוחה. וההיסקט. ואכילת המאכל הנק' אספירבאנ<sup>3</sup> והמטעמים המתוקים. ושתיית החלב החם. והיין המתוק. והשינה אחר אכילה על מטבב רך ורפה על מקומות הקרים. והרחיצה במים חמים מתוקים:

(121) ואל תרבה לשבת במרחץ. לבלתי יביש המרחץ הרומבה. O. M. J. אך ראוי שיתרטב הגוף מרטובת המרחץ. וירח ריחנים טובים אשר הם טובי הריח בכל עת. כמו היסמין בימות הנישמים. והוורדים והכנפור בימות החמה O. M. J. ויעשה הקיא בכל חודש ואפילו פעם אחת. וכל שכן בימות החמה<sup>4</sup> וזה שהקיא ירחץ האיסטומכא וינקח אותה מהחמרים הרעים. והליחות המעופשות. וכשימטו אותם החמרים ממנה. יתחזק החום העיקרי לעכל המאכלים. ותיטב הגוף בזה וימלא:

(122) והיותר מועיל מזה עם המחשבה הזאת הוא השמחה. והישרים. והכבוד. והניצוח אל האויבים. ובהתעסקות בעניינים משחקים. וההבטה אל הפנים היפים. והקריאה בספרים אשר הם דברים עריבים אל הנפש. ויטיעת המטורדים הערבים. ומיני השחוק עם האוהבים. והמלבושים הצבועים הנצויירים. והמשיחה במשיחות הראויות אל הזמנים.

(123) ואמנם מה שיוליד רוון בגוף. וייבש אותו. הוא בחילוף כל זה. ממינוט האכל והמטקה. וריבוי היגיעה. והתנועות אל השמש. וההקצה הארוכה. והשינה קודם האכילה על מטבב קשה. והרחיצה במים גפרתיים. ואכילת מאכלים מלוחים וחמוצים. והקרים. והחריפים. והדבר הקלוי. ושתיית היין היטן מבלי מים. והריבוי בשלשול הבטן. והוצאת הדם. ורוב התשמיש. והמחשבה. והיראה. ומחשבות הרעות הבאות. וכל זה יביא רוון הגוף וייבשנו:

<sup>1</sup> ותחמוד.<sup>2</sup> בעת O. M.<sup>3</sup> וממה O. M.<sup>4</sup> איספירבאנ M. אספירבאנ O.<sup>5</sup> הקיץ O.

(114) ואחר שתאכל תלך מעט בנחת על מקום<sup>1</sup> רפה: ותישן אחר כן על צד ימין שעה אחת. ואחר כן תתהפך על צד שמאל. ותשלים אחר כן ושנתך: והשינה קודם אכילה תוליד רוון הגוף ותייבש רוטבתו. והשינה אחר המאכל תזון ותספיק ותחזק הגוף:

(115) והשמר מלאכול מאכל אחר אלא אחר יתדע שיכבר נשלם עיכול הראשון. ותבין זה מהתאוה. וריבוי הרוק בפה. וזה כי כל מי שיאכל רבר בעת שאין הגוף צריך אליו. יפנע ממאכל בחום העיקרי מרובה. וכשיאכל בעת התאוה יפנע<sup>2</sup> בחום העיקרי כמו האש הנדלקת: ויאות כשתתענע התאוה אל המאכל שתמהר לאכול. וזה שאם לא תחיש על זה. תהיה נוזת האיסטומכא מיתרוני הגוף. ותביא תערובים נפסדים ותעשן המוח בקטורים נפסדים. וכשיאכל אחר כן יפסיד המאכל ולא יועיל אל הגוף: (116) ויאות שתתכוין להשמר בארבעה זמני הישנה. וזה כי תקופת ניסן הוא חם ולח. ישר. דומה אל האויר. מתעורר בו הדם. ויועיל בו כל דבר ישר. כמו התרנגולים הקטנים והעוף הנק' דראנ. והבצים בת' יומא<sup>3</sup> מבושלים במים חמים. והחזרת. וההנרבא. וחלב העיזים. והוא זמן הקזה והנחת כוסות השריטה. הנקראים מחאתם<sup>4</sup>. ויכטר בו ריבוי המיטגל והתנועה ושלשול הבטן. והכנסת המרחין. והזיעה. ושתית תרופה משלשלת. וכל שגה שתהיה בו בשלשול או בהקזה. הזמן יחזירו ויציל ממנו:

(117) ואחריו ימות החמה. והזמן הזה הוא חם. ויבש. תתעורר בו המרה האדומה. ויאות יתזהר מכל דבר חם מהמאכלים והמשקים והתרופות והתבלין. והשמר מהמילאוי פן יכבה החום העיקרי. ותאכל כל דבר קר מהמאכלים. כמו בשר העגלים בחומין. והדלועים. והתרנגולים הקטנים הפיטומי<sup>5</sup> בקמח שעורים. ומהפירות. התפוחים החמוצים. והאגסים. והרימונים החמוצים. ותמעט בו המיטגל. ותרחק בו הקזה הדם והכוסות השריטה אלא אם יבוא לידי צורך גדול. ותמעט התנועה והכנסת המרחין: (118) ואחריו ימות החורף. והוא זמן קר ויבש. תתעורר בו המרה השחורה. ויאות להשמר בו מכל מאכל ומשתה קר ויבש. ותרגיל בו מהמאכלים והמשקים מה שהוא חם ולח, ורטוב כמו התרנגולים הקטנים. והטלאים. והענבים המתוקים. והיין הקיק והישן. ותרחיק כל מה שוליד המרה השחורה. ויהיו בו התנועה והתשמיש יותר מימות החמה. ותרגיל בו הכנסת המרחין והתרופה המשלשלת. אם תצטרך לזה:

(119) ואחריו ימות הגשמים. והוא זמן קר ולח. תתעורר בו הליחה הלבנה. ויאות שתהיה נוטה אל המאכלים והסמים החמים. כמו גוזלי היונים וכבש בן שנתו. והצלי. והתבלין החמים. והתאנים. והאגוזים. והיין הזך האדום. אלא אם ימנע מזה דבר. ותאכל מהגוארשי החמין.

<sup>1</sup> O. M. דרך.<sup>2</sup> O. M. omit.<sup>3</sup> מהתאם. O.<sup>4</sup> O. omits.<sup>5</sup> O. M. מהגוארש.

הלבנה. ויתיר הגשון. ויוכך הדיבור. ויוליד התאווה אל המאכל. ואחר כן תעשה סעוט במה שיאות אל הזמן אשר אתה בו. כי תועלת הסעוט<sup>1</sup> וזה<sup>2</sup> מפתח אטמי המוח. ויעבה הצואר וקנה והזרוע. וישמין הפנים. ויחזק ההרגשות. ויעכב השיבה: ואחר כן תתבשם במה יראוי אל הזמן אשר אתה בו. וזה לפי שאין מזון אל הנפש הרוחנית אלא בהריח ריחנים טובים. והם מזונה. וזה כי כשתזון הנפש ותחזק. יתחזק הגוף. וישמח הלב. וישפוך הדם בגידים בהתפיט הנפש:

(110) ואחר כן תקח מגוראש<sup>3</sup> אלעוד והראונד מישקל ארבעה זוזים. לפי שתועלתם משיבת הלחה הלבנה מפה האסטומכא. ויוציאנה עם המאכל. ויבעירו החום העיקרי. ויסירו הרוחות. ויכשירו הפה:

(111) ואחר כן תדבר עם גדולי ממילתך. ותביאם עמך אל הדיבור בדברים נעימים. ותישפוט לכל כפי הראוי למשפטו: וכשתתאווה לאכול בעת שהיית נורג. תתנענע תנועה שתניע בה איבריך. וזה באיבוק. או בהילוך. או שתרכב סוסך במרוצה. והדומה בזה. וזה שתועלת והתנועה הוא להחסיר הרזחות. ותעורר הגוף. ותחזק אותו. ותקל אותו. ותבעיר אש האסטומכא [M. 1] ותחזק הפרקים. ותתיך היתרונות והליחות. ותוריד המאכל. והוא נבער באש האסטומכא: ותעורר הנפש:

(112) ואחר כן תשים לפניך מאכלים רבים. ותאכל מה שאתה רוצה בו ותתאווה אליו. ותאכל לחם חמין ביותר<sup>4</sup> שלם הבישול. ותקדים מהמאכל מה יראוי להקדים. ותאחר מה יראוי לאחר. ודמיון זה. כי כשיתאסף בסעודה אחד שני מאכלים. ויאכל מהם. והמאכל האחד ירכך הבטן ברוב רפיונו. והמאכל האדר עוצר אותו ברוב קיבוצו. שאם תקדים המרכך. ותאכל אחריו העוצר. ימהר לירידת המאכל אחר שיתעכל. וכשתקדים העוצר ותאכל אחריו המרכך. לא ירד. ותפסידם שחר. וכן אם יתאסף בסעודה אחת מאכל שממחר [M. 1] בתחתית האסטומכא. ואחד מתעכב להתעכל. יאות להקדים אשר הוא ממחר להתעכל. ותאכל אח"כ אשר הוא מתעכב להתעכל כדי שיהיה בתחתית האסטומכא. יותר שקט ויותר חזק להתעכל. לפי שתחתית האסטומכא יותר חמה מפני שבה מחלק הבשר המתערב עמה ושכנות הכבד אשר יבשל בחומו. יאות שתסלק ירך מלאכול. ועדיין יישך מעט תאווה. לפי שריבוי המאכל יצר הנשימה. וישאיר המאכל בתחתית האסטומכא:

(113) וכן ראוי שתמנע מלשתות מים על המאכל. עד שישוב לך זה המנהג. לפי שיקררו האסטומכא וירבו חום התאווה. ויפסידו המאכל. והריבוי מהם יולידו הפסד האסטומכא. אשר הוא מאורע גדול לגוף. ואם אין מנוס מלשתות מים בעבור חום הזמן. או חום המבע או חום המאכלים. תקח מהם מעט. ויהיו קרים הרבה:

<sup>1</sup> גדולה O. M. add.

<sup>2</sup> ביושר O. M.

<sup>3</sup> שהוא O.

<sup>4</sup> ותאחר M.

(106) והתבנית<sup>1</sup> הישר התכונה אשר הוא טיב הטבע. הוא שיהיה בשרו רך וטוב. ממוצע בין הרקיקות והנסות. ויהיה ממוצע בין הקוצר והאורך. לבן. נוטה אל האודם והכרכמות. רקיק הפנים. ארוך השיער. ממוצע בין הסיכוך<sup>2</sup> והחלקות. צהוב השיער. ממוצע. גדול העינים. נוטה אל השקיעות והשחרות והכוחל. ישר הראש בגודל. ישר הצוואר. רקיק הכתפים. אפס הבישר בניו והירכים. קולו צלול. ישר בעובי והרקיקות. כפו חלק. ואצבעותיו ארוכות. נומים אל הרקיקות. ודבריו מועטים. ומעט הצחוק אלא בעת הצורך לזה. וטבעו נוטה אל המרה השחורה והמרה האדומה. וכאילו יתערב בהביטו שמחה ויטון מבלי רוע לב כאשר<sup>3</sup> לך<sup>4</sup> ואינו משתרר עליך אלא במה שאין לו יכולת. זהו יותר ישר היצירה שברא האל יתע'. וזהו אשר אני בוחר אליך. ולכן השתרל לחפש מי שהוא על התואר הזה. ותצליח בו: וכבר ידעת שהשורר מצטרך אל האנשים יותר ממה שהם צריכים אליו:

## XII.

שער בהנהגה משובחת<sup>5</sup> הגוף:

(107) אכסנדר. לפי שהגוף והזה הוא כלה. ויכנס בו ההפסד. ולכן הבן באותות האילו אשר זכרתי לך. ועיין בהם בתבונתך השלימה. והכרתך התמימה. לפי שיעילו אליך בעה"י בחילוף התערובים הנולדות בו: ראיתי להעמיד אליך במאמר הזה ליקוטות משובחות מסודות הרפואה אשר כשתעמוד עליהם. ותעשה בהם. [O. M.] לפי שאין דאוי אל המלך להודיע כל המאורעים הבאים עליו אל הרופאים וכשתרגיל ההנהגה הזאת המשובחת אשר אני זוכר לך לא תצטרך לרופא. אלא במה שאין מנוס ממנו מהפגעים המסתבכים אשר לא יארעו אלא למרחוק:

(108) ויאות לך אכסנדר. כשתקום מתנומתך שתתהלך מעט. ותשטח איברך השתמחות ישר. ותעשה החפיפה במסרק. לפי שהשתמחות יחזק. והחפיפה תוציא הקיטורים מהראש העולים אליו בעת התנומה מהאיסמומכא: ותרחיץ ואחר כן בימות החמה במים קרים. לפי שזה יאמץ הגוף. ויכשיר<sup>6</sup> החום העיקרי. ויהיה זה סיבה אל התאוה: ואחר כן תלבש בגדים נקיים. ותעדה כלים נאים. לפי שישמח בו הרגש הראות. ויחזק בו הכח המאיר בפשמו:

(109) ואחר כן תנקה שיניך בקליפות אילנות מרים. עפיצים חמים חריפים. לפי שתועלתם גדול: וזה לפי שינקה השינים והפה. ויתך ליחה

<sup>1</sup> והתכנית O.<sup>2</sup> הסיכוך O. M.<sup>3</sup> נומים M.<sup>4</sup> בא' O. M.<sup>5</sup> בהנהגת O. M. add.<sup>6</sup> הרבה O. M.<sup>7</sup> ויפשיר O.





(83) ומי שענינו גדולות ובולטות. הוא קנאי. ועו פנים. עצל ואינו נאמן בדבר. ואם יהיו כעין התכלת יהיה יותר בזה. ואי אפשר שלא תהיה עינו רעה:

(84) ומי שענינו ממוצעים. והם שוקעים<sup>1</sup>. והם כחולות וישחורות הוא מקיץ. מבין. אוהב. נאמן. ואם תהיינה נוסות לאורך האף. יהיה בעליהם רמאי. ומי שענינו דומות לעיני הבהמות. ויעמדו קפואות. ותמעט תנועתם<sup>2</sup> נס<sup>3</sup> הטבע:

(85) ומי שמניע עינו במהירות וחדוד ומביט במהירות. הוא בעל תחבולה. נגב. בוגד. ואם תהיה אדומה. בעליה חזק לב. ומוסר עצמו אל הסכנה. ואם יהיו סביבותיה נקודות מכורכמות יהיה בעליה היותר רע שבאנשים והיותר רע המידות והמפעלים:

(86) אכסנדר. כשתראה אדם שמרבה להביט אליך. וכשתביט אליו יאדימו פניו. ויתבייש. ויראה כמצחק. אל תרצה בו: ואם תדמע עינו. דע. שהוא ומתיירא ממך. אוהב אותך. ידיד ונאמן. וכל שכן אם יהיו בעיניו האותות המשובחים אשר זכרנו כבר: ואם תביט אליו ויביט אליך מבלי בושת ומאין יראה. היא מקנא אליך. ומיקל אותך. ואינו נאמן עליך: אכסנדר. השמר מכל מי שהוא חסר היצירה כמו שאתה נזהר מאוייביו:

בשיער:

(87) השיער הנס יורה על חיזוק הלב ובריאות המוח. והשיער הרך יורה על מורך הלב וקור המוח ומיעוט התבונה: ורוב השיער על הכתפים והצוואר הוא אות על השטות. וכן הוא על המרוצה: ורוב השיער בחזה ובבטן יורה על הטבע הבהמית. ומיעוט התבונה. ואהבת היסור:

בהצהיבות השיער:

(88) השיער הצהוב יורה על השטות וריבוי הכעס ומהירותו. והשלטון כמו כן. השיער השחור. יורה על השכל והרפיון. ואהבת הצחקות: והמיוצוץ בין שני אילו. יורה על היושר:

בגבות העין:

(89) כשהשיער מרובה בגבות העין. יורה על ההתרשלות. ונסות הדיבור: וכשהיה גב העין נמשך אל הצד בעליו מתנאה: ומי שמתרסק<sup>4</sup> עם<sup>5</sup> עינו<sup>6</sup> והוא ישר באורך והקוצר. והוא שחור. הוא מקיץ ומבין:

בנחירים:

(90) הנחירים כשהם דקים יהיה בעליו דק<sup>7</sup> המידות: ומי שנחיריו ארוכים קרוב מפיו<sup>8</sup> הוא חזק הלב: ומי שנחיריו פשוטות הוא מוסר

<sup>1</sup> שקועים.

<sup>2</sup> O. M. add והבטתם.

<sup>3</sup> כסיל.

<sup>4</sup> O. M. שמתרסק.

<sup>5</sup> O. M. גבי.

<sup>6</sup> O. M. עיניו.

<sup>7</sup> O. M. רך.

<sup>8</sup> O. M. לפיו.

שער שבעה:

(77)

השבעה ינצחו התשעה:	שבעה ותשעה
השמונה ינצחו השבעה:	שבעה ושמונה
השואל ינצח השאול:	שבעה ושבעה

שער שמונה:

(78)

התשעה ינצחו השמונה:	שמונה ותשעה
השואל ינצח השאול:	שמונה ושמונה

שער תשעה:

(79)

השואל ינצח השאול:	תשעה ותשעה
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ותשלם מלאכת המלחמה. צור אויבי ייבי ייטת לחרפות: או"סו":

## XI.

### שער בהכרת הפרצוף:

(80) אכסנדר. דע לך כי לפי יסחכמת עניין הכרת הפרצוף הוא מחכמות שמעיינים בהם וימחשבים בהם אשר ראוי אליך לדעת אותו ולעיין בו. בעבור ר"י הצורך אשר מצטרף אל האנשים להעמידם לפניך. אקים לך בשער הזה מאותות הכרת הפרצוף מה שנתאמת לצד שהוא ידוע ובימים אשר עברו. ואשר ניסינו אותו באמת מזמנים הקדמונים:

(81) אכסנדר. כבר ידעת שהרחם אל העובר כמו הקדירה אל התבשיל. והמזנים מתחלפים כפי היצירה. והטבעים מתחלפים כפי ההרכבה: ודע כי הלוּבן הבהיר אל העין אשר כעין התכלת והצהיבות המרובה יורה אל העזות. והרמאות. והניאוף. וקלות הדעת. והבט לאנשי אשכנז שיש בהם המידות האלו. ומה שיש בהם מהשמות והבגידה והעזות. ולכן השמר מכל מה שעינו כעין התכלת והוא צהוב. ואם ויתחבר עם זה שיהיה רחב המצח. וצד הזקן חלק. ושער ראשו מרובה. השמר ממנו כמו שאתה שומר מהאפעים ההורנים:

(82) ויש בעין אותות כמו כן אי אפשר שתחמא בהם. עד שיודע בהם הרצון והכעס והאהבה והשנאה. והיותר רע שבעינים. הוא כעין התכלת הנזטה לעין האבן הנקרא אחלאמה ובערבי פִּירוֹזֶה:

<sup>1</sup> O. M. omit.

<sup>4</sup> O. M. כבר.

<sup>2</sup> O. M. omit.

<sup>5</sup> O. M. עם.

<sup>3</sup> תצטרך. O.

<sup>6</sup> O. נקצר.

## שער י"ג:

(72)

שנים ותשעה	התשעה ינצחו השנים:
שנים ושמונה	השנים ינצחו השמונה:
שנים ושבעה	השבעה ינצחו השנים:
שנים וישה	השנים ינצחו הישה:
שנים וחמשה	החמשה ינצחו השנים:
שנים וארבעה	השנים ינצחו הארבעה:
שנים ושלשה	הששה ינצחו השנים:
שנים ושנים	השואב ינצח השאול:

## שער י"ד:

(73)

שלשה ותשעה	היגשה ינצחו התשעה:
שלשה ושמונה	השמונה ינצחו השלשה:
שלשה ושבעה	השה ינצחו השבעה:
שלשה וישה	השה ינצחו השלשה:
שלשה וחמשה	ההגשה ינצחו החמשה:
שלשה וארבעה	הארבעה ינצחו ההגשה:
שלשה ושלשה	השואב ינצח השאול:

## שער י"ה:

(74)

ארבעה ותשעה	התשעה ינצחו הארבעה:
ארבעה ושמונה	הארבעה ינצחו השמונה:
ארבעה ושבעה	השבעה ינצחו הארבעה:
ארבעה וישה	הארבעה ינצחו הישה:
ארבעה וחמשה	החמשה ינצחו הארבעה:
ארבעה וארבעה	השואב ינצח השאול:

## שער י"ז:

(75)

חמשה ותשעה	החמשה ינצחו התשעה:
חמשה ושמונה	השמונה ינצחו החמשה:
חמשה ושבעה	החמשה ינצחו היבעה:
חמשה וישה	השה ינצחו החמשה:
חמשה וחמשה	השואב ינצח השאול:

## שער י"ח:

(76)

ששה ותשעה	התשעה ינצחו הששה:
ששה ושמונה	השה ינצחו השמונה:
ששה ושבעה	השבעה ינצחו הששה:
ששה וישה	השואב ינצח השאול:

## X.

## חשבון שמות בעלי המלחמה:

(69) דע אבסנדר<sup>1</sup>. יזוה<sup>2</sup> הסוד אשר<sup>3</sup> הייתי עושה לך בעת שהיית יושלח<sup>4</sup> לקראת אויביך. זעת שהיית שולח עבדיך. והוא מהסודות האלוהיות אשר חנן אותי האל. וכבר נסיתי אמיתו. ומצאתי תועלתו. והייתי בו מצליח. ואתה היתה חוקר עליו. והייתי מכסה אותו ממך. והייתי נותן לך התועלת. ועתה אל תגליהו לאדם ותעשה אותו. ומעוד לא תחטא בו. וזה שלא תצא לקראת אויביך אלא אחר שתדע בחיטבון זה שתנצח אותו. ואם לא יתכן לך זה. תחטב שמות עבדיך. ותשלח על הצבא מי שיצא עליו החיטבון שהוא מנצח. וזה יתחטב שם בעלי הצבא ויטמך בחשבון זה. ותישמור הסך אשר תמצא בכל אחד מהם. ואחר כן תוציא מה שעלה בידך משמות כל אחד מהמניין תישעה תישעה. ואשר ישאר בידך פחות מתשע מהשם האחד תישמור אותו כמו כן. ותעיין החיטבון אשר אני כותב לך. ותחפש בו הנשאר משני השמות. וכאשר תמצא אותו האמן בו לפי שהוא אמיתי. לא יזוב לעולם בעהו<sup>5</sup>.

(70) אבגדהו זחטיכל<sup>6</sup> ומנסעפין קרית ה' מאות. ו' מאות. ז' מאות. ח' מאות. ת' רפה. פ' רפה. ט' רפה. ט מאות. אלף ג' רפה. סין. תחשוב שני שמות בחיטבון זה<sup>7</sup> כאשר זכרתי לך. ותשלך הכל תישעה תישעה. ומה שישאר בידך פחות מהתשע תחפץ בחיטבון זה<sup>8</sup>:

שער אחד:

(71)

אחד ותישעה	האחד ינצח התישעה:
אחד ושמונה	השמונה ינצחו האחד:
אחד ושבעה	האחד ינצח השבעה:
אחד וששה	הששה ינצחו האחד:
אחד וחמשה	האחד ינצח החמשה:
אחד וארבעה	הארבעה ינצחו האחד:
אחד ושלושה	האחד ינצח השלושה:
אחד ושנים	השנים ינצחו האחד:
אחד ואחד	השואל ינצח השואל:

<sup>1</sup> O. M. הוא.<sup>2</sup> O. M. עורך.<sup>3</sup> O. M. adds כך ו' אמרתי.<sup>4</sup> M. om. from 'א בחשבון.

(64) ויכשתשלח אחד<sup>1</sup> מהם לערוך מלחמה. תשלח עמו החומות והמגדלים העשויים מעץ. אשר בהם יבעלי החיצים והמזרקים השורפים. ואם יוולד להם פחד תחזקנה בהם נפשותם בבוטחם על זה. ויעמדו החיצים והמזקים בפני אויביהם. ותערוך צבאך כמו שזכרנו. ותשים מימן בעלי המערכה המנצחים. ומשמאל היודעים להכות ברמחים. והיורים בחיצים. והשורפים: והקולות. כמו כלי המים המפחידים והמרעידים אשר עשיתי לך כשערכתני לקראת בלהה ההנדי. אשר כששמעו אותו פחד לבם ונסו הסוסים. והיה סיבה לנצח אותם רוב הכלים הנזכרים. ויאות שתהיה משקיף עליהם. כדי שתדע מוצאם ומובאם וטובתם ורעתם. וזה כשיבינו זה יזהרו וכשיזהרו יפחדו ממך:

(65) והבט ענייני אויביך. והמקום אשר תראה אותו חלש תתחיל להכות בו. והתנהג ביישוב כשתערוך מלחמה. לפי שזה עוזר מאד. כי מעור לא ראינו מי שינצח בראש הצבא. שלא ישבר לבם ויכנס בהם הפחד גדול. ותשים אורבים רבים. וזה באש והקולות המפחידים. לפי שהם חזמנה גדולה וחזק גדול המביא אל הניצוח. וצד גדול מצדי המלחמה. לפי שימיתו לבות מי שאתה עורך אליו:

(66) ותעשה הכלים המפחידים הנקראים מהואי<sup>2</sup> וזוהאי<sup>3</sup> בקצת מקומות המלחמה. ושמו מהם פרישך. והרבה כך מבהמות כרסאני<sup>4</sup> הנושאים. לפי שהם מפחידים הסוסים ומצילים מהפגעים ועיר מבצר ועוד שהם נושאים צידת הדרך והמים:

(67) ואם תלחם בעיר מבצר תעשה הכלי אשר חישבתי לך המשליך אבנים מרחוק. והורס הבניינים ומפיל החומות. והרבה ממנו כפי מה שאתה צריך אליו. וכן הכלי הנוגח. והמורים בחיצים אשר בהם ארס. ותציב קשת הגלגל עליהם. לפי שהוא מפחיד הלבבות המתנברות. ומרעיד המקומות הבצורות. ואם יבוא לידך משתיהם תשים בו הארסים הממיתים והשמר מכיוצה בזה. לפי שראוי לשמור ממנו:

(68) ואל תלך עם אדם מנוצח ואל תתחבר בו. ואם איפשר לך שתעשה ענייניך כולם בערמה תעשה. לפי שעיקר ההנהגה היא ערמה. ותשים המלחמה סוף המעשים. וזה שאנשי הודו בעלי ערמות ולא תמצא אותם רעה. והעם הנקרא תרך בעלי רוע לב וכסילות מרובה. ולכן ראוי להלחם עם כל כת מאילו במה שראוי אליו. ולא תעזב דבר פטן שיגדל. אבל תחשוב אותו קודם שיבוא:

<sup>1</sup> כת. M. O.

<sup>2</sup> וזוכא. M. : וזוכא. O.

<sup>3</sup> מהואי. M. O.

<sup>4</sup> בראקאן. O.

## IX.

שערי בהנהגת המלחמות. ותואר המערכות. וצד השמירה מהם. ואיך ייאות לערך מלחמה עם הצבא:

(62) אכסנדר. תסכן<sup>1</sup> עצמך במלחמה. והידבק בנדולי ישיבתך. ואל תעשה מה שהיו עושים<sup>2</sup> היא בלה אשר היו מראים עצמם במלחמה. והנני נשבע כי מעור<sup>3</sup> לא נתראה מלך אחד עם אחר שלא<sup>4</sup> חשב כל אחד מהם להפיל את חברו. וזה מצוי תמיד ראוי אל היצירה אשר ממנה נברא העולם. וחשב במעשה קין אל הבל אחיו. וכבר נודע כי הקנאה ואהבת העולם יחייב זה. ומי<sup>5</sup> שהוא ירשה ונסיון בטבע העולם הזה ראוי לחזור ממנו. ודע לך כי המלחמה גוף ונשמה יתחברו משני הפכים מתגברים האחד עם אחד<sup>6</sup>. ונישמתם הוא שיאמין כל אחד משני הכתות שינצח ושיתגבר האחד על האחר. וגופם הוא מערכת השני כתות זה לקראת זה. וזה שאם לא יאמין כל אחד בניצוח תמות המלחמה. והתמדת המלחמה הוא כל זמן שעומד זה כנגד זה. ותכליתה הוא בהתגבר אחת משתי כיתות על האחרת. ולכן תשים כוונתך לחזק לב צבאך ותבטיחם שאתה מנצח. וכי יש בידך אותות על זה. ותביא להם ראיות מפעליות. על זה תחזק<sup>7</sup> לבם. כמו כלי המלחמה הנקראים חיסארוס<sup>8</sup> והקשרים הנקראים עקוד אשר אני עתיד לזכור אותם בספר הזה. וראוי שתדבר על לבם ותבטיחם שתשא להם משאיות וחליפות שמלות. ותחזקם בזה. ותזהירם כי מי שעובר להם<sup>9</sup> מצוה תיסרהו ביסורין ועונשין לעיני הכל בגלוי:

(63) ודע. כי לא תלחם אלא בשרה או במקום נמנע או נבצר. ואם תערך מלחמה עם שיצא אליך בשרה. תשים כונתך להגין על עצמך בכלי המלחמה. והשומרים והצופים. והזהרה בכל עז. לילה ויום עד שלא נמצא<sup>10</sup> לך אויבך שום צד ניצוח והפסד ויביאהו עליך. ואל תחנה במחניך אלא במקום שתישען עליו כמו ההר והדומה לו. ויהיה קרוב מהמים. ותרבה בצידת הדרך. והעצים ואע"פ שאינך צריך להם. ותרבה הכלים המפחידים. והקולות המרעירות. לפי שבהם תחזקנה לבות אנשיך. ותתאמצנה נפשותם. ויפחדו אשר אתה עורך לקראתם. ויכנס הפחד בליבם. והיו פרשך מחולפי התכונה כל אחד מחבירו. וזה שיהיה מהם מי שלובש שריונות. ואחרים במלבושי ברזל. ואחרים במנפים:

<sup>1</sup> O. M. המאמר השביעי.<sup>4</sup> O. M. מעולם.<sup>7</sup> O. M. האחד.<sup>2</sup> O. M. תתקן.<sup>5</sup> O. M. אלא.<sup>8</sup> O. M. יתחזק.<sup>3</sup> O. M. add הנקראים.<sup>6</sup> O. M. ומה.<sup>9</sup> O. M. חיסארוס.<sup>10</sup> O. M. מהם.<sup>11</sup> O. M. ימצא.

עניין חרחוק והקרב מהם. ואם יקל עליך מערכת מי שתשלח מהם ומי שתישען עליו. ותקרא אליך המניין אשר אתה רוצה בו מאין קושי. וזה כי הפחות שבמלכים הם ארבעה. ואמנם אמרתי<sup>1</sup> ארבעה. לפי שכל מקומות שבעולם הם ד' רוחות. פנים ואחור וימין ושמאל. וכן כל צידי העולם ארבעה. צפון ודרום ומזרח ומערב. וכל מלך הוא פקיד על הרביע: (58) ואם תרצה שיהיו יותר יהיו עשרה. לפי שהעשרה הם ארבעה שלימים שבארבעה: יש עשרה<sup>2</sup> וזה. אחד ושנים ושלוש וארבעה. ובשתאספ<sup>3</sup> זה יהיו הכל עשרה. והוא שלימות מה שכולל אותו הארבעה מן המניין. ואחר כל מלך עשרה ימים. ואחר כל שר עשרה שוטרים. ואחר כל שוטר עשרה נוגשים. וזה וזה יהיה לך אלף. וימסך<sup>4</sup> עם כל נוגש עשרה אנשים וזה עשרת אלפים. ובשתצטרך לאלף תצוה שר אחד. וימסכו עמו עשרה שוטרים. ועם כל שוטר עשרה נוגשים. ועם כל נוגש עשרה אנשים. ויהיה סך הכל אלף. ואם תצטרך למאה תצווה שוטר אחד. וימסכו עמו עשרה וייקל הנהגתם מעליך. ויעלה בידך מה שאתה רוצה מעינייך. וייקל מעליך מטא הפרשים ולא תיגע עמם. וזה כי כל אחד יצוה עשרה ממה שהוא פחות ממנו. ואז תקל מחשבותם ויעמוד לפניך מי שאתה רוצה בו בפעם אחת. ויהיו כל הפרשים כל אחד עושה<sup>5</sup> מצוות מי שהוא למעלה ממנו משמרה על משמרה:

(59) ואין מנוס אל הפרשים שיהיה להם סופר חכם. נאמן. מכיר העניינים. ידע הפרצופים. ומבין ענייני הפרשים. ויטל יביא על הפרשים הפסד במתנותם. ויפסיד בזה כוונתם. ואם תבין זה בו תסירה<sup>6</sup> ותאספם אליך ותודיעם. כי כסידעת הפסדם אינך רוצה בו. וישרצונך להרחיקו מהם. ויאות שיהיה המלך שמח ומקבל אותם בסבר פנים יפות. ולא יסור מלתקן ענייניהם ומלמנוע נזקים<sup>7</sup>:

(60) ויאות שתהיה יראתך על פניהם. כדי שיראו ממך. ויכבדו אותך. ואל יקרבו ממך בעת שיבואו אליך לשאול<sup>8</sup> לך לשלום. ואל תרבה לדבר עמם בגלוי כל שכן בסתר. לפי שזה סיבה להקל אותך. ואיפשר שיהיה בזה סיבה להפסד. ויקשרו עליך. כמו שאירע לתמאסטיוס המלך. ובלעדיו מהמלכים הקדמונים:

(61) והרגל אותם שביאו שאילותיהם אליך כתובים על ספר. ויהיו שלוחים אליך על ידי אנשים קרובים אליך. שראוי אליהם המדריגה הזאת. וכל ספר שלוח אליך תקראנו בפני משנך ועובד פרשיך. ואשר יאות לעיין בו ולהשיב עליו תשיב עליו. ותכתוב אותו על גב הספר אשר שלח אליך. לפי שיש לו בזה כבוד ויתפאר בו הוא וזרעו. ויוסיף בעבודתך ואמונתך בכל לבו. ואשר לא יאות לעיין בו תעזבנו ותשיב עליו בדברים טובים. ותאכילם בזמנים ובמועדים לפי שהם שמחים בזה ומתכבדים בו. ותרבה אהבתם אליך בזה:

<sup>1</sup> ואל. O.

<sup>4</sup> O. M. ארבעה.

<sup>7</sup> O. M. add. מהם.

<sup>2</sup> דנו. O. דתי. O.

<sup>5</sup> From וזה to עם. O. M. omit.

<sup>8</sup> O. נזקיהם.

<sup>3</sup> שבעשרה. O. M.

<sup>6</sup> O. M. תחת.

<sup>9</sup> לקרוא. O.

(52) ואל תפקוד פקידים רבים לקבץ יציאותיך ויבוא ההפסד עליך בריבויי שכל אחד מהם רוצה להתכבד על חבירו מהפסדי ענייניך. וישתדל להראות תועלת בהכנסת ההפסד על הממון. וכל אחד דורש טוב לעצמו כדי לקיים ענייניו. ומהם מי שעושה טובה למי ששמח בטובתו ועוזר אותו:

## VII.

### שער'. בהולכי דרכים במצוותיו ושלוחיו ותכונתם ועניין ההנהגה בשליחותם:

(53) דע. כי השליח יורה על שכל השולח. לפי שהוא עינו במה שאינו רואה. ואזנו במה שאינו שומע. ולשונו בשנסתר ממנו. ועל כן ראוי שתבחר הנדול שיש בשיבתך. והיותר חכם. ובעל קומה ומראה ונאמן. ומרחיק כל דבר מכושר. ואם תמצאיהו כן תשלחנו ותשים בידו כל ענייניך אחר שידע רצונך. ואל תצוה אותו על העתיד. לפי שאיפשר בעת הצורך יהיה הנכון בלעדי רצונך. ואם אינו על התואר הזה. יהיה נאמן שלא יוסיף ולא יגרע על מה שאתה שולח אותו. ושיהיה שומר מצוותך. ומבין מה ששומע. ושירע להשיב עליו:

(54) ואם לא תמצאיהו כן. יאות שיהיה נאמן לבד ומביא כתבך למי שאתה שולח<sup>1</sup> ושיביא תשובתו. ואם תרגיש בשלוחך שהוא משתדל לקחת ממון במקום שאתה שולח אותו. אל תשלחנו. לפי שלא יותן לו ממון בדבר מטובותיך:

(55) ואל תשלח מי ששותה יין. וזה מאנשי פרס כשהיה מניע אליהם שליח. ה' גביאין יין לפניו. ואם היה שותה היו יודעים כי סוד המלך השולח אותו הוא מגלה להם. ומביאין לפניו ממון גדול. ואם יראו שתן עיניו בממון אז יבינו שהמלך בדיהם:

(56) אכסנדר. השמר לך פן תשלח משניך. ואל תוציאיהו מלפניך. לפי שבזה הפסד מלכותך. וכל תארי שלוחיך כבר הודעתים לך. ואשר תשען בו שיהיה נאמן מבלי זיוף ואם אינו כן יזיף עליך. וזה שיקבל ממון ומנחות וישקר לך במה שאתה שולח אותו. ויפסיד כל ענייניך. ויבטל מחשבותיך:

## VIII.

### שער' בהנהגת העבדים והפרשים:

(57) אכסנדר. הפרשים הם עדי המלכים וכבוד הממשלה<sup>2</sup> ויאות שתשען על העדי הנאה והמשמרה הטובה במערכת הפרשים. עד שלא יפלא ממך

<sup>1</sup> O. M. add. לפי.<sup>2</sup> O. M. הפסד.<sup>3</sup> O. M. החמישי.<sup>4</sup> O. M. יאות.<sup>5</sup> O. M. add. אותו.<sup>6</sup> O. M. הששי.<sup>7</sup> O. ממלכה.

(49) ודע אכסנדר. כי זה מחובר בטבע מקויים<sup>1</sup> ביצירה. והראה אותו הנסיון מימים קדמונים אל האנשים האמיתים. וזה היה מתחילת בריאת העולם כשקינה קין להבל אחיו והרגו:

## V.

## שער בתואר סופריו וחתימיו:

(50) ראוי אליך שתבחר לך לכתוב איגרותיך וחתימך אשר הם מורים יותר על שיעור שכלך ורוב בינתך ואמיתת כוונתך אל המעיינים בהם. אשר לא יראה בהם<sup>2</sup> שום חסרון בדבר מענייניך ובנתך וכוונתך. אשר הם תאריך. אשר אתה בהם ראוי אל הישרה אצל ההמון. וענין הדיבור הוא רוחו. ומיליו הם נופו. והכתיבה הם תארו. וכמו שראוי שיהיה חי מדיבר בעל צורה יפה ויפה תואר. כן יאות שתבחר מהספרים מי שידע העניין השלם במילות נאות בעל כתיבה נאה. ולכן סופריך הם תפארתך. ולא התפארו המלכים הקדמונים אלא בסופריהם. ולא עלו אל המדרגות הנכבדות אלא בסופריהם. וכמו שילין חפציק ויעין סודותיך ויודיע כבודך בכל היישובות. וכן יאות לכבדו בענינו כשיעור מה שעובד אותך וסובל מענייני ממשלתך. ושיהיה בעיניך כאילו הוא חלק ממך. אשר טובתו כטובתך. והפסדו בהפסדך. ואם איפטר שיהיה סופרך מיטך הוא נכבד לענינו וענייניך. וסודו ומחשבותיו יהיה יותר נסתר:

## VI.

## שער במחשבי ההמון והמשתדלים לקבץ יציאותיו:

(51) כבר ידעת כי ההמון בית כימונך אשר אתה בוטח באבידתו ומיחל להחזירו אשר בו יעמוד מלכותך. ולכן יהיה ההמון בעיניך כמו הפרדס אשר בו מינים מן האילנות. ואל יהיו בעיניך כמו הידע אשר יבוא פעם אחת בשנה. ותיחל לזרוע אותו פעם אחרת. כי האילנות ירשיהם קיימים. ולא יחלו לזרוע אותם. וכפי אשר תאהב המונך אשר הוא קיום מלכותך וממשלתך יאות שתשתדל לכבדם. ותתכוין להסיר מהדברים המזיקים להם. ואל תתרגל בשמירת ענייניהם ולאסוף פירותיהם. ויהיה המאסף יודע העניינים בדוק ומנוסה בכל העניינים. עשיר ונאמן. יאסף הפירות ולא יאבד האילן. ויהיה בעל מידות טובות. שותק עניו. לפי שאם לא יהיה על הצד הזה יבריה הנפשות המחוברות ויפסיד המחשבות הנכונות:

<sup>1</sup> מקורם. O.<sup>4</sup> O. M. omit.<sup>2</sup> מהם. M.<sup>5</sup> ואשר. O.<sup>3</sup> המעלות. O.<sup>6</sup> לדרוש. O.

והדורות אשר היו מאז. והמנהגים הטובים. ושיהיה ממשפחה שהיו אבותיו או משנים למלך ועבדו אותו. לפי שהוא יורש דבר שגדל עליו והורגל בו: השנים עשר. שיהיה יודע עבודות יציאותיך כלם. ולא נעלם ממנו דבר מאשר יאות אליך. ושלא יתרעמו ההמון מעבודתם אליך. ושלא ידע צד תלונתם. ויודע להשקיטם מעליך. וכשירעו העובדים שהמטנה יודע עבודת העם לא יתרעמו מהמלך: היטלה עשר. שיהיה מבני אבות ואנשי היחס. ושעברו עליו פנעי העולם. והקיפוהו מקרי הזמן. ואז תינשא אותו ותעלהו לגדולה. וכל ימיו יהיה נעבד אליך ויכיר טובותיך. ולא יסבולי עליך שום דבר רע. לפי שייחוסו ומנחג אבותיו ימנענו מזה: והארבעה עשר. שלא יהיה מרבה בדברים ובעל יחוק. ומבוזה בני אדם: והחמשה עשר. שלא יהיה שותה יין. ולא אוהב המנוחה והתענוגים. וישתדל יום ולילה לקבל בני אדם ולהטיב המחשבה להם. ויהיה ביתו פתוח לכל עובר ושב מאשר צריכים לזה. ומקייב דבריהם. ומטיב ענייניהם. ומבשיר מעשיהם. ומנחם אותם מתישוקתם. ונושא משאם. וישיהיה אלוהי. ורא שמים. מאמין בדברי האל. ואל תאמין מן האלהיים אלא מי שהוא מאמין בנימוסך. ומאמין דתך.

(47) ודע כי בן אדם הוא היותר נכבד מכל מה שברא האל יתע' וישאין מדה מהמדות שייתייחד אותה האל אל החיונים שלא נתן אותה בבני אדם ויחדה בו זוה. ניבור כארי. מפחד כמו הארנבת. נדיב כמו התרנגול. כלוי כמו הכלב. בעל זימה כמו העורב. נפרד מבני אדם כמו הנמר. ומתחבר להם כמו היונים. רמאי כמו היטעל. תם כמו הצאן. רין כצבי. מתעקב כמו הדוב. נאה כמו הפיל. שפל כמו החמור. ליסטים כמו העוף הנקרא בלשון ערבי עק עק<sup>1</sup> מתגאה כמו הטווס. מיושר כמו העוף הנקרא קטאה.<sup>2</sup> תיעה כמו היענה. ניעור כמו הדבורה. בורח כמו התייש. רואג כמו העכביש. עניו כמו הנמלה. נוקם ונוטר כמו הגמל. מקטרג כמו הפרד. אלם כמו הדג. מצפצף כמו העגור. סובל כמו החזיר. מתאבל כמו העוף הנקרא כוס. מתגבר כמו הסוס. ממהר כמו השור. מתחבא כמו האכבר. והיותר שאני מצוה ואזהירך עליו שלא תשניא עצמך לשום אדם בעולם שברא האל. כי ראש הסבל<sup>3</sup> אחר אמתת האל. הוא אהבת כל ההמון טוב ורע:

(48) ועוד אצוה אותך ואזהירך עליו שלא יהיה משנך צהוב. ואם יתחבר עם זה שיהיה עיפו כעין התכלת ובערבי<sup>4</sup> אֹדֶק אחד מקרוביך. אל תאמן בהם בדבר מענייניך. והשמר מהם כמו שאתה שומר מאפעה הודו ההורגים בהבטתם מרחוק. ויותר מה שהם קרובים אליך הם יותר מזיקים אותך. לפי שכולם מקנאים בך ובממונך. וקרוביך יקנאו בך בכל ענייניך ולא יספיק להם עד שנוטלים נפשך:

<sup>1</sup> או עבדו. O.

<sup>4</sup> M. omits.

<sup>7</sup> O. M. add ושיהיה.

<sup>2</sup> ינמוק. O.

<sup>6</sup> O. M. האמה

<sup>3</sup> שישחד. O.

<sup>6</sup> O. M. השכל.

הפרישים. וציוה אחד ממלכי פרס לבנו שהמטילו בכבר בימיו ואמר לו. ראוי לך להתיעין לפי שאתה אחד באנשים. והתיעין עם מי שידוע הנסתר ויבאר הסתום. ולא יעזוב לך עם אויבך קטטה שלא ישקטה. ולא לאויבך עמך קטטה שלא יסירה:

(43) ואל ימנעך חוזק עצתך ומעלת מקומך מלחבר עצתך עם עצת בלעדיך. ואם תתכוין עצתך עמה תוסיף עצתך אומץ. ואם תתחלף מעצת בלעדיך תעייך בה ותחשב בבינתך אם היא יותר נכונה תקבל אותה. ואם היא פחותה תעזיבה. וממה שנתנסה בו מיטנך להראות אליו הצורך להוצאת הממון. ואם יעצך להוציא מה שבאוצרותיך ויקל זה בעיניך. אין לך בו תועלת. ואל תאמן בו אלא בעת הצורך הנדול אשר אין לו מנוס ממנו. לפי שהוא לדבר זה אויב מזומן. ואם יעצך לקחת ממון העם דע שהוא רע ההנהגה ויטניאך בעיני הכל. ובוזה הפסד המלכות. ואם יוציא מה שיהיו עמך ומטובותיך. ויתן משלו כדי למלאות חפצך. ראוי ליתחו ולהללו על זה. ותבין שהוא רוצה למסור את עצמו לכור אל מיטמעתך. והיותר משובח שבמיטנך. הוא הרוצה בחיך והסר אל מיטמעתך. והמואס בעולם כדי למלאות רצונך. וימסור כל אשר לו ועצמו להשלים חפצך. ויהיו בו מידות האילו אשר אני זוכר אותם:

(44) הראשונה. שיהיה שלם באיבריו מזומנים אל המפעלים הראויים להיות בהם ומהם: השנית. שיהיה מבין היטב. חכם הרבה. ממהר לצייר כל מה שאומרים לו. מבין. זכרן. מקיין. וטומע ואינו מטיב. נשמע כשרואה מופת על הדבר. וירגיש הדבר אשר יתבוננו בו אליו: השלישית. שיהיה יפה תואר. ישר המפעלים. ולא יהיה עז פנים: הרביעית. שיהיה בעל סברה יפה. ולשון צחה מזומנה להודיע לבו וחפצו במילות קצרות: החמישית. שיהיה נאה המלבושים. בקי בכל חכמות. וקד וחומר בחכמת החשבון שהיא החכמה האמיתית המופתות המחדדת השכל ותכשיר הטבע: השישית. שיהיה נאמן במאמרו. אוהב האמת. ומרחיק הכזב. ונושא ונותן באמונה. ומקבל בני אדם בסבר פנים יפות. ובעל שם טוב: השביעית. שלא יהיה מתאוה הרבה האכילה והשתיה ותשמיש הכיטה. ומרחיק התענוגים והליצנות: השמינית. שיהיה בעל נפש רחב. וגדול המזימה. אוהב הכבוד. ורוח נמוכה: התשיעית. שיהיו המעוה והדינרים וכל מקרי העולם נקלים עליו. ואל ישים בלבו אלא במה שיש בו כבוד למלך. ויחבב אותו בעיני העם: העשירית. שיהיה אוהב הצדק ובעליו. ומואס ההמס והאון. ומודה על האכזר לבעליו. וחומל על מי שעבר עליו החמס. ויסיר חמסו. ואל ימנע מזה באהבת שום אדם בעולם: האחד עשר. שיהיה סופר מהיר. בעל לשון צחה. ובעל מוסר. יודע דברי הקדמונים ומנהגי האנשים וענייני המלכים. יודע ענייני האומות אשר היו כבר

<sup>1</sup> שתנסה. O. M.

<sup>2</sup> באמת. O.

<sup>3</sup> לך. O.

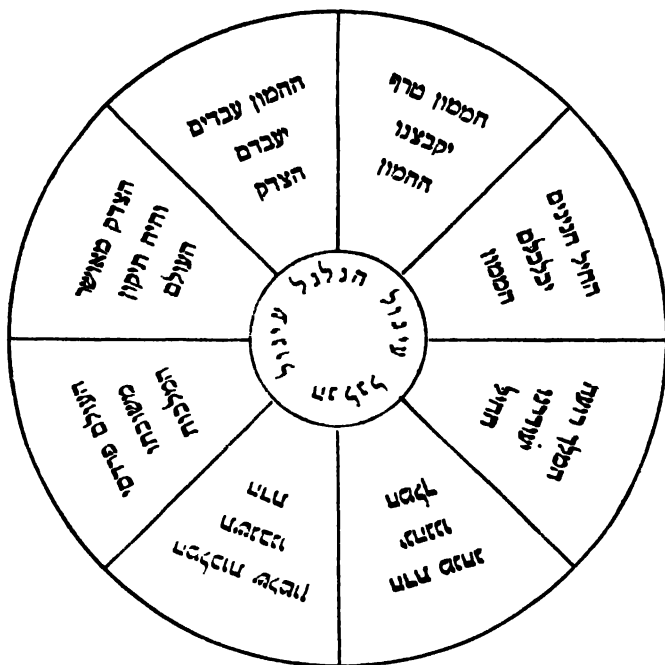
<sup>4</sup> בעבור. O.

שלם אלא אם יהיה מאת הבורא הפסד הכל בעת שיתמו הימים הקצובים. ולכן הבן אכסנדר הדבר הזה וחיטב אותו והתדמה למפעלי האל ית' בכל ענייניו. ויהיה משנך אחד. והתייעץ עמו בכל מחשבותיו. ונטה לעצתו כשהיא הפך תאוותך והיא העיצה הנכונה. ולכן אמר הרמס כשישאלו אותו מפני מה היא עצת היועץ נכונה מעצת הנועץ. אמר. לפי שעצת היועץ ערומה מהתאוה. וזה דבר אמיתי. וכשיתאמת אליך עצתו אל תמהר לעשות אותה אלא הניחה להתחמין יום ולילה. אבל אם יהיה דבר שתרדא ישמא לא תוכל לכלותו תמהר בו. ועם הנסיון והחקירה יתבאר אליך מעניין משנך. וכפי אהבת המיטנה והסתדלותו במעלות ממשלתך תהיה עצתו אליך. ואל תביט לעניין היטנים אם תהיה עצת הבחורות נכונה. כי אני אומר. כי העצה הולכת אחר הגוף. וכשיחליט הגוף תחליט העצה. אע"פ שעניין הזה עומד על המולדות. לפי שיש נולד שיוליד בטום מזל ואין במלאכתו ואומנותו אלא כפי טבעי הכוכבים המחשיבים מולדו. ואם ימו אותו אבותיו לבלעדיו אותה המלאכה יטה אותו ממנה הטבע העליון:

(42) וכבר אירע כזה לאנשים חוזים בכוכבים שעברו על עיר אחת ונתארחו אצל אדם אורג. ונולד לו בן בלילה ההוא. והביטו מולדו. וישרו כוכבו. והורה אותם כי הילוד הזה יהיה חכם וחרף בעל עיצה טובה. מנהיג ענייני המלכים. ויהיה מטיהם. ותמהו על זה. ולא הודעו לאביו דבר. ושב הילד בחור והסתדל אביו ללמדו אומנותו. ולא אבה טבעו לקבל דבר מזה. והיה מכה אותו עד שנתייאש ממנו. ועזב אותו על חפצו. והלך לבעלי המוסר ולמד החכמות. וידע העניינים והנהגות המלכים עד ששב משנה. והפך זה מנפלאות מעשה הכוכבים וטבעיהם. מה שאירע במולד בן יליך הודו כשהיה בערך מולדו שיהיה חרש ברזל וכסו הטבע הזה מהמלך. וכשיטב הבחור הסתדל המלך ללמדו חכמות ומנהגי המלכים. ולא נטה לזה. ולא הביאו טבעו אלא למלאכת חרשי ברזל. ונתעצב המלך על זה וקיבץ חווי הכוכבים אשר היו בזמנו על הדבר הזה. ומצאו כולם כי טבעו הביאו לזה:

(43) אכסנדר. אל תקדים עניין ואל תאחק אותו אלא אחר שתישאל עצת משנך. ולא סרו הקדמונים מלומר. שהעצה הוא ראש המוסר. ובמנהגי פרס כתוב. שמלך אחד ממלביהם נתייעץ עם משניו בסוד גדול שעליו עמוד מלכותו נשען. ואמר האחד מהם. לא ייאות אל המלך שיתיעץ עם אחד ממנו בענין מענייניו ורוב עצתו אלא עם כל אחד ואחד לבד. ושיהיה נפרד לזה לפי שיהיה מכסה הסוד ויותר מתאמץ בעצתו. ויותר מזומן אל השלום. ופחות יראה לקצתו מרוע לב חבריו. כי גילוי הסוד לאחד יש בו הצלה יתירה. והוא יותר שלם:

(44) ואמר בהתם הימני יוסיף המלך המתאמץ בעצת משניו כמו שחוסף היום על אורו. וישג בתחבולה והעצה מה שלא ישג בכח



## IV.

### המאמר הרביעי במישניו וסופריו והמחשבים עניין ההמון והפרישים וצד הנהגתם :

(י) אכסנדר. הבן המאמר הזה ודע ערכו כי אני נשבע בחי אהבתך כי חברתי בו כללים מחכמת הפילוסופים ומהות השכל. והרכבתי וגיליתי בו סודות אלוהיות אין מנוס מלכתוב אותם כדי להוריעך אמיתת השכל ואיך הניחו האל בעבדיו ואיך יגיעו לידיעת זה ולכן אתה צריך אליו הרבה וה' יצליחך בו ברחמיו :

(ii) אכסנדר. דע שתחילת כל דבר שהמציאו האל יתברך הוא עצם פשוט רוחני שמהו בתכלית השלימות והתמימות והחסד וצייר בו כל הדברים וקרא אותו שכל. ומאותו העצם נאצל עצם אחר בלעדיו פחות ממנו במשמרה נקרא נפש הכללית. ואחר כן קשר אותה בחכמתו ובמחשבתו בנוף הנראה המורגש. ושמה הנוף כמו המדינה והשכל מלכה והנפש משנה עובד אל המדינה הזאת. והוא מחשב חלקיה. והשכין השכל במקום היותר נכבד והיותר עליון והוא הראש. והשכין הנפש בכל חלקי הנוף כולו מחוץ ומבפנים עומדת ומחשבת השכל. וכשיארע דבר אל הנפש יפסד הנוף והשכל. וכשיארע אל השכל דבר ותשלם הנפש וישאר הנוף

## III.

## המאמר השלישי בתאר הצדק:

(38) אכסנדר. דע כי הצדק תואר נכבד מתארי הקב"ה יתע'. והמלכות הוא למי שנתנו האל מעבדיו והמשילו על ענייניהם. והשליטו עליהם על ממונם ורמיהם וכל מעשיהם. והוא להם כמו אלוה. ודומה אליו. ולכן ייאות שיתדמה בו בכל ענייניו כולם. והשם יתברך חכם ורחום ומידותיו ושמותיו יותר ממה שיוכל אדם לספר אותם:

(39) אכסנדר. הפך הצדק העולם והפך העולם הצדק. ובצדק עמדו שמים וארץ. ובצדק שלח האל הנביאים המהורים. והצדק צורת השכל אשר נתנו האל לאוהביו ובצדק התיישב העולם וקמו הממלכות וסרו העבדים למשמעתם. והוא נחמת המשתומם וקרובת הריחוק. ושלוות הנפשות מכל עול. ועלו מלביהם על כל הפסד עד שהסירו האל מעליהם. ולכן אמרו אנשי הודו. צדקת המלך מועילה יותר אל ההמון מטובות הזמן. ואמרו. מלך צדיק משובח יותר מנישם מצמיח אחר עוצר הנשמים. ונמצא בקצת האבנים חקוק בלשון יוון. כי המלך והצדק אחים. אי אפשר אל האחד בלתי האחר. והיחידים וההמון כתות מתחלפים וסיבת הצדק בהם יתחלף. והצדק שם עניינו היושר והרחקת הזיוף ואמיתת המשקל ויושר המידה. והוא שם כולל לכל השבחים והמדות הנדיבות. והצדק יחלק לחלקים. צדק יחייב רמשפט אצל הדיינים. וצדק ראוי אל האדם כשמחשב עצמו אצל בוראו. ואחר כן לקיים היושר בינו ובין האנשים כפי העניינים ומשמרי האותות. ואני מדמה לך תבנית חכמי פילוסופי' אלוהית נחלק לשמונה חלקים. והוא יגיד לך כל ענייני העולם כולו. ובכלל על כל הנהגות העולם<sup>1</sup> ומאסף כיתותם. ואיכות הגעת הראוי מהיושר לכל כיתה. וחילקתיהו חלק עגול כל חלק כנגד כת אחת. וכשתתחיל באי זה חלק שתמצא תמצא מה שאחריו במציאות עגול הגלגל. ולפי שהיו המחשבות כולם מטה ומעלה עומדים על העולם ראיתי להתחיל בזה כפי צורך<sup>2</sup> העולם. והצורה הזאת היא מבחר הספר הזה. ותועלת שאילתך. ואילו לא שלחתי אליך במה שחילית פני אלא התבנית הזו כן היה מספיק לך. ולכן חשוב אותו ועיין בו יפה ותמצא בו חפצך ויגיע אליך רצונך וכל מה שזכרתי בספר הזה בארוכה ובפירוש הוא נכלל בתבנית הזה. וזו היא צורתו:

<sup>1</sup> O. M. נימוסי.<sup>2</sup> O. M. כולן.<sup>3</sup> O. M. ערך.

בידיהם. והישמר מסמי המות. לפי שמקדם נהרנו בהם המלכים. ואל תאמין באיין אחד על רפואותיך. לפי שאיש אחד יפותה מהר. ואם איפשר לך שיהיו רופאִיך עטרה הרשות בידך ואל תעשה: אלא בהתאספם בהסכמה אחת. ולא יעשו לך רפואה אלא בפני כולם יחד עם אדם נאמן מנאמניך שיודע ממיני הסמים וההרכבה והמשקלים: וזכור עניין מלך הודו כששלח אליך המנחה הנדולה ובכללה הנערה היפה אשר האכילו אותה הארסים עד ששבה בטבע האפעה. ולולי שהכרתי אני בה דבר זה לפי שפחדתי בעבור יראתי מנבוני הארצות ההם והנהגתם עד שידעתי בנסיון שהיא הורגת בעת חיבוקה וזיעתה. והיתה הורגת אותך:

(36) אכסנדר. היוהר בנפִי הזאת הנכבדת העליונה המלאכותית. לפי שהיא פיקדון בידך. ואל תהיה מהכתים המאמינים. ואם איפשר לך. שלא תקום ולא תישב ולא תאכל ולא תישנה ולא תעשה מלאכה אלא בנסיון הכוכבים. לפי שלא ברא הקב"ה דבר שלא לִצורך. ובחקירה הזאת ידע אפלטון החסיד החלקים המחוברים מחילוף גווניהם כשצייר אותם כפי הערכים המחוברים עד שעלתה לו חכמת בנדי המשי: המצויירים הנקרא דיבאנָ בערבי וכל הציורים. ואל תשמע לדברי הפתאים אשר יאמינו שחכמת הכוכבים חכמה נסתרה לא ישיגו אותה. ואומרים כי החכמה הזאת מכזבת לכל מי שהזהיר בה. ואני אומר שהקדמת הידיעה בחכמה הזאת ראויה. וזה שאע"פ שהאדם לא ינצל ממה שנגזר עליו ישמור עצמו יותר וידחה המאורעים עליו כפי יכולתו. כמו שיפעל האדם לרחות הקור מעליו. וזה בקיבוץ העצים להיות סתר לו והזמנת העצים ושלחי הצמר ובלעדי זה כדי לרחות נזק הקור. וכמו כן חום בימות החמה במיני הדברים המקרים. וכן בישי בצורת באסיפת הבר. ובעת המלחמה במנוסה ממנה. וי"ט עוד דבר אחר. כי כשירדו האנשים המאורעים קודם היותם איפשר שירדו גזירת השם. וזה שיקדמו להתחנן אל האל קודם בואה וישובו בתשובה וישיבו אחרים ויתפללו אליו לסלק מה שמפחדים ממנו:

(37) אכסנדר. כבד מיטך יותר מעצמך. והתייען עמו במעט והרבה. והניעהו במושבך לפי שהוא תפארתך בפני הכל. ונחמתך בהתייחדך. ומכסה עליו בעת היטנה. והבט בישחוק המלחמה הנק' שטרנג בערבי בעניין המלך טאה עם המלכה הנק' פֶרס בהתחברם יחד ובהפרדו ממנה. וזה משל נכון בעניין הזה. ולא איפשר להתקיים מלכות מבלי משנה. לפי שזה אמת<sup>5</sup> אין בו ספק:

1 O. M. תרופה.

2 O. M. אלא.

3 M. adds והחטא.

4 O. שראה.

5 O. M. שקר.

(26) אכסנדר. היוזר בענייניך ויטלם מפעליך. ומטוב המחשבה בהנהגה להבטיח בעלי הענווה מפחד העונש. ואז יבטיחו בעלי הריטע והעול עצמם על גמולך הטוב עד שיחשבו בלבם כי יט לך עניינים על פעולתם:

(27) אכסנדר. היותר שאני מצוה אותך והרבה צייתיתך כי בשומעך לקול מוסר יטלמו ענייניך ויתמיד מלכותך. והוא יתחדל משפוך דמים. לפי שהוא עונש ראוי אל הבורא יודע הנסתרות. אמנם אתה בזה כפי ראות עיניך ולא תדע הנסתר. ולכן היוזר בזה בכל מאדך. וכבר אמר הרמס הגדול. כי הנברא כשהורג נברא אחר כמוהו יהמו מלאכי מרום לפני קונייהם וצועקים לפניו. עבדך של קורא אליך. ואם יהיה הרינתו בעבור דמים אחרים יענה אותם יתברך. עבר והרג ועל כן יהרג. ואם נהרג בעבור חמירה לענייני העולם או במחשבה אחרת כוזבת יענה אותם. אני נשבע בכסאי ויקר ממשלתי שלא אעזב דם עבדי. ולא יסורו המלאכים מלועוק לפניו בעת כל תפילה ובקשה עד שיקום דכו. ואם ימות פתאום דע. כי הוא אשר כעס האל עליו. והבן שהוא נענש ביסורין:

(28) אכסנדר. דיי לך מכל העונשים אורך היישיבה בבית הסוהר והייסורים החזקים והמכאובים. והבט בנימוסך ועונייך בספרי אבותיך האלהיים ותמצא הנכון במפעליך:

(29) אכסנדר. התנהג עם הקטן טבאוויך כאילו הוא במדרגה העליונה מהבחי. ואל יקטין בעיניך אדם קטן. לפי שייט הרבה קטן בזוי שישבו גדול. תרחם רפואתו ויקשה חוליו:

(30) אכסנדר. היטבר מלהפר שבועותיך ומליטקור בבריתך. לפי שזה ענף גדול מאמונתך אשר הקדמתי והזהרתיך עליו פן יקל בעיניך:

(31) אכסנדר. כבר ידעת שייט מימינך ומשמאלך רוחניים מונים עליך. המעט וההרבה בכל אשר תאמר ותעשה ויודיעו אותך לבוראך. ולכן הכיטר ענייניך כאדם שרואה מה יהיה יטמח בו ומודיעו לבורא:

(32) אכסנדר. ומי אשר הכריחך להטביע היטבר מלעשות זה אלא במה שראוי אליך. ואפילו יעניקך טובות על זה אל תפר אותה. כי חי האל לא חרבה מלכות אתאני וסקיר והיחאס והאימים אלא לפי שעשו שבועתם בעולמם כאילו הוא שגנה:

(33) אכסנדר. אל תפחד על מה שעבך לפי שזה ממנהג הנשים חלשות הדעת. והראה המוסר וסבר פנים יפות ויגדלו ענייניך ויקלו שונאיך:

(34) אכסנדר. אל תאמר הין במה שאמרת לאו. ואל תאמר לאו במה שאמרת הין. אלא אם יביאך הכרח גדול מהארכות. ותעשה זה בקיום. ושאל עצה למי שאתה בוסח בו. ותשלם מזה עד שלא יראה שיבוש במעשיך ובדיבורך ובמפעליך:

(35) אכסנדר. אל תאמן בשימושי עצמך על הנשים אלא על אשר נסית מהן וידעת אותה שהיא נאמנת לעצמך ולמונך. לפי שאמנם אתה פיקדון

<sup>1</sup> O. M. עינים.

<sup>4</sup> O. M. אתנ.

<sup>2</sup> O. M. המזיקים.

<sup>5</sup> O. M. והאיסם.

<sup>3</sup> O. M. במה.

<sup>6</sup> O. M. בשגנה.

(21) אך תעזב סגלת ריעיך וטובי אנייך מלאכול עמהם ומלהשתעשע בהם. ואל תרבה בזה. ויהיה שני פעמים בשנה וממה יראוי אליך לעשותו עם זה לכבד מי יראוי לכבדו ולהשיב שלום לכל אחד ואחד. ולתת חליפות ישמלות למי שאיפטר מהם. ואם יהיה מהמלבושים אשר יחליף המלך מעליו ויתכוין לזה תהיה המנחה יותר שלימה והאהבה יותר מופלגת. ולא יסור מלעשות בזה עם היטאר מהם עד שיגיע לכל אחד ואחד:

(22) וממה יראוי למלך ליישב עצמו מאד ולמעט הצחוק. וזה שריבוי הצחוק יסיר האימה וימהר קלות הראי. וכן יקבלו כל היושבים לפניו היישוב ומתראים לפניו באימה. וכישרבה לאחד מהם שום קלות ראש יסור אותו. ואם הוא ממי שהוא קרוב אל המלך יהיה דינו להרחיקו ממושב המלך זמן אחד עד שיחדל מזה. ואם יתאמת שהוא פועל זה בעבור קלות וביזוי ירחיקו אותו הרחקה יתירה אחר העונש. ואם הוא מהפרשים ונושאי כלי המלחמה יהיה דינו להמית. ויש בספר ההנדיים כתוב. אין בין שיימלך המלך על העם ובין שימליכו עליו אלא חיזוק או רפיון. ויש לאסקלביאוס פרק בעניין המלך. אמר הטוב שבמלכים מי שדומה לניטר שסביבו הנבילות לא שדומה אל הנבילה וסביבו הנטרים:

(23) אכסנדר. לא יסורו למשמעות המלך אלא בארבעה פנים. והם אמונת הדת. והאהבה. והשאלה. והאימה. ולכן מנה עילות האנשים כולם. והסר מהם החמס. ואל תצריכם לדבר. כי ההמון כמו שיכולים לדבר כן יכולים לעשות. ואם תשמור מלדבר תשלם מעשותם. ודע כי האימה כבוד המלכות. ויש בספר ההנדיים. ראוי שתהיה אימתך מוטלת על הנפשות יותר מכלי מלחמתך בעמקים. לפי שהמלך נמשל למטר אשר בו יטקה האל ית' העולם. והוא ברכת שמים חיי הארצות ואסר עליהם. ויש שיזיק למהלכי הרכיבים. ויזדעזעו בו הבניינים. ויהיו בו לפידי איש. ויזרמו הזרמים ויאבדו בו האנשים והבהמות. ויסער הים ויחזקו בו הרעות על האנשים. ואעפ"כ לא יחדלו האנשים בהביטם למעשה האל ורחמיו אשר החיה בו הצמחים והזמין בו מחייתם. והרחמים אשר היננם מלגדל מעשה האל. ויהללו אותו ואינן חוששין לבלעדי זה מהרעות אשר אירעו להם:

(24) אכסנדר. הבט לעני עירך והענק אותם בעת הצורך מאוצר ההמון לפי שיש בהענקתם בעת השאלה שמירה אל הדת והשקט הנפשות עם רצון הבורא:

(25) אכסנדר. הרבה לאצור התבואה. וזה בעבור היראה משני הבצורת. ואם תהיה שנת בצורת הוציא מה שזימנת והשביר לארצך ומוכר לעמך. לפי שיש בזה הרחקת ההפסד והתמדת הישרה וההמון:

<sup>1</sup> O. adds שלשה.

<sup>2</sup> O. adds אותם. ולהתאהב אליהם. בפניהם. ותתכוין לכבדם:

<sup>3</sup> O. M. מנע.

<sup>4</sup> O. ואבד.

<sup>5</sup> O. M. וירדן.

<sup>6</sup> O. M. הממון.

<sup>7</sup> O. M. adds לזה.

<sup>8</sup> O. M. הממון.

יצרו. וכשיפגע בדרך הישר עושה אותו מבלי עיכוב. ואל יהיה עז פנים ומבוזה האנשים. וילבש מלבושים נאים ויתקשט בתכשיטים טובים נחמדים למראה. ויתעוררו במ הנפשות כדי שיהיה ניכר בין העם. ויאזר שיהיה בעל לשון רכה וצח הלשון וקולו עבה. וזה כי עובי קולו בעת הנגעה טוב לו. לכן ימעיט לדבר בקול עבה אלא בעת הצורך הנדול. וזה למרחוק לבלתי ירבה להשמיע קולו ויבטחו בו הנפשות:

(18) לכן<sup>1</sup> ימעיט לשבת עם בני אדם ויקל ישיבתם עמו. קל וחומר עם ההמון. ומה טוב דעת ההנדיים במחשבת מלכותם כשאמרו. כי בהראות המלך אל ההמון תקל מלכותו ויבזו בעיניו<sup>2</sup>. ויאזר שלא יראה להם אלא למרחוק. ובעת המערכות ושאת כל המלחמה. וכשהיה ביום<sup>3</sup> מיעד מהמועדים יהיה פעם אחת בשנה. ואז יראה אל ההמון כולו. ויעמוד לפניו אחד ממשניו צח הלשון. וידבר אליהם ויודה אל האל. ויהללנו על אשר סרים למשמעתו ויודעים שהוא מרוצה מהם וטובה מחשבתו בהם. ויחלה פניהם ללכת בדרכי האל. ויזהירם פן יסירו מדבריו. וימחול על שגגתם. ויעשה שאילתם ובקשתם. ויודיעם שהוא ימלא שאילת הרב מהם. ויסלח עון החומא בהם. ואמנם יהיה זה פעם אחת בשנה. ויהיה נקב בעינם מה שסובל בעדם מכבדות משאם. ואז ייטיב זה לנפשותם ותרבה שמחתם ותביא אהבתו בלבם וידברו כן<sup>4</sup> עם אנשי ביתם ובניהם. ויגדל הנער מהם לשמוע בקולו ולאהבה אותו. ותשמחנה הנשים כמו שישמחו בעליהן וייטב זכרו בעיני הכל בסתר ובגלוי. ויהיה מובטח בזה מלהקל עליו ומלהפסיד ענייניו ולא יבוא בדעת אדם ולשנות דבר ממנהגו:

(19) וכן ראוי להקל מעליהם כל המסים. ומלקצר כל השעבודים. וקל וחומר מהבאים לארצו בסחורה ומביאים הסחורות. וזה כי בהחלול ממון העם ובהיותו מרוצים ממנו יתעכבו יותר בארצו וירבה מסחרים. ותגדל מעלת ארצו ממיני המסחר והמערכים והאנשים. ויהיה זה סיבה לשוב ארצותיו ותוספת יציאותיו והכשר ענייניו וגודל שבחו וניצוח ארצו<sup>5</sup>:

(20) ואם תתייאש מהמעט תנצח המרבה. ואל תהי נוטה לממון אבד ואפיסתו קרובה ובקש העושר אשר לא יסוף והמלכות אשר לא יסור<sup>6</sup>. וההתמדה אשר לא תפסק. ותהיה טוב הזיכרון ונעים החברה ואל תהי נוטה למדות הבהמות והזאבים לשלול מה שאתה מוצא. ולבקש מה שלא אבדת. ומיעוט הרחמנות על מה שאתה מנצח אותו. ותתרחק ממה שיועיל אליו וללכת אחר תאות המאכל והמשתה והשינה והמשגל. אל תהי נוטה אל המשגל לפי שהוא ממבע החזירים. ומה יהיה השבח בעיניי הבהמות יותר ממה שבך. והוא יאבד הנפש ויזיק הגוף. ויחסיר הימים וימעיט האות וישלים הנשים עליך:

<sup>1</sup> דקה. O. M.

<sup>2</sup> בעיניו. O. M.

<sup>3</sup> בעת. O. M.

<sup>4</sup> תסור. O.

<sup>5</sup> וכן. O. M.

<sup>6</sup> בו. O.

<sup>7</sup> בעיניו. O.

<sup>8</sup> אויביו. O.

(13) ואם יבקשו אותה על בלעדי הדרך הראוי תוליד הקנאה. והקנאה תוליד הכוב. והכוב הוא עיקר הננות. ותולדות הכוב הרכילות והרכילות תוליד השנאה. והשנאה תוליד העולה. והעולה תוליד ההכרח. וההכרח יוליד האיבה והאיבה תוליד הנמירה. והנמירה תוליד הניצוח. והניצוח תוליד המלחמה. והמלחמה תסיר הדת ותחריב היישוב ותשוב לחילוף הטבע. וחילוף הטבע הפסד חעניין כולו. וכשינצח השכל אהבת הישרה יוליד ממנה הנאמנות. והנאמנות יוליד הענווה. והנאמנות עיקר המהללים והוא בהפך הכוב. ותולדתו היראה והצדק. ותולדת הצדק החברה. ותולדת החברה הכבוד. והכבוד יוליד הקורבה. והקורבה תוליד הריעות. והריעות יוליד להשיג נפשו תחת נפשו. ובזה יעמוד הדת ויישוב העולם. ודבר זה ניאות אל הטבע. והנה יתבאר כי בקשת הישרה אל הצד הראוי משובח ונשארת תמיד:

(14) אכסנדר. היזהר מלכת אחר תאוותיך לפי שהם מאבירות. וזה שתאוה תוליד הנטייה להשיג הנפש הבהמית רצונה מבלי עצה וישמח הנוף הכלה ויאכל השכל הנישאר:

## II.

## המאמר השני בעניין המלכות ותכונתו ואיך ראוי שיתנהג המלך בעצמו ובכל ענייניו ומחשבותיו:

(15) ראוי אל המלך שיתייחד ביטם חכמה ידועה. יודע בה לבלעדיו. וידבר בה כדי שישתרר וימלוך על בלעדיו. וזה כי כשתהיה חכמה ידועה אליו. ובזונה ישישמו מנמתם נגדה יבואו אליו:

(16) אכסנדר. כל מלך שיעבוד מלכותו לדתו לו הישרה והמלוכה. וכל מלך שיישים דתו עובד למלכותו הוא מיקל דתו. ומי שמיקל דתו יהרגנו הדת. ואני אומר כמו: שאמרו הפילוסופים הידועים אשר באנו אחריהם. כי תחלת מה יראוי אל המלך להרגיל עצמו לכבד כל נדרי דתו כולם מבלי שיעזב מענייניהם דבר ומהזהרתם ויראה לכל ההמון אמונתו. ועם כל זה שיהיה מאמין. כי כשיראה החילוף מה שהוא הוטב לא ישכחוהו<sup>2</sup> תחבולותיו לפי שלא יפלא<sup>3</sup> מעיני האנשים סודו ושלא ירצה לעצמו דבר מהם ואפילו יוציא על זה ממון הרבה. ובזה יתרצה אל האל יתברך ויתאהב לעבדיו:

(17) וממה שאות לזה לגדל מנהיגי האומה ואילו הם. כמו חכמי הדת והדיינים. ויהיה מתכבד ביותר מבלי נאווה. ויהיה רחב המחשבה ויודע לחקור היטב. ורואה את הנולד. ובעל רחמנות וחמלה. וכשיכעס אל ישלים את כעסו מאין מחשבה. וכשתנוע בו התאוה יתנבר עליה בשכלו ויכבוש

<sup>1</sup> O. M. add תיאור.

<sup>2</sup> O. M. 'שבח'.

<sup>3</sup> ? ינלה

הקצוות<sup>1</sup> ביחד. וכי יושר המלכות בין שתי הקצוות אינו מנונה. וכי מחשבת הנדיבות קשה ומחשבת הכילות נקלה. וגדר הנדיבות היא כפי מה שנצטרך אליו בעת הצורך. ושיהיה נותן כפי מה שראוי ולמי שראוי ולפי הכח. ומה טעבר יותר מזה הוסיף ביותר ויצא מגדר הנדיבות אל הפיזור. וזה כי כל המוסיף יותר מהצריך אינו משובח. והמוציא בלא זמנו הוא כמו השופך מים מרים על שפת הים. והנותן מה שהוא צריך אליו למי שאינו צריך לו הוא כמו העוזר אויבו על עצמו. וכל מלך שנותן מה שצריך אליו בעת הצורך ונותן אל הראוי לו הוא נדיב לעצמו ולעמו ומצליח במעשיו ומחשב ענייניו. וזהו אשר קראו אותו הקדמונים נדיב ויטע. לא המפזר מתנות ונושא משאות למי שאינו ראוי לכך. לפי שזהו המפזר המפסיד מממוני המלכות. והכילות בכלל הוא שם שאינו ראוי אל המלכים ולא יאות אל הממלכות<sup>2</sup> וכשיהיה זה בטבע מלך ראוי להפקיד מתנות מלכותו ביד נאמן שהוא בוסח בו מעבדיו. ויהיה קובץ ידיו עליו:

(10) אכסנדר. אני אומר שכל מלך שנותן יותר ממה שאין לו הוא חסרון. והמכביר על מלכותו יותר ממה שאינו סובל יאבד ויאביר כמו שאני אומר עדיין. וזה אמרתי לך תמיד. כי הנדיבות והתמדת המלכות הוא בהימנע מה שיביר. האנשים ובהחדל ממונם וכבר ראיתי להרמס הגדול בקצת מוסריו כי המדה השלימה אל המלך טוב השכל והשלמת מלכותו והתמדת נימוסיו יהיו בהחדלו מממון העם:

(11) אכסנדר. דע כי לא היתה סיבת חורבן מלכות הניניג אל<sup>3</sup> רוב מתנותם יותר על הכנסתם<sup>4</sup> עד שישלחו ידם לממון העם וקמו עליהם ואבד מלכותם. ודבר זה ראוי לפי שהממון הוא עלה להישאר הנפש החיונית ולכן הוא הלק ממנה ואין התמדה אל הנפש בהפסד החלק הזה. ומהנדיבות הוא עויבת החפץ ושלל יחקור על חתעלומות ויחריש מלהזכיר המתנות כמו שהוא מחסידות השלם כליחת התוכחות וכבוד הנכבד והקיבול בסבר פנים יפות והישבת השלם ושלל ישים לבו לישגת הכסיל:

(12) אכסנדר כבר ביארתי לך תמיד עד שהוקבע מזה בנפשך מה שאני מקוה כי בעשותך אותו תינצל. אבל עתה אומר לך חכמה בקצרה. ואפילו לא אמרתי לך דבר אחר בלעדיה כן היתה מספיקה בהנהגות העולם הזה והעולם הבא. דע כי השכל הוא ראש המחשבה. והוא הצלחת הנפש ומראה התעלומות. ובו תרחיק הכיעור ותאהב האהוב. והוא שורש המהללים ועיקר המחמדים. ותחילת כלי השכל הוא הנטייה אל הזיכרון. ומי שנטה אליו מדרכו הוא סיבה משובחת. ומי שנטה אליו ביותר הוא סיבת שינאה וכעורה. ולכן הזיכרון הוא השאילה. והשררה לא ירצו אותה לעצמה ואמנם רוצים אותה בעד הזיכרון. ולכן תחילת ניצוח השכל הוא הזיכרון. והשררה תוליד אהבת הזיכרון.

<sup>1</sup> O. adds לבד.

<sup>2</sup> M. המלכות.

<sup>3</sup> O. om.

<sup>4</sup> O. M. add על.

<sup>5</sup> O. M. יציאותם.

בירך הסוד הזה הסתום עם אחר בלעדיו בפרקים מהספר הזה ומראהם חכמה ומוסרים ומתוכם הוא תכלית הכונה. וכשתחישב ענייניהם ותבין רמזיהם תשיג בהם תאוותך ותכלית חפצך. האל יספיק בידך להבין החכמה ולכבד בעליה:

(7) ובספר זה שמונה מאמרים:

המאמר הראשון. במיני המלכים:  
המאמר השני. בעניין המלך ותכונתו ואיך ראוי שיתנהג בעצמו ובכל ענייניו ובמחשבותיו במלכות:

המאמר השלישי. בתאר הצדק אשר בו יהיה המלך יצלם וינהג בו ההמון והיחידים:

המאמר הרביעי. במיטתו וסופריו והמחשבים עניין ההמון והפרשים וצד הנהגתם:

המאמר החמישי. בהולכי הדרכים במצותו ושלוחיו ותכונתם וענין ההנהגה בשליחותם:

המאמר הששי. בהנהגות עבדיו ופקודי הצבא ואשר תחתיהם כפי חילוף מיטרתם:

המאמר השביעי. בהנהגת המלחמות ודרך מחשבתם וצד הישמירה מהם ומערכת פניית הצבא: והעתים הנבחרים לזה בעת מחשבתו וזמן צאתו ותניעתו בכל מעשיו:

המאמר השמיני. בחכמות מיוחדות וסודות נימוסיות מהצלמים והטוב הנפשות וסגולת<sup>1</sup> היקרות והצמחים והחיונים ומלות נפלאות מסודות דרפואה. ומה שדוחה הארסים ואינו צריך לרופא. ובלעדי זה ממה ישועיל כמו שזכרנו:

# I.

## המאמר הראשון במיני מלכים:

(8) המלכים הם ארבעה. מלך נדיב לעמו. ונדיב לעצמו. ומלך כילי לעצמו וכילי לעמו. ומלך כילי לעצמו ונדיב לעמו. ומלך נדיב לעצמו וכילי לעמו. ואמנם הרומיים אמרו: אינו ננאי למלך כשיהיה כילי לעצמו ונדיב לעמו. ואמרו ההנדיים. הכילות לעצמו ולעמו נכון. ואמרו הפרסיים והשיבו על ההנדיים<sup>2</sup> כי זו<sup>3</sup> המלך הנדיב לעצמו ולעמו הוא מצליח במעשיו. והודו כולם. כי הנדיבות לעצמו עם הכילות לעמו היא ננאי והפסד למלכות:

(9) וינה ראוי לנו אחר שיטמנו עצמינו לחקור בעניין זה לבאר מה הוא הנדיבות ומה היא הכילות. ומה הוא ריבוי הנדיבות ומה הוא המאורע אשר יאירע בחסרוננו. וכבר יודע כי האיכיות מגנים אותם כשיראו בשתי

<sup>1</sup> O. M. add האבנים.

<sup>2</sup> M. אנשי הודו.

<sup>3</sup> O. M. om.

ישנתן לי רשות לעיין בסיפרי ההיכל אשר היו מונחים שם. ומצאתי בכללם השאילה אשר ציוה המלך המאמינים אותי לבקש אותה. והיא כתובה בזהב. ואז שבתי לפני ישיבתו היקרה והינעתי חפצי ושמתי מגמתי בה. וטוב מזל המלך להעתיקו מלשון יווני ללשון רומי ומלשון רומי ללשון ערב. ותחילת מה שמצאתי כתוב<sup>2</sup> תשובת הפילוסוף אריסטו אל המלך אכסנדר וכן אמר:

(5) ראיתי איגרת הבן הנכבד האהוב החריף המלך הישר בעל היושר הגדול. האל ברחמיו ירדפך<sup>3</sup> לדרכי היושר ויצילך מלנטות אחרי תאוות לבבך ויחבירך לטוב חעולם הבא והעולם הזה. תחילת מה שזכרת בכתבך רוב חמלתך על פרידתי ממך ועל אשר איני ביישבתך. וחילית פני לסדר לך סדר שיהיה לכל הנהוגותיך משקל וכידה תשימהו עמך במקומי. ויעמד בכל מעשיך כמו מעמדי. אך כבר ידעת כי עמדי בלעדיך אינו בעבור שנאתי אותך אלא בעבור רוב שנותיי וחולשת גופי. ודע כי אשר שאלת מעניין זה לא יכילו אותם ליבות החיים קל וחומר קלפי המתים. אך החובה עלי למלאות שאילתך כמו שראוי לך. שלא תבקש ממני להודיע מה מהסוד הזה יותר ממה שהודעתי בספר הזה לפי שהינעתי בו בכדי שאני מיחל מהאל ואין דבר מפסיק בינך וביני. בעבור אשר חנך האל מהבינה והאציל עליך מזיו החכמה. ולכן תחשב רמיוותי במה שהראיתך אותו כבר ויעצתי אותך. ואז תניע רצונך ותמצא החפץ. ואמנם רמותי הסודות המפוזרות ומשלתי העניינים החתומים לבלתי יפול ספרינו זה לידי היחידים המפסידים והרשעים המתגברים. וידעו שלא נתן להם האל רשות לדעת אותו ולא רצה להם להבינם. ואז הייתי מיפר ברית ומנלה סוד שגילה אותו האל אלי. ואני משיבועך כמו שהיטיבוע אותי על זה. ומי שיודע סודו ויגלה מצפוני אינו טובמח מרוע העונש. מהר<sup>4</sup> והאל יצילך ויצילנו ברחמיו.

(6) ואחר זה אני זוכר לך קודם כל דבר מה שהייתי משיב אותך כבר שעשועי נתחומך. וזה שאין מנוס לכל מלך מיטני משענים. האחד מהם מיוחד אליו. והוא חיזוק הנפשות תחזק בהם נפשו ולא ישלם זה אלא בהתאספם. וזה כי בהתאספם יחזק השר<sup>5</sup> על השרור<sup>6</sup>. ואני אבאר לך העילה אשר יתחייב אסיפתם אל השר. והעילה כזה<sup>7</sup> שתי עילות חיצונה ופנימית. וכבר הודעתי אותך החיצונה. והוא שתתנהג עמקם ותעזור אותם. וזה מחובר עם ההמון<sup>8</sup> ועם ההנהגה שעדיין. אזכור אותה במקומה. וההמון<sup>9</sup> הוא המשען השני לקשור הנפש עם המעשה. והוא הראשון במשמרה. ולה שתי עילות חיצונה ופנימית. והעילה החיצונה היא מה שיתחברו אליו ההמון<sup>10</sup> בהראות היושר בהם והרחמנות עליהם. והעילה הפנימית הוא סוד החכמים החסידים אשר רצה בהם האל יתעלה והפקיד בידם חכמתו. ואם אפקיד

<sup>1</sup> O. adds בן.

<sup>2</sup> O. om.

<sup>3</sup> O. דרכך.

<sup>4</sup> O. המסותרות.

<sup>5</sup> O. היהירים.

<sup>6</sup> O. om.

<sup>7</sup> O. על השאר.

<sup>8</sup> O. M. כמו כן בהתחלפם על השרור יחזק השר עליו.

<sup>9</sup> O. M. בזה.

<sup>10</sup> O. M. ההמון.

<sup>11</sup> O. הממון.

משנה כביר והיה בעל עצתו. וזה בעבור יושר העיצה אשר היתה בו וכוח<sup>1</sup> החכמה וטוב הבינה והתייחדו מבירות הדת וההנהגה הרצויה והחכמות האלהויות. והתחזקו במדות היראה והענווה והשפלות ואהבת היושר ומידות הצדק. ולכן מנו אותו הרבה מהחכמים בכלל הנביאים אשר לא היו יולחים לאומה ולא ניתנה להם דת. וכבר נמצא בסיפרי דברי הימים<sup>2</sup> שהשם יתברך ניבא אותו ואמר לו. קרוב לקרוא לך מלאך מלקרוא לך אדם. ויש לו חכמות אשר אין להם מספר ונתחלפו הרבה במיתתו. כת אחת אומרת שמת כדרך כל הארץ ויש לו קבר ידוע. וכת אחת אומרת שעלה לרקיע בעמוד השכינה. והגיע אל אכסנדר<sup>3</sup> בטוב עצתו ובשמעו לקולו מה שנודע כבר ונשמעה גדולתו ותפארתו<sup>4</sup> ומעלתו וממשלתו על כל המלכים וכי עבר בקצווי הארצות והדרכים אך ורוחב. וסרו כל האומות למשמעתו<sup>5</sup> הערביים והלועזים עד שמלך על כל העולם. וזה בהנהגת אריסטוטלו ומחשבת עצתו ועניינו וכי אלכסנדר לא סר מדבריו ולא עבר על עצתו.

(3) ונמצא כי יטל אליו אינרות בענין ההנהגה ובהם חוברו הלבבות לאהבתו והגיע בעשייתם לתכלית החיבה. ומהם אינרת שהשיב אליו אלכסנדר. וזה כי כשלכד ארץ פרס ומלך על כל גדוליהם כתב אלכסנדר לאריסטו ואמר לו. ידע החסיד המלמד והמטנה הנאמן הישר כי מצאתי בארץ פרס אנשים שיש להם דיעות טובות ובינות יקרות ויש להם שררה על המלכות ומורדים במלך. ואני ירא מהם על דבר המלכות. והנה מלאני לבי להרוג אותם ואני שואל עצתך בזה: והשיב אותו אריסטוטלו ויאמר לו. אלכסנדר. אם מלאך לבך להרוג את כולם ויש יכולת בידך על זה בעבור חמלכות לא תוכל להרוג ארצם ולא לשנות אויוריהם ומימיהם. אך תמלוך עליהם בהיטיבך להם ובכבדך אותם ותמשול עליהם<sup>6</sup> באהבתם אליך. כי בהיות זה בעבור שתטיב להם יהיה יותר תמיד ממה כשתרדה בהם. ודע כי לא תמלוך על הגופות ותמשול על הלבבות כי אם בדרך הצדק והיושר הידוע. ודע כי ההמון כמו שיכולים לדבר כן יכולים לעשות. ולכן השתדל שלא תצריכם לדבר ותשלם מפעולתם. ושלום. והגיעה לאכסנדר תשובתו ועשה כמצוותו ושבו הפרסיים סרים מכל האומות.

(4) אמר הישמעאלי המעתיק. יחיא בן אלבטריק. לא עזבתי היכל מן ההיכלים אשר הפקידו בהם הפילוסופים סודותם שלא נכנסתי בו ולא הנחתי אדם מגדולי הנזירים אשר נתחכמו לדעת<sup>7</sup> אותם. ועלה בלבי כי שאילת, מצויה אותו שלא שמתי מגמתי אליו. עד שהגעתי להיכל עובד השמש אשר בנה אותו הרמס הגדול לעצמו. ומצאתי בו נזיר אחד בעל חכמה גדולה ובינה יקרה ונתחכמתי אליו ונתחברתי עמו ובאתי אליו בתחבולות עד

<sup>1</sup> ודוח.<sup>2</sup> היוונים.<sup>3</sup> Om.<sup>4</sup> אכסנדר. O.<sup>5</sup> O. M. om.<sup>6</sup> לממשלתו. O.<sup>7</sup> מעצתו. O.<sup>2</sup> adds.<sup>8</sup> את כולם. O.<sup>9</sup> למשמעתו. O.<sup>10</sup> O. om.

## XXVIII.

THE HEBREW VERSION OF THE "SECRETUM  
SECRETORUM,"

A MEDIEVAL TREATISE ASCRIBED TO ARISTOTLE.

*Published for the first time from the MSS. of the British Museum,  
Oxford, and Munich.**With an Introduction and an English Translation.*

By M. GASTER.

ספר

סוד הסודות

אשר כתב אותו אריסטוטולו אל  
המלך הגדול אל אלכסנדריודעי בין ומבקשי חידות לחקור במ מלות נכבדות  
הבימו "מעל" וקראו מעל ספר נקרא סוד הסודות(1) ספר יש בו ההנהגה במחשבת הממשלה אשר כתב אותו  
אריסטוטולו אל המלך הגדול אל אלכסנדר:(2) אמר הישמעאלי המעתיק. השם יצליח מלך המאמינים ויאמצהו לחזק  
הדת ולשמור החמון וענייני המאמינים. והנה עברו עשה כמצוותו וקיבל  
על עצמו לחקור בספר ההנהגה במחשבת הממשלה הנקרא סוד הסודות  
אשר זכר אותו הפילוסוף החסיד הגדול אריסטו בן ניקומכיש לתלמידו המלך  
הגדול אלכסנדר בן קיליש פלורי הנקרא בעל המרנים ובשרבי אל קרנין.  
וזה בעת שבא בימים וחלש כוחו מללכת עמו. והמלך אלכסנדר שמהו

ומביניו. O. 1.

לום. O. 4.

O. 2 om.

לום. O. 5.

כאשר. O. 3.

דו אל. O. 6.

## XXIX.

TWO HITTITE CUNEIFORM TABLETS FROM  
BOGHHAZ KEUI.

By THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE.

BY the courtesy of the Rev. G. E. White, of the American College at Marsovan, I have been permitted to copy a fragment of a Hittite cuneiform tablet which was picked up at Boghaz Keui, the northern capital of the Hittites. The tablet was of red clay, and must have been of large size. What remains of it is 3 centimetres thick, 8 cm. in length, and 5 cm. in breadth, and originally formed the left-hand portion of the central part of the tablet. The characters of the text resemble those of the so-called 'Yuzgât' tablet published by Dr. Pinches and myself, which really came, not from Yuzgât, but from Boghaz Keui. The subject-matter of the two texts also seems to have been similar.

The transliteration of the cuneiform text is as follows:—

## I.

## OBVERSE.

da-a-an-zi	na-ta . . . . .	[KUR Kib-is-na]
<i>mayest thou set</i>	<i>in this . . . . .</i>	<i>[from the mountain of Kibis]</i>
la-kha-an-ni-us	si-pa-an . . . . .	
<i>the products (?)</i>	. . . . .	

na-at	BIT	ta-bu-sa	i-na	GAN
<i>This</i>	<i>temple</i>	<i>(which) thou hast built</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>the garden</i>
	AN Khe-be	. . .		
	<i>of the god Khebe</i>	. . .		
nu	II NIG	i-la-ru-us-su-da-as-sa-a	. . .	
<i>to</i>	<i>2 (food)</i>	. . . . .	. . .	

a-na AN Khe-be mas-si-ya se-ir-ra-as-sa . . . .  
*for the god Khebe my lord* . . . .

TIK-LIB sa-lu-ya TIK-[SAG ?] ma-ra-an . . . .  
*the heart* . . . , *the [head ?]* . . . .

na-at pa-ni AN Khe-be du-a-i ya (or ser) . . . .  
*these before the god Khebe I have set* . . . .

kat-tu I ga-kha-ni-is-sa-a-an I (?) se (?) . . . .  
*unto thee 1* . . . . *1 (?)* . . . .

du-an-zi na-ta bi-ib-ru AZAG [UD ?] . . . .  
*mayest thou set; in this casket of silver (?)* . . . .

KUR Kib-is-ma la-kha-an-ni-us [si-pa-an] . . . .  
*from the mountain of Kibis the products (?)* . . . .

[s]u-[nu]-un-ma a-na AN Al-khi-is-wa mas-si-[ya] . . . .  
*Again for the god Alkhis [my] lord* . . . .

TIK-TI khu-i-ba du-a-i na-t[u] . . . .  
*the ribs* . . . *I have set; in this* . . . .

[KUR Kib-is-ma]  
*[from the mountain of Kibis]*

la-kha-an-ni-us si-pa-an-ti III . . . . [a-na]  
*the products (?) as thy* . . . 3 . . . . *[for]*

AN Khe-be-bi-na mas-si-ya bu-nu (?) -al (?) . . . .  
*the god Khebe-bina my lord* . . . .

na-at SI bi-ra-an da-a-i . . . .  
*these before the table. I have set* . . . .

kat-tu II kat-tu AN Dum-qi da-[a-i] . . . .  
*to thee, 2 to thee O god of good fortune [I have] set* . . . .

I . . . a-na AN Al-khi-is-wa I . . . .  
*1 . . . for the god Alkhis, 1* . . . .

[I ? a-n]a AN Zab-bi-mi-im qa (?) -[at ?] . . . .  
*[1 ? for] the god Zabbimim* . . . .

[KUR Kib-is-ma]  
*[from the mountain of Kibis]*

[la-kha-a]n-ni-us (zi erased) si-[pa-an] . . . .  
*the products (?)* . . . .

[sa-nu-um-ma] a-na AN Ti- . . . . .  
 [Again] for the god Ti . . . . .

## REVERSE.

KUR Kib-iš-ma	[KHAR-SAG]	. . . . .
from Kibis	[the mountain]	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KHAR-[SAG]	. . . . .
from Kibis	the moun[tain]	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KILAR-[SAG]	. . . . .
from Kibis	the moun[tain]	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KILAR-SAG	. . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KHAR-SAG	. . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KHAR-SAG	. . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KHAR-SAG	i-la-al-[la ?] . . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KHAR-SAG	ab-ru-ga-ak-[ka] . . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma'	KHAR-SAG	bu-u-rid(?) <sup>1</sup> -wa KI-II . . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . . the same .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KHAR-SAG	gu-la-am-ma-ya . . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KHAR-SAG	im-ma-li-ya . . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KHAR-SAG	u-mar-za-di-na . . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KHAR-SAG	o-na-tar-zi-ya . . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . .
KUR Kib-iš-ma	KHAR-SAG	a-tar-zi-ya . . . . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps *nu*.

KUR Kib-is-ma	KHAR-SAG	e-ir-zi-ya	. . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . .	. . .

KUR Kib-is-ma	KHAR-SAG	na-a	. . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . .	. . .

KUR Kib-is-ma	KHAR-SAG	za-a	. . .
from Kibis	the mountain	. . .	. . .

# OBVERSE.

In the first line, as well as in the third paragraph, we should probably supply: 'casket (of silver).'

*Sipan* is not the equivalent of MAS-MAS, 'a mage,' as I supposed in my article on the 'Yuzgât' tablet. The word occurs in the name of the city Khattu-sipa (C. i, *Obr.* 14). We have *sippan* in B. 9, *sipan* B. 5 (after 'king'), *sipan-ti* in B. 1; in the 'Yuzgât' tablet, *Rev.* 43, 45, we read: 'wine for the Sun-god *sipan-ti*,' 'wine *si[pan-]ti*, one full-grown kid, and one sheep to the Sun-god of Telibinus I have given.' The sense which would best suit all these passages would be 'consecrated gift' or 'share.' Perhaps *sipa* corresponded with the Babylonian title.

*Lakhannius* bears some resemblance to the Greek *λάχανον*, which has no Indo-European etymology.

The signification of the whole passage could be: 'in this [silver] casket [offer] the products of Kibis as a consecrated gift.'

*Tabusa* is borrowed from Assyrian. The god Khebe (the Mitannian Khepa) is mentioned in S. ii, 7.

The determinative NIG shows that *ilarussudassa[u]*, which seems to be a compound of *da*, 'to set' or 'place,' signifies some article of food.

*Massi-ya*, it is clear from this tablet, means 'my lord,' and consequently Dr. Pinches is right in reading *massi-ya* in 'Yuzgât,' *Rev.* 42, instead of MAS-MAS. The word is probably borrowed from the Assyrian *māsu* (also written *massû*).

We find *serrassan* in 'Yuzgât,' *Rer.* 31. The word is an adjectival formation from *serra*, which may be borrowed from the Assyrian *sêru*, 'flesh.'

*Saluga*, *maran*, and *khuiba* appear to be the phonetic readings of the ideographs which precede them. Dr. Pinches is shown to have been right in identifying the first of the ideographs (in 'Yuzgât,' *Rer.* 46, 47) with TIK(GU) instead of NUNUZ (*erimatu*).

*Pani* is borrowed from Assyrian.

*Dai* may possibly be imperative: 'set.'

The interpretation of *kal-tu*, 'unto thee,' is given by the first Arzawum tablet.

*Bibrû* is found in the letter of the Hittite king in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. In S.<sup>b</sup> 46, 48 it is given as a synonym of *kissû*, 'a small box' or 'casket.'

*Sannuma*, like *ana*, is a loan-word from Assyrian. The Hittite equivalent was *duqqa*.

In the name of the god Alkhiš, *iš* is written like *gil* or *ši*.

The compound Khebe-bina may be compared with Telibinus in the 'Yuzgât' tablet.

The ideographic SI takes the place of *pani* eight lines above, and *biran* the place of 'the god Khebe.' It must, therefore, signify either the image of a god or something that stood beside him. In the 'Yuzgât' tablet the gifts made to the gods are said to be placed on a 'table'; hence *biran* will be 'the table' of the deity corresponding with the Babylonian and Hebrew table of shewbread. We find *biran* (after the name of the month Nisan) in C. vii. 10, 12, and in an unpublished tablet of Chantre copied by Dr. Pinches. (l. 3) it follows the name of the city (?) Dirri. Perhaps the word is borrowed from the Assyrian *bûru* which is given as a synonym of LUTBUR (W.A.I. iv. 19. 16, 17) and *passuru*, "a dish" or "table" (W.A.I. ii. 23. 27).

The words which follow KHAR-SAG, 'mountain,' on the *Reverse* may be names of vegetables.

## II.

Dr. White has also allowed me to publish a copy made by Dr. Pinches of another fragment of a tablet from Boghaz Keui which belongs to himself. Of this the transliteration will be:—

. . .	gan-na-a	GESTIN	pa-iz-z[i]	. . .
. . .	a vineyard	by way of gift	. . .	
. . .	SARRU-iš	pa-it	sa-ab-zi	. . .
. . .	the king	has given	. . .	
. . .	an-da	pa-iz-zi	ta-as	khu-ya . . .
. . .	. . .	ly by way of gift	. . .	
. . .	AIU	Ne-ri-iq-qa	ser-ru	. . .
. . .	the city of Neriqqa	the lesser	. . .	
<hr/>				
. . .	im-me	u-e-te-ni-it	III	SU . . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	3	times . . .
. . .	ya	akh-khi-rib	u-i-si-in	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	
. . .	a-?-zi	TUR	SARRU	Gan-dakh-khi . . .
. . .	a . . . zi	the son	of the king	of Gandakhkh . . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	ka-ru-u	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	

*Ganná*, 'garden,' is borrowed from Assyrian.

SARRU-iš should be read *aramiš*. *Sab-zi* may be 'in perpetuity.'

. . . *anda* is the termination of an adverb.

*Khuya* . . . is found, following *biran*, in an unpublished tablet discovered by M. Chantre and copied by Dr. Pinches (l. 2).

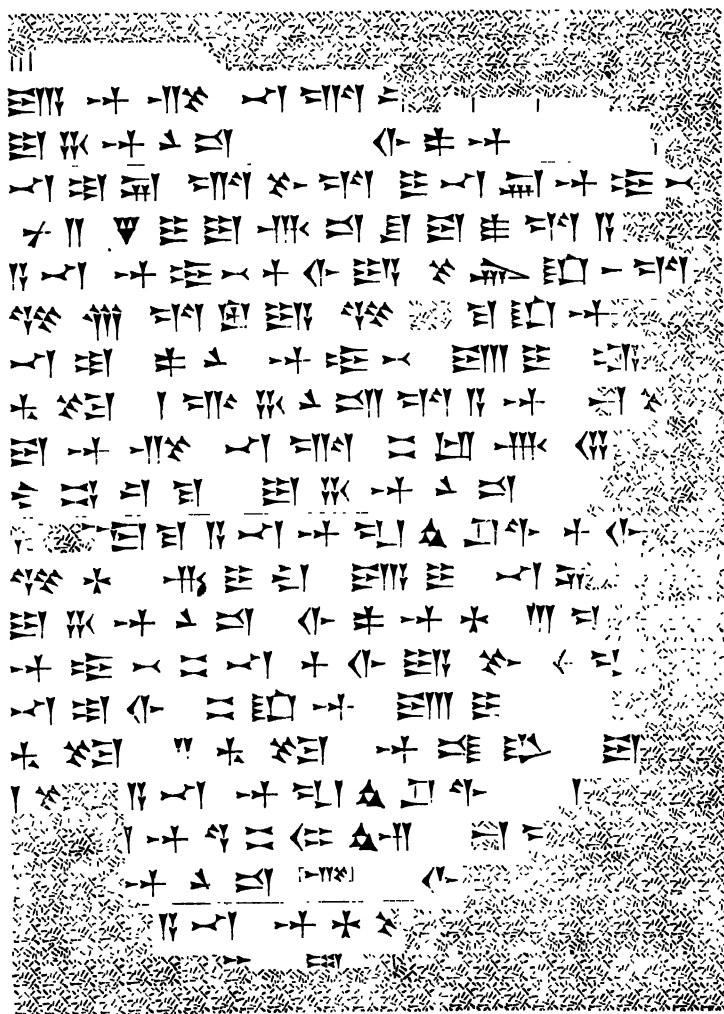
*Serru* is borrowed from Assyrian.

*Uetenit* is probably a plural.

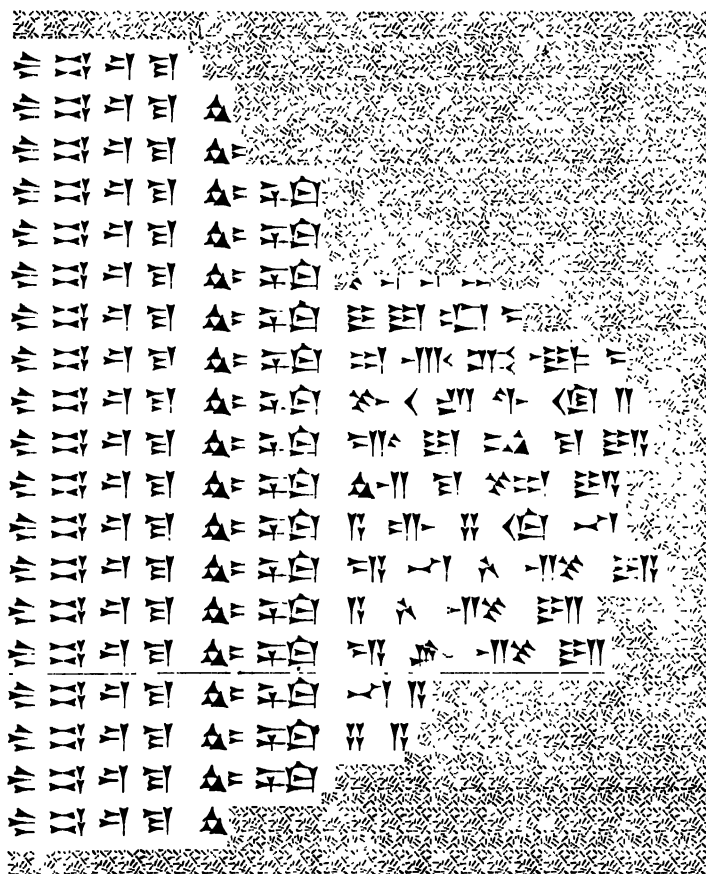
The third character in *akh-khi-rib* can also be read *dan* and *tas*.

## I.

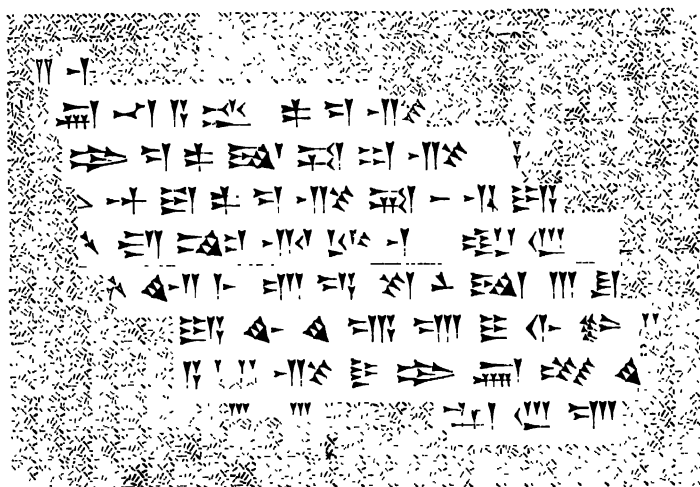
## OBVERSE.



## REVERSE.



II.





## XXX.

**‘WHITE HUN’ COIN OF VYAGHRAMUKHA OF THE  
CHAPA (GURJARA) DYNASTY OF BHINMAL.**

By VINCENT A. SMITH.

**I**N the April number of the Journal (p. 413, *ante*), Mr. A. M. T. Jackson published a brief note stating that “the name Vyāghramuśa, read by Mr. V. A. Smith on one of his White Hun coins (see p. 95 of the January number of the Journal), is no doubt ‘Śrī Vyāghramukha of the Śrī Chāpa dynasty,’ under whom wrote the astronomer Brahmagupta.” I accept the correction in the reading of the name, which is clearly right. Not being previously familiar with the history of the Śrī Chāpa dynasty, I asked Mr. Jackson to explain his meaning. This he has kindly done, giving me references, which enable me to pursue the subject further. The shabby little coin which I published opens up side issues of considerable interest, which are worth following up.

Mr. Jackson writes :—

“Brahmagupta says that he wrote his *Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* in Śaka 550 [A.D. 628] in the reign of Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa-vamśa.<sup>1</sup> The passage was first brought to notice in the *Journal of the Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, vol. viii, p. 27. It was Bühler, I think [*Ind. Ant.*, xvii, 192]; who pointed out that Brahmagupta was known to later writers as Bhīllamālavakāchārya, and that Bhīllamāla is to be identified with Hiuen Tsang’s Pi-lo-mo-lo and the modern Bhinmāl or Śrīmāl. A full account of this place

<sup>1</sup> “Another distinguished astronomer was Brahmagupta, who, born in 598 A.D., wrote, besides a *karāṇa* [practical astronomical treatise], his *Brāhma Sphuṭa-siddhānta* when thirty years old [628 A.D.] (chaps. xii and xviii are mathematical)” (Macdonell, *Hist. of Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 435). See also Weber, *Hist. of Sanskrit Lit.*, 2nd ed., London, p. 259. Weber says that Albirūnī gives the date of Brahmagupta as 664 A.D. Brahmagupta is said to allude repeatedly to Varāha-mihira (505–587 A.D.).

and its history is given in App. iii to part i (*History of Gujarat*) of the first volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. I have there proposed (p. 467) to identify Vyāghramukha with the Gurjara<sup>1</sup> king who was defeated by Pulakesin II, and his successor with Hiuen Tsang's king of Bhinnāl. D. R. Bhandarkar has doubted Brahmagupta's connexion with Bhinnāl, but, I think, without sufficient reason."<sup>2</sup>

These observations show that the coin published by me suggests interesting problems in topography as well as in literary and political history. The existence of a great mediæval Gurjara kingdom, or 'empire,' as Dr. Hoernle calls it, has been recognized only lately by most people, although attention was drawn to it by Bühler in 1888 (*Ind. Ant.*, xvii, 192), and by Mr. Jackson in 1896 (*Bomb. Gaz.*). It is a special merit of Dr. Hoernle's historical work ("Some Problems of Ancient Indian History," *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, 1905; and Hoernle and Stark, *History of India*, Cuttack, 1904) that it takes adequate notice of the Gurjara kingdom. I must confess that when I was writing my *Early History of India* (1904) I had not fully grasped the meaning of the researches on the subject initiated by Bühler and Jackson, and prosecuted by D. R. Bhandarkar and Dr. Hoernle. My book, consequently, fails to give the reader a clear notion of the importance of the Gurjaras in mediæval history. This defect will be remedied, I hope, in a revised edition next year. Bühler devoted immense pains to the editing and discussion of "Gurjara Inscriptions." His paper on the copper-plate inscription of Dadda II, or Prasāntarāga, found at Bagumrā in the Barōdā State, although requiring correction in some points, is full of valuable matter, from which I quote the following passage, bearing directly on Mr. Rawlins' coin:—

"With a single exception, all the complete inscriptions call the princes enumerated above scions of the Gurjara race . . . . The name Gurjara makes it evident that this dynasty belonged to

<sup>1</sup> Authority exists for both spellings—Gurjara and Gūjara.

<sup>2</sup> "Gurjaras," by Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, M.A., read before Bo. Br. R.A.S., 13th Nov., 1902, p. 6 of reprint. I agree with Mr. Jackson.

the great tribe which is still found in Northern and Western India, and after which two provinces, one in the Bombay Presidency and one in the Pañjāb, have been named. The Gurjaras or Gujars are at present pretty numerous in the Western Himālaya, in the Pañjāb, and in Eastern Rājputāna. In Kachh and Gujarāt their number is much smaller. It would, therefore, seem that they came into Western India from the north. Their immigration must have taken place in early times, about the beginning of our era or shortly afterwards [? fifth century, V. A. S.]. In Western India they founded, besides the kingdom of Broach, another larger state which lay some hundred miles further north. Hiuen Tsiang mentions in his travels the kingdom of *Kiu-che-lo* and its capital *Pi-lo-mi-lo*. It has been long known that the former word corresponds to Gurjara . . . . *Pi-lo-mi-lo* corresponds exactly to Bhīllamāla, one of the old names of the modern Bhīnmāl or Śrīmāl in southern Mārvād, close to the northern frontier of Gujarāt.<sup>1</sup> Another work, which was composed a few years before Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Gujarāt, contains likewise a notice of this northern kingdom of the Gurjaras. The astronomer Brahmagupta, who completed his Siddhānta in Śaka-Samvat 550, or 628 A.D., calls himself [this is an error—Bhīllamālakakāchārya, 'the teacher residing in Bhīllamālaka,' and is called so by his commentator Prithūdakascvāmin. He further states that he wrote under king Vyāghramukha, who was 'an ornament of the Chāpa race.' This family [or clan], whose name recurs in the Haddāla grant of Dharanivārāhu prince of Vadhvān (ante, vol. xii, pp. 190 ff.),<sup>2</sup> thus seems to have been [supplied] the reigning house of Bhīllamāla, [as well as the dynasties of Anhilvād and Vadhvān (Vardhamāna)]. It is most probably identical with the Chāudās, Chāvōṭakas, or Chāpōṭkaṭas, who from 756 to 941 A.D. held Anhilvād, and still possess various small districts in northern

<sup>1</sup> Watters spells the Chinese words as Kū-che-lo and Pi-lo-mo-lo. "Julien," he says, "restores the Sanskrit name of the country as 'Gurjara,' but the pilgrim probably transcribed a name like Guchala or Guchara. The name here given to the capital probably stands for a word like *Bhilmala*" (*On Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 250). The vernacular form *Gūjar* or *Gūjara* presumably was that heard by Hiuen Tsiang rather than the Sanskrit *Gurjara* (*Gurjāra*, *Gūrjara*) used in inscriptions. There is no doubt that Kiu-che-lo (Ku-che-lo) meant the Gurjara country. Mr. Watters' remark about the form *Bhilmala* strongly supports Mr. Jackson's identification of Pi-lo-mi-lo (Pi-lo-mo-lo) with Bhīnmāl; the more so, because he did not dispute Saint-Martin's and Cunningham's erroneous identification of Pi-lo-mi-lo with Bālmār.

<sup>2</sup> Haddāla is in eastern Kāthiawār. The publication of this grant in 1883 first revealed the existence of "a hitherto unknown dynasty of feudal chiefs of Vardhamāna, called Chāpa." The grant is dated 839 Śaka = 917-18 A.D., and carries back the ancestry to about 800 A.D.

Gujarāt. The Gurjara kingdom of Broach was without doubt an offshoot of the larger State in the north; and it may be that its rulers, too, belonged to the Chāpa family" (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvii (1888), p. 192).

The value of these remarks by Bühler is not affected by Dr. Fleet's decision that the Bagumrā plates are forgeries (*ibid.*, p. 380; *Kanarese Dynasties*, 2nd ed., p. 312, note). The capital of the Southern Gurjara kingdom, while it lasted, that is, probably up to the middle of the eighth century, was Bharōch (Broach); that of the Chāudā (Chāvōṭaka) principality was Anhilvād (Anahilpattan).

There appears to be no doubt that the names Chāpa, Chāudā, Chāvaḍā, Chāvōṭaka, and Chāpotkṭa are identical. Mr. Jackson regards Chāpa as being the original form, Chāpōtkṭa being a Sanskritized variant, meaning 'strong bowman' (*Bhinnāl*, p. 466, note).

Inasmuch as Bhinnāl was the capital of the Northern Gurjara kingdom in Rājputāna, the Chāpa king Vyāghramukha of Bhinnāl commemorated by the astronomer must have been a Gurjara king of that state, and not a member of the Chāvaḍā dynasty of the principality of Anhilvād (Anahilavāḍa). The city of Anhilvād is said not to have been founded until 746 A.D. The Chāvaḍās seem to have been a branch of the Gurjaras who extended the power of the race in the south. Brahmagupta's patron, Vyāghramukha, apparently must be identical with the unnamed Gurjara king who was defeated by the Chalukya monarch Pulakeśin II, as recorded in his inscription dated Ś. 556 = 634 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, viii, 237). The young king of Kiu-che-lo, a devout Buddhist, whom Hiuen Tsang visited in 641 or 642 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> must have been the immediate successor of Vyāghramukha.

<sup>1</sup> "The king is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just twenty years old; he is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha; and highly honours men of distinguished ability" (Beal, ii, 270). "The king, who was a Kshatriya by birth, was a young man celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and he was a profound believer in Buddhism, and a patron of exceptional abilities" (Watters, ii, 249). The Hūnas, Gurjaras, and other foreign tribes, which obtained by conquest the rank of Rājās for their chiefs, were assimilated by Hindu society as Kshatriyas. The same thing has happened with Gonds and other so-called aboriginal tribes in modern times.

Thus, on the assumption that the Vyāghramukha of the coin is identical with the only known king of that name, Mr. Rawlins' coin proves to have been issued by Vyāghramukha, king of the Gurjara country, that is to say, Central and Northern Rajputāna, who was reigning at his capital Bhinmāl in 628, and shortly before 634 A.D. Its style and associations caused me to describe it as a White Hun or Ephthalite coin, and the discovery of its probable date and attribution does not necessarily require a change in its classification. The coin was associated with and is related to the undoubtedly White Hun coins of Tōranāṇa and Mihirakula. The fact that the coin of a Gurjara king can be described correctly as a White Hun piece simply means that the Gurjaras were a foreign race who entered the Indian territories along with the White Huns in the series of invasions which occurred during the fifth century. The great barbarian swarm which then overran the plains of India evidently was a mixed multitude composed of various more or less cognate and similar tribes, in the same way as the two earlier swarms of foreign invaders during historical times each included several distinct hordes or tribes.

"There is reason to believe that the Śāka (Sök) hordes included even Turks and Tibetans, and that the invaders, who in the middle of the second century B.C. penetrated Northern India by a route through the mountains of the Kaśmīr region, were a mixture of peoples similar to that which, under the name of Ta-Yüechi, entered India and Afghanistan at a later date. Care, however, must be taken not to confound these two events, which were quite distinct. The earlier invasion, which may conveniently be described as that of the Śakas, was from the north, and occurred about 150 B.C., while the later, distinguished as that of the Ta-Yüechi, or Indo-Scythians, was from the north-west, and occurred in the first century A.D."<sup>1</sup>

An insignificant-looking little coin has led me a long way, and it is time to stop; for a full discussion of the

<sup>1</sup> Author's paper, "The Śakas in Northern India" (*Z.D.M.G.*, Band lxi (1907), p. 413; following Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntniss der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, p. 60, Berlin, 1904).

Gurjara problem and all the subsidiary issues connected with it would require a volume. I may, however, add that the Ephthalite series of invasions, like the Ta-Yüechi, came from the north-west, and that Bhinnmāl lies in N. lat.  $24^{\circ} 42'$ , E. long.  $72^{\circ} 4'$ ; while Hoshyārpur, in the neighbourhood of which Mr. Rawlins' coins were found, lies about seven degrees further north. This fact helps us to realize the wide extent of the dominion won by the Ephthalite group of hordes.

## XXXI.

SOME MODERN THEORIES OF RELIGION AND  
THE VEDA.

BY A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

**T**HE last few years have seen the successful application to so many forms of religious belief of theories which at first sight appear to have no support in Vedic myth or ritual, that it is natural to ask whether this apparent peculiarity of Vedic religion is real or not, or whether there exist in the ritual as preserved traces of beliefs and practices which reveal a state of religious thought older than that presented to us in the main body of the ritual.

Of these theories three aspects are most important. The theory of totemism still has many supporters; recent research in Australia has confirmed in the main the results of previous enquiry, and Mr. Lang, Dr. Jevons, and others contend that it solves many problems of Greek mythology and cult. It is impossible to define the system with any accuracy, but a clan may fairly be said to be totemistic if it deems itself to be descended from some plant or animal whose name it bears, and which or part of which it wears as a badge, if it observes strict marriage laws, if it shows reverence to animals or plants of the species, and either does not eat them at all or only on some occasion of especial solemnity when the totem animal is slain with tokens of sorrow for the slaughter of a kinsman, and then eaten sacramentally to renew the bonds of brotherhood between the members of the clan and their totem. Whatever its origin, such a scheme of religious belief is intelligible and seems to have actually existed

both in Australia and in North America, and its possible occurrence in Vedic religion is not to be denied.<sup>1</sup> It appears from Servius, *Æneid*, ii, 785, that on Mount Soracte the Hirpini, a wolf tribe, performed a wolf dance, and Mr. Lang<sup>2</sup> naturally finds in this a clear case of totemism. Greek instances are numerous, though none are certain, but Apollo Lykeios, Apollo Smintheus, and the bear-maidens of Brauron, could all be explained on the hypothesis of totemism,<sup>3</sup> which, Mr. Cook<sup>4</sup> has tried to show, existed in the Mycenaean age.

But even assuming that the theory of totemism is not accepted, Semitic religion shows clearly, as Robertson Smith has proved, a conception of the animal sacrifice as the sacrifice of one akin at once to the sacrificer and to the god, who share alike in its flesh and blood, so that the sacrifice is at once a shedding of kindred blood and a renewal of the union between god and man. Whether such sacramental meals exist in Greek religion is disputed, but the ritual of the *Diipolia*<sup>5</sup> is a fairly clear instance, and the worship of Dionysos undoubtedly shows the idea of the theanthropic animal. Dr. Frazer,<sup>6</sup> again, accepting the facts as to the slaying of the god relied on by Robertson Smith, but rejecting the theory of totemism, has made elaborate efforts to explain all the phenomena by the theory of the corn-spirit, which when the corn is cut takes refuge in animals or men, who may then be killed to enable the worn-out spirit to revive

<sup>1</sup> I cannot, however, accept Oldenberg's view (*Religion des Veda*, p. 85, n. 1) that the existence, if proved, of totemism in Greece and Italy is a proof that totemism is Aryan. There is overwhelming evidence that much of Greek and Italian religion is due to the pre-Aryan Mediterranean race; cf. Evans, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1901; Farnell, *Evolution of Religion*, ch. i. How much, we are hardly ever likely to know.

<sup>2</sup> *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, ii, p. 212; cf. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 84, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Farnell: *Cults of the Greek States*, iv, pp. 113-123, 256, 267; ii, p. 435. I do not consider totemism probable in Hellenic or Roman religion. Sir Charles Lyall (*J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 589) doubts its existence among Semitic peoples.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1894.

<sup>5</sup> Farnell: op. cit., i, pp. 88-101.

<sup>6</sup> *The Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup> and *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*.

for fresh life in spring. The October horse<sup>1</sup> at Rome seems clearly an example of such a rite, and no less clear is the case of the Thargelia<sup>2</sup> at Athens, while similar practices are found all over Europe and Asia Minor and in Egypt.

If we turn to Vedic religion, the traces of totemism are by no means convincing. Professor Macdonell's<sup>3</sup> summary shows that the evidence is practically confined to names like the Matsyas, Ajas, Śigrus, Vatsas, Śunakas, Gotamas, Māṇḍūkeyas, Kausikas, and Kaśyapa. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa Prajāpati appears as a Kūrma, and it is said that, since Kūrma is identical with Kaśyapa, all beings are held to be the children of the tortoise. Saṃvarāṇa, ancestor of the Kuru kings, is said by the Epic to have been the son of Rkṣa (bear), and the name Ārkṣa occurs in Rg-veda, viii, 57, 16. This evidence, however, falls far short of proving totemism. The Śatapatha passage (vii, 5, 1, 5) is merely a piece of theology and is of no weight, in view of the countless absurdities which the Brāhmaṇas contain. The Epic notice does not carry us further than the tribal names, and we have no right to say that to bear the name of an animal must mean totemism. There is no proof that the Matsyas adored fish or claimed kindred with them. A stronger piece of evidence than any yet adduced might be found if in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, ii, 1, 1, *rayāṃsi* could be taken as the name of a tribe,<sup>4</sup> for in the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, ii, 8, 14, 10, it is expressly said, *rayasāṃ hi pitarah pratinayā caranti*, and the most probable theory of the origin of totemism seems to be that the spirit of the ancestor is imagined as passing into some animal or plant, which thereby is conceived as being akin to the tribe and, as the recipient of the ancestral spirit, an object of veneration, and birds are natural recipients<sup>5</sup> of the souls of the departed.

<sup>1</sup> Warde Fowler: *op. cit.*, pp. 241-250.

<sup>2</sup> Farnell: *op. cit.*, iv, pp. 268-284.

<sup>3</sup> *Vedic Mythology*, p. 153. Cosmogonic myths (see *J.A.O.S.*, xv, p. 178) are hardly in point. For later instances cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, xiii, p. 415; Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 85, 86.

<sup>4</sup> So suggested in Max Müller's translation, *S.B.E.*, i.

<sup>5</sup> As in modern India, see *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 489.

But it is quite easy to assume that names were adopted for other reasons, because the tribe was rich in cattle, or dwelt among horseradishes, and so forth.<sup>1</sup>

It may, of course, also be argued that the cases of theriomorphism of gods are relics of totemism, since under that system the animal is regarded as divine, and when it has passed away, or a new system has been superimposed upon it, traces may remain in the occasional attribution to an anthropomorphic god of an animal form. But two other explanations of these cases are at least equally probable. In the first place the theriomorphic god may be a remnant of a period of zoolatry when beasts were worshipped, not as totems, but simply as powerful to aid or injure men. There appear to be clear traces of such zoolatry in Vedic religion, whether the deification is quasi-permanent, as in the case of the cow<sup>2</sup> or serpent,<sup>3</sup> or only temporary, as in the case of the ants (Kausika Sūtra, 116), the worms (Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, iv, 36), or mice (Hillebrandt, *Ritual-litteratur*, p. 85). In the second place, the fact must be admitted that primitive man was wont to identify animals and things with deities by a process of symbolism which must be understood in the sense that the symbol is actually conceived as pervaded by the deity or as a temporary incarnation of the deity. Thus Poseidon Hippios<sup>4</sup> in Greek religion arose from a primitive and widely spread idea, which sees a resemblance, and therefore a partial identity, between the sea and the horse. The horse is not an object of worship in itself, but as identified with the god of whom it is an incarnation. To this set of ideas we must probably

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Burdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 65, 66. Mere food tabus (e.g. Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 415) prove nothing for totemism. See also Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, xvi, p. cliv.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell: *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 150, 151.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 153. Oldenberg: *Religion des Veda*, p. 69. This worship may be a borrowing from the aborigines, but quite probably it may have arisen spontaneously.

<sup>4</sup> Farnell: op. cit., iv, p. 22. Oldenberg's view (*Religion des Veda*, pp. 83, 84) is similar, but lays special stress on the temporary nature of the identification and its connection with magic.

attribute the cases<sup>1</sup> of Dadhikrā, Dadhyañc, Etaśa, Paidva, Tārksya, all instances where the sun is conceived in the form of a horse, the boar form of Rudra and the Maruts, the bull and eagle forms of Indra, the cow form of the clouds, the bird forms of Soma and Agni, the serpent form of Vṛtra, Aju ekapād, Ahi budhnya, etc., in the mythology. These instances, however, would not prove conclusively that the god was actually conceived as theriomorphic. It might be held that the descriptions of Indra as a bull were merely poetic comparisons of the strong god who fertilises to the animal, and apparently Dr. Hillebrandt<sup>2</sup> holds this view. But though it is conceivable that to some minds this was the case, the probability is not great. The primitive mind insists on a real identity in a similarity, and could hardly avoid regarding Indra as to some extent present in the bull.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately ritual, a much more trustworthy guide than mythology, gives us some help. In the Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xi, 12 seq., in the Agnicayana Agni as the sun appears to be represented by a horse in the ritual, and also by a goat. In the offering of the spit-ox in the domestic ritual, Hiranyakesin, ii, 8, tells us that the ox called Īsāna was placed to the south, a cow to the north, and between them their calf. Three dishes of cooked rice were prepared and offered to the animals with the words, "Hail to the god Bhava!" "Hail to the wife of the god Bhava!" and "Hail to Jayanta!" It is quite certain that the cow and the ox are conceived as for the time being incarnations of the god and goddess, and it may be remarked that here we have a piece of evidence in favour of taking Rudra to be a god of vegetation as much as a thunder god, since the ritual identification of the bull and the vegetation spirit is a common feature of religion as in the case of Dionysos. It may be noted that Hadad, the chief male god of the Syrians, was likewise at once a thunder god and a god of

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell: op. cit., pp. 148-150.

<sup>2</sup> *Thiere und Götter im vedischen Ritual*, Breslau, 1905, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> The choice of colours of animals, of which Hillebrandt gives many cases, points in the same direction. Similarity means partial identity.

fertility.<sup>1</sup> The bull similarly represents the god Kṣetrapati in another rite described by Hiranyakeśin, ii, 9. In the Cāturmāsya rite offerings were made to a ram which represented Varuṇa and a sheep which represented the Maruts.<sup>2</sup> Oldenberg<sup>3</sup> quotes cases where a horse is stationed so as to look at the place where fire is produced by friction, where fire is deposited in the track of the horse when it goes in advance, and where the offering is made in the ear of a goat. Probably these cases afford a clue to the curious old ritual preserved from a common source in the Gṛhya Sūtras of Āśvalāyana, ii, 4, 8–11, Śāṅkhāyana, iii, 14, 3, and Gobhila, iv, 1, where at the second Aṣṭakā ceremony a cow or a goat might be sacrificed, or optionally an offering might be made to a cow. It is of course possible to add this to the instances of direct worship of the cow, but the contrast between the optional courses becomes improbably violent. If, on the other hand, we take it that the cow was regarded as the incarnation for the time of the god, the contrast becomes less remarkable. Finally, it seems we must recognise in the horse of the Aśvamedha an incarnation of the sun. The Ṛg-veda, i, 163, 2, states that the sacrificial steed was fashioned out of the sun, and in the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, xxii. 32, the steed is expressly called Dadhikrāvan, who is elsewhere clearly an emblem of the sun. Further, the divine character of the horse is shown by the fact that the sacrificer offers it the remains of the night oblation of grain which, if the horse refuses to eat them, are thrown into water, doubtless as being too sacred for human consumption.

The slaying of the divine steed, however, raises at once the question whether we have not here a case of totemism or of a corn-spirit. In favour of either theory might be quoted Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, xxiii, 16, where at the moment when the fatal blow is administered the unfortunate animal

<sup>1</sup> Frazer: *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Hillebrandt: *Rituallitteratur*, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Religion des Veda*, p. 77; see also Hillebrandt, *Thiere und Götter*, p. 9, n. 5; Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, xiii, p. 247, n. 3.

is assured that it is not really being injured, but only being sent by fair paths to the gods. For, on the one hand, the slaying of the kindred totem is a mournful act to be ignored as much as possible, while on the other hand Dr. Frazer<sup>1</sup> has collected numerous instances where the slayers of animals seek in every way to appease them and avert the vengeance of the offended ghosts and of the other members of the species. Moreover, there are cases on record where the corn-spirit has been deemed to take the horse as its resting-place, as in the clear case of the October horse at Rome. Or, again, the simpler form of Dr. Frazer's theory may be accepted in which the annual sacrifice of an animal is directed to strengthen by sympathetic magic the species. It is impossible to deny the plausibility of these theories, but the facts permit of another explanation. We cannot, however, hope to make good Dr. Hillebrandt's<sup>2</sup> position that in the selection or avoidance of certain animals for sacrifice no trace of totemism or of theriomorphism can be found.

Indeed, Dr. Hillebrandt<sup>3</sup> supplies ample material to refute his own proposition. In the *Aśvamedha*, *Parjanya* receives as an offering the frog, and the frog is a very natural symbol of the rain-god in India; fish are offered to the waters, and dolphins to the sea. The *dakṣiṇā* at the sacrifice to *Aditi* is a cow. In a rain spell the otter is offered to *Apām napāt* (*Kausika Sūtra*, 127). *Indra* constantly has bulls offered to him, and is the bull *par excellence* among the gods. *Agni* is a goat, and goats are offered to him. *Pūṣan*, lord of herds, who takes his place at the *Aśvamedha* in the form of a goat, has goats offered to him. No doubt the paucity of animals available for sacrifice made other gods receive the same offerings, but that fact need not have destroyed the special propriety felt in each case when the choice of animal coincided with the special character of the god. The rule is, no doubt, accurately stated in *Pāraskara*

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, ii, pp. 389 seq. Cf. Hunter: *Indian Empire*<sup>3</sup>, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Thiere und Götter*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 6-8. The *puruṣamṛga* offered to the moon (*Taittiriya Saṃhitā*, v, 5, 15) is of particular interest. Cf. Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-359.

Gr̥hya Sūtra, iii, 11, 10, that at a sacrifice directed to a special deity the animal belonging to that deity should be sacrificed, and a portion should be made for the god and carefully conveyed to him. Instances could be multiplied, but there is no possibility of doubt as to the main principle.

On the other hand, the explanation of the custom is not certain. In some cases a simple explanation is possible. If the gods are conceived as surrounded like men with an animal world for their amusement,<sup>1</sup> then in slaying animals the sacrificer may be conceived as sending the gods a present of a new plaything, just as to the dead man slaves and horses are offered by many peoples to attend him in the next world.<sup>2</sup> So it may be thought that the goat sacrifice to Pūṣan was merely a gift to the god of a beast to bear his car. This view is certainly a possibility, but in the case of Pūṣan it is not very probable.<sup>3</sup> It must be remembered that not only do we actually find Pūṣan as mentioned above himself in the form of a goat, but that in many cases animal attendants on a god are a survival from a time when the god himself was deemed to bear an animal form. A familiar Greek example is that of Artemis and the bear,<sup>4</sup> and it seems clear that the lions which appear in Cretan and Asianic art are really symbols of the sun-god.<sup>5</sup> We must therefore accept as a real problem the practice of sacrificing to the god an animal in which at times the god was deemed to be incarnate. Against an explanation by totemism, it may be urged that totemism merely accounts for the rare ceremonial eating of the slain god, and not for the numerous instances of animal sacrifice found in early Vedic religion. But this argument would only show that totemism was in an advanced stage of decay when the

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell: op. cit., p. 148. Oldenberg: op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer: *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 188, 189.

<sup>3</sup> Oldenberg (op. cit., p. 73) recognises the probability that Pūṣan originally was conceived as a goat.

<sup>4</sup> Farnell: op. cit., ii, pp. 435 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Evans: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1901, p. 161. While recognising the original lion form of the god, Frazer (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 53-56) takes the god for a vegetation deity like Attis or Adonis.

practices in question were in vogue, and would not exclude the possibility of a totemistic origin. Similarly, even if the original intention in slaying a goat for Pūṣan was, as it would be on Dr. Frazer's theory, the desire to strengthen the species goat or to destroy the outworn vegetation spirit, yet the times of the Vedic animal offerings refute the idea that these primitive conceptions still reigned. It is then, perhaps, best to fall back on the theory that to the Vedic Indian the animal sacrifice was only a gift in the crude sense of the present of food to gods who, like men, were fain to eat, and would, if well fed, bestow boons on their votaries. Now the natural thing would be to select for an offering that food which would be most acceptable to the god, and to believers in magic the proposition that the god who is sometimes a goat will feed especially eagerly on the goat would probably seem self-evident, since the god would thus acquire anew the qualities of the victim. The suggestion of cannibalism is only apparent, since the god is much more than the goat, which, however, stands in a mystic relation to him. In Vedic religion, at any rate, where we find clear examples of zoolatry proper as in the case of the cow or the snakes, the sacred animal is not offered to itself. The theory approximates to the simplest form of Dr. Frazer's views, but it differs essentially from them. For in his theory, which may be an adequate explanation of many cases of sacrifice, the slaying of an animal is merely a piece of magic to multiply the species, accompanied by a series of attempts to propitiate the anger of the dead. The theory here adopted, on the other hand, assumes the existence of gods conceived as theriomorphic, but in origin great natural forces regarded as animated, to whom gifts are brought by worshippers. If it could be proved as satisfactorily as it is confidently asserted that magic ideas such as those supposed in this case are always older than the conception of the need of winning the divine favour by gifts, then it would probably be necessary to give up the hypothesis which we accept, but it seems far safer to recognise that the currents of magic and religion, in the sense of the

recognition that there exist forces beyond magic which must be propitiated and not compelled, run parallel, and that in explaining cult resort must be had to either set of facts.

The theory requires to be supplemented before it can suffice to cover all the facts. One common feature of the ritual of the animal sacrifice elsewhere is the fact that the performer touches the animal with a sacrificial implement, and then the sacrificer touches him, and this is found both in the Gṛhya and the Śrauta ritual.<sup>1</sup> This must, of course, be intended to convey to all those participating in the rite the sanctity of the animal. It is hardly sufficient to account for this sanctity that the animal might in some cases be chosen because of its being the occasional embodiment of the god, for the fact occurs in other cases of sacrifice. The probable explanation is that the coming of the god to the place of sacrifice and his entry into the victim to make it his own account for the sacred character of the victim. Thus an animal, in no wise divine<sup>2</sup> before the sacrifice, might in the course of the rite acquire a sacred character and be much more than an ordinary animal, while at the same time it was not felt by the worshippers that they were killing their god. This would explain the *Āśvamedha*. In it the horse perhaps was originally offered to the sun, and it may be significant that in the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, xxii, 9-14, *Savitr* is assigned such prominence. He was chosen because of the fact that the sun is repeatedly, as is proved by the ritual and mythology alike, regarded as theriomorphic as a horse. The horse's markedly sacred character therefore follows from his affinity to the sun, and from the entrance of the gods into him when chosen for sacrifice. Similar ideas are common in Greek religion. A Homeric hymn tells of the grove of *Poseidon* at *Onchestos* in which horses were entered by the spirit of the god, and *Poseidon* was often considered as of equine form.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Hillebrandt: *Rituallitteratur*, pp. 73, 122. Oldenberg: *op. cit.*, pp. 332, 499.

<sup>2</sup> Still more so, of course, if the animal were already quasi-divine.

<sup>3</sup> Farnell: *op. cit.*, iv, pp. 20 seq.

blood and flesh of the hosiōtēr at Delphi were so sacred as to place the priest in close relation with Apollo, in whose honour the beast was slain.<sup>1</sup>

Since the Vedic Indians do not seem to have interpreted their sacrifices as the slaying of a god, it is not remarkable that we find little trace of sacramental meals such as those depicted among Semites by Robertson Smith,<sup>2</sup> in which undoubtedly we have the eating of a god as a means of communion with the divine. But a meal may be called a sacrament which falls short a good deal of the Semitic sacrament.<sup>3</sup> In the first place the eating of part of a victim, of which part has been consumed by the god, is in itself a means of becoming one with the deity, since to primitive man the eating of the same food results in similarity of essence. In the second place, since the god, by entering into the animal at the sacrifice, fills it with the divine essence, the eating of the animal is a direct means of fellowship. We must probably recognise both these ideas in the numerous sacramental meals which we find in the ritual. The general rule in the Grhya ritual is laid down by Śāṅkhāyana (ii, 14, 23), "Let him eat nothing without having cut off (and offered as a bali) a portion thereof." In entertaining strangers flesh is to be served, and precisely as in Homer we find that every meal is also a sacrifice (ibid., ii, 15). Eating of the remnants of the sacrifice is enjoined in the upākaraṇa (ibid., iv, 5, 10). Remnants of food belonging to the Manes, gods, guests, and servants may be eaten by a snātaka (ibid., iv, 11, 12).<sup>4</sup> It is particularly interesting to note the reference to the Manes. There can be no doubt that the conception of the offerings to them was a meal, in which the descendant sought to place himself

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of the Semites*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Farnell, *Hibbert Journal*, Jan., 1904; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> This practice may perhaps explain the reference in the Bhaktamāla to Kṛṣṇa gathering the waste food at the Rājasūya which Dr. Grierson discusses, *supra*, pp. 680, 681. For other examples of sacramental meals see Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 326 seq.; and cf. the reason given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa why Brāhmaṇas only can sacrifice (*S.B.E.*, xxx, p. 321).

in union with them by sharing the same food, and eating the remains of food tasted by them would be felt as bringing about a particularly close union.<sup>1</sup> With this may be compared the tabu so common in savage tribes on the remains of food eaten by the chief, who is considered as the possessor of a powerful spiritual influence, which is communicated to the food of which he partakes, and renders it dangerous for a commoner to taste. Again; in the sacrifice to Kṣetrapati described by Hiraṇyakeśin, ii, 9, all the relatives eat remains of the offering made to the bull which here represents the god. In the Madhuparka<sup>2</sup> the Rudras, Ādityas, Viśve devās, and beings partake, then the sacrificer has a portion, and then a Brāhmaṇa. If this cannot be done, the sacrificer may eat the whole or throw it into water. The latter alternative clearly indicates the holy nature of the food of which the gods have partaken. Other instances are common, and it is probably a result of the practice of the sacramental meal that we find the custom of feeding Brāhmaṇas on many occasions either with actual parts of the sacrifice or with other food. Naturally, in the ritual as developed the Brāhmaṇas usurped the place of the other members of the sacrificer's family until their presence obscured the original sense of the rite.

In the face of these facts we cannot accept the view of Dr. Hillebrandt<sup>3</sup> that the Indian conception of sacrifice is opposed to the Semitic in so far as the latter is an act of communion in which the god and the worshipper join in partaking of the flesh of the animal. Dr. Hillebrandt points out against this view that in India the blood of the victim was deemed an offering to demons and therefore impure. But in fact the blood seems to have been considered too sacred for consumption by the worshippers, and to have been regarded as an offering to the earth-goddess, represented

<sup>1</sup> So the wife of the sacrificer, who wishes children, tastes the offering to the pitrs, and thus wins their favour (Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra, iv, 3, 27).

<sup>2</sup> Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, i, 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Thiere und Götter*, p. 4. Oldenberg (op. cit., pp. 327, 328) and Hopkins (*J. A. O. S.*, xvi, p. cccxxix) take substantially the same view.

often, as all over the world, by the snakes.<sup>1</sup> As earth deities tend to be or become deities of the underworld, the tasting of blood would put the worshipper in unpleasant contiguity with the infernal powers and would be avoided. So in Greek religion<sup>2</sup> the origin of the practice of purification from murder appears to have been the idea that by cleansing with the blood of the pig, a chthonian animal and an embodiment of the earth-goddess, the murderer would put himself in a sacramental union with the offended deity, and in other pieces of ritual blood is connected with death and a new life.<sup>3</sup> But in the case of the flesh it is surely impossible to doubt that the sacrificer ate with the god to put himself in communion with him. When he did not eat, it was because the god possessed some chthonian attribute which rendered too close contact undesirable. So in the case of the spit-ox offering to Rudra, which was by some offered after midnight out of sight of the village, the sacrificer was forbidden to partake of the victim or to carry any part within the village, and people were to be kept away from the vicinity of the place of sacrifice, else the god would harm human beings. This is conclusive proof that the animal became in sacrifice pervaded with the divinity of the god. But Āśvalāyana<sup>4</sup> preserves for us the important notice that on an express injunction the sacrificer might partake of the sacrificial food, which would then bring him great luck. The divinity of the animal was normally too great for safety, but might in a special case be made fortunate use of. The substantial points of difference between the Semitic and the Vedic ideas of the animal sacrifice lie rather in the fact that, (1) though the animal might be chosen because of its close connection with the god, and, in the actual sacrifice, be filled with his divinity,

<sup>1</sup> Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, iv, 8, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Farnell: op. cit., iv, p. 304. Frazer (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 193) and Rohde (*Psyche*<sup>3</sup>, ii, p. 77) differ, but their views are much less probable.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mannhardt: *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 97-99.

<sup>4</sup> Gṛhya Sūtra, iv, 8, 34. Cf. Oldenberg, op. cit., pp. 333 seq.

yet the Indian did not strain this to the logical conclusion<sup>1</sup> that in the death of the victim the god himself died, and (2) that, though the Indian recognised a certain kinship between man and god strengthened in the rite of sacrifice, and realised the quasi-divine character of the victim, yet he did not consider that the victim was of close kin to himself, and that his death was therefore the slaying of kindred blood and a source of sorrow.

There remains one piece of ritual on which a word may be said. Pāraskara, iii, 12, describes a penance for a student who has broken the vow of chastity, which includes the sacrifice to Nirṛti of an ass, the skin of which he then wears for a year. Two explanations of this seem possible. In the sacrifice the ass would be filled with the divinity of the goddess, and so the skin would, if worn, serve to place him in constant communication with the offended goddess. We would, in fact, have an example of the supplicatory sacrament seen in the Greek ritual of purification referred to above. This explanation suits most accurately the rite as it presents itself in the Sūtra since Nirṛti is expressly mentioned. But it is also possible that at the first the reason for the wearing of the ass-skin was different. Loss of chastity may have been conceived in the more primitive sense of loss of virility, and the ass hide may have been worn<sup>2</sup> as a magic spell, as is suggested by the view of some teachers recorded in the Sūtra, iii, 12, 7. In that case it is a fair conjecture that we have a trace of an ass form of the Aśvins, to whom in the primitive form of the rite the offering may have been made—for Nirṛti is not, of course, an early deity. The Aśvins have an ass as their steed and may well have been themselves conceived as in ass form, for they are reckoned as like buffaloes and flamingoes and their steeds are sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Farnell, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 284, on the death of the priest of Apollo in the *Karneia*.

<sup>2</sup> For similar spells cf. the use of a tiger-skin in the Rājasūya (Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 145), and of a bull's hide—to confer strength and long life—in the funeral rite, Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, iv, 6, 8. So also at the Vājapeya, Hillebrandt, p. 142. Cf. Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 324, 325, 330, 356, 357.

buffaloes and flamingoes,<sup>1</sup> while the steeds of the sun are no doubt originally the sun himself. Now it can hardly be without significance that the Ásvins in myth so often renew the virility of the aged or infirm as in the cases of the myths of Cyavāna, Kali, Ghosā, Hiraṇyabasta, the cow of Śayu, etc.<sup>2</sup> The connection with them of the ass can hardly be independent of this fact, whether it is that the Ásvins owe their position as givers of fertility to a primitive identification with the ass or the identification is due to their powers of fertility. But in this, as in practically all points in connection with religion, we must be content with bare probabilities.<sup>3</sup> The most formidable rival to the theory of the wearing of the ass-skin here adopted is the totemistic, especially as in Mycenaean religion<sup>4</sup> there have been seen by some clear traces of the sacred character of the ass and the existence of a totem clan. But we find no clear evidence in India of anything similar. That the ass was an embodiment of the corn-spirit is no doubt possible, and in that case the ritual of fertilisation in the Lupercalia at Rome<sup>5</sup> may be compared as showing the power conceived to be resident in the thongs of goat-skin used by the priests. But here, again, other Indian evidence for the ass as a corn-spirit is wanting.

Still more difficult is the problem presented by the *puruṣamedha* in its various forms. One set of cases is, however, comparatively simple. In the Agnicayana, one of the opening ceremonies is, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi, 2, 1, 5, a sacrifice of five male victims—a man, a horse, a bull, a ram, and a he-goat. There were optional forms of sacrifice, but we may follow Weber<sup>6</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Bloomfield: *J.A.O.S.*, xv, p. 270. Probably they were once conceived as horses (Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 73).

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell: *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> If the ass is so regarded, this would explain its presence with the horse and goat—both representing deities—at the Agnicayana (Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–80). From Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xi, 15, it appears to represent the Ásvins.

<sup>4</sup> Cook: *l.c.*, pp. 81 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Warde Fowler: *op. cit.*, pp. 320, 321. Maunhardt: *op. cit.*, pp. 113 seq.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Stud.*, xiii, pp. 218 seq. Shāh Jahān placed decapitated criminals in the foundations of Shāhjahānābād (Manucci, *Storia del Mogor*, i, p. 183).

regarding this form as bearing clear signs of great antiquity, as it has parallels among the Latin, German, and Slavonic peoples, as well as among many savage tribes of to-day. The belief in the efficacy of blood, especially human, to secure the permanence of a building by its use in the composition of the cement stands in no special relation to any religious belief, and is merely a piece of magic, though possibly the view that blood had this mystic power was due to the fact that it was offered to the earth and demons like the Rakṣases,<sup>1</sup> who in part represent the souls of the dead. The outpouring of blood might be deemed to attract their favour, and their partaking of the blood might give the mortar, in making which the blood was used, especial strength. Another part of the ritual consisted in preserving the heads of the victims to form part of the lowest of the layers of the structure. The idea of this practice was doubtless to secure active watchers to guard the altar. A similar motive has plausibly been seen in the head-hunting of the natives of Borneo.<sup>2</sup>

Much more serious problems are presented in the ritual of the Rājasūya<sup>3</sup> and the Puruṣamedha proper. That there was ever a human sacrifice in the former ritual rests merely on the fact that at one point the story of Śunaḥsepa was recited. As another story, with presumably the same contents, was recited at the Puruṣamedha,<sup>4</sup> it is impossible to feel any certainty as to whether we can accept the view that there was ever any human sacrifice in the Rājasūya itself. There remain, therefore, as evidence of human sacrifice the clear account of the Puruṣamedha in Śāṅkhāyana, which evidently contemplates an actual sacrifice, and the legend of Śunaḥsepa, which is certainly, as Weber urges, extremely old in character. At first the story appears to point to a ritual in which the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-164; Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62.

<sup>2</sup> Furness: *Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters*, p. 59. So among the Was, *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, i, 1, pp. 496 seq. Cf. however, Burdon, *The Khasis*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Weber: *Über der Königsweihe*, p. 52. Hillebrandt: *Ritualliteratur*, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> Weber: *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, p. 10. Oldenberg (*op. cit.*, p. 366) appears to accept the view that there once was a real sacrifice.

king's son was regularly put to death, as may have been the case with the royal line of Athamas in Greece,<sup>1</sup> and as has been conjectured to have been the case with the kingly lines who worshipped Attis, Adonis, and Osiris in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.<sup>2</sup> There are also widespread legends of the slaying of kings and their children. But the explanation of these legends may well often be different. Dr. Frazer interprets them on the basis of the divine character of the king-priest. From time to time the king must be slain to preserve the strength of the vegetation spirit. In the course of time the inconvenience of slaying the actual ruler permitted the substitution for the sacrifice of some mimic rite, or the victim ceased to be the king, and became merely one of the royal house, who would also be partly divine. The facts can also be quite satisfactorily explained on the totemistic hypothesis. For if the animal of sacrifice is akin to the clan, and is treated in the sacrifice as human, as is no doubt the case, the tendency, especially in time of trouble, to substitute<sup>3</sup> for the theanthropic animal a man and one of the purest blood would be very great, and the practice might, in times when totemism had disappeared through religious conservatism, be continued until abolished on humanitarian grounds. Still, a third explanation is possible. The earliest conception of sacrifice may have meant the actual consumption of the victim by the god, but undoubtedly the tendency of the idea was to become merely that of a gift to gratify the god. In time of national calamity it would be felt essential to appease the wrath of heaven at any cost, and so the king would be expected to sacrifice his most precious possession, his eldest son and heir. Thus the Carthaginians did in time of defeat, and so did Mesha of Moab, while Hamilcar at Himera offered his own life as an offering for victory.<sup>4</sup> We need, perhaps,

<sup>1</sup> Farnell: *op. cit.*, i, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer: *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 12, 34, 38, 85, 182, 314. I do not, however, consider the conjecture probable.

<sup>3</sup> Farnell: *op. cit.*, ii, p. 441. Robertson Smith: *op. cit.*, pp. 345 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer: *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 34, 39.

see no more than a recollection of such a custom in the legend of Hariścandra.

The *Puruṣamedha*<sup>1</sup> presents other problems. In the first place, it is impossible to regard that rite in the form in which it has been preserved to us as more than a mere duplicate of the *Aśvamedha* save for the substitution of a man for a horse in the offering to Prajāpati. The ritual agrees with that of the *Aśvamedha* very closely in all details, and the *Vaitāna Sūtra* accurately expresses the relation in the words (xxxvii, 10) *puruṣamedho 'śvamedhavat*. Dr. Hillebrandt<sup>2</sup> has, indeed, argued with much ingenuity that the man-sacrifice was the source of the well-known *R̥g*-vedic verses x, 18, 8, and 85, 21, 22, but this attempt has not received much support,<sup>3</sup> and so the strongest piece of the evidence he urges for the antiquity of the practice disappears. He also argues that, had the sacrifice not been a real one, the Brāhmaṇas would not have preserved a record of it, since it involved the death of one of their own order, but this is to take an excessively optimistic view of human nature, and in any case the victim might equally be a Kṣatriya, according to Śāṅkhāyana. There can be little doubt that the Delphic Oracle, in many ways a distinctly civilising influence, nevertheless encouraged the idea of the peculiar efficacy of human sacrifice,<sup>4</sup> and priests who assisted in the vast slayings of animals prescribed at the *Aśvamedha* and actually practised as late as Aśoka's time,<sup>5</sup> can hardly be credited with superabundant compassion. It is, then, perhaps legitimate to conjecture that the *Puruṣamedha* owed its existence to a priestly improvement on the *Aśvamedha*, while the fusion of the *Śunaḥśepa* legend with

<sup>1</sup> Weber: *Ind. Streif.*, i, pp. 53 seq.; *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, pp. 9 seq. Hillebrandt: op. cit., p. 153. Oldenberg: op. cit., p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> *Z.D.M.G.*, xl, pp. 708 seq.; *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1889, pp. 418 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 226, and see now Oldenberg, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1907, p. 218, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Farnell: op. cit., iv, pp. 208-210.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hillebrandt: p. 152. Even the *Mahābhāṣya* (*Ind. Stud.*, xiii, pp. 335 seq.) recognises, not only the *Aśvamedha* (Vincent Smith, *Early History*, p. 177), but also *sattras*—though not *dirghasattras*—as performed.

the ritual of the human sacrifice suggests, as does the optional choice of a Kṣatriya for the victim, that the practice was not uninfluenced by the custom which may have existed of offering the son of a king from time to time as a *piaculum*. Another influence, doubtless, was that of myth,<sup>1</sup> in the shape of the legend of the creation of the world by the sacrifice of Puruṣa, which would find its counterpart in the human sacrifice. This is the view presented in the text of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, xxx, xxxi, where the ceremony is merely a type of the sacrifice of Puruṣa. No doubt such instances of myth producing cult are rare, but there is a clear example in the offering of a dwarf-animal to Viṣṇu referred to by Dr. Hillebrandt.<sup>2</sup> To what extent the sacrifice was actually carried out must remain doubtful. It is, however, important to notice that the Puruṣamedha was a rare offering, inasmuch as it could only be made after the victim had been allowed a year's freedom<sup>3</sup> and enjoyment of all he desired. We may therefore suspect that the rite was seldom, if ever, put in force, and this would explain the fact that so little notice is taken of it in literature, whereas the Aśvamedha is constantly referred to, and that when mentioned it is nearly always in conjunction with the Aśvamedha.

To this conclusion, which reduces to very moderate dimensions human sacrifice in Vedic cult, it may plausibly be objected that the Vedic Indians can hardly have failed to practise a rite of which instances are found in very many religions, and were known to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. But it may be noted that such sacrifices are usually bound up with the worship of the earth-goddess regarded as a vegetation deity,<sup>4</sup> and such a cult is not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Griffith: translation of White Yajur Veda, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Thiere und Götter*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> The parallelism with the Mexican rites described by Sahagun and others is striking as far as regards this point. But the rule is found in the Aśvamedha, and seems originally to have been due to the solar character of that rite, and in other points the parallel breaks down.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, ii, pp. 238-248; Mannhardt *Baumkultus*,

prominent in the Vedic pantheon. Further, we cannot postulate that religions all pass through the same stages, and, although Vedic worship shows many signs of the primitive customs of an agricultural and pastoral people, it cannot be proved that the Indians must have accepted human sacrifice as part of such customs. But here, as elsewhere, we must be content with probabilities.

If, then, we accept the view that human sacrifice is not a characteristic of Vedic religion, we must assume that Hinduism owes to the earlier Indian races, Kolarian or Dravidian, the human sacrifice which is admittedly a constant feature of the worship of Śiva and Durgā from the times of the Epic downwards.<sup>1</sup> In this ritual it can hardly be doubted that Śiva appears as a vegetation spirit and Durgā or Kālī as the earth-goddess, and the nature of the sacrifice as a spell to secure good crops appears clearly in the practice among the Khonds<sup>2</sup> of scattering pieces of the victim's flesh over the fields, while, as in Mexico, it was deemed a good sign if the victim wept copiously. On the other hand, sacramental eating of the victim in the sacrifice at Jaintia<sup>3</sup> seems proved, and, while it can be explained without recourse to totemism, it may point to such a system. The prevalence of matriarchy<sup>4</sup> among the Khasis tends to point in the same direction, since matriarchy is often associated with totemism. There is a tradition in the Nongstoin State<sup>5</sup> that the Siems are descended from a stag, and, while mere animal names of clans are inconclusive, this claim of descent is significant.

pp. 359-361; Farnell, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 19, 20; Dieterich, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft.*, 1904, pp. 10 seq. The sacrifice among the Khasis (Burdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 seq.) may have been an offering to propitiate the earth-goddess, or merely an offering to the snakes. The sacramental meal at Jaintia (*ibid.*, p. 102) is noteworthy.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, pp. 378, 474; Hunter, *Indian Empire*<sup>2</sup>, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Macpherson: *Memorials of Service in India*, p. 113. Farnell: *op. cit.*, iii, p. 20, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Gait: *J.A.S.B.*, 1898, pt. i, quoted by Burdon, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sir C. Lyall in Burdon, p. xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Burdon, p. 72.

The Palaungs of Burma,<sup>1</sup> who on linguistic grounds are deemed to be closely connected with the Khasis, trace the descent of their Sawbwas from a Nāga princess, and their women wear to this day a dress which is like the skin of the Nāga. It is a fair hypothesis that, among the other facts<sup>2</sup> of the worship of Nāgas, we may find place for a totemistic worship of snakes by tribes of kindred blood with the Khasis. If so, probably several elements<sup>3</sup> went to form the basis of human sacrifice in the ritual of Śiva and Kālī, though of later years the sacrifice as accepted by the priests was doubtless regarded merely as a piacular rite. A notice in the Śaktānandatarāṅgiṇī<sup>4</sup> confines to kings the right to offer the sacrifice, possibly a confused reminiscence of the old Puruṣamedha.

<sup>1</sup> Burdon, pp. 15, 16, and *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 744, 745. *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, i, 1, pp. 484 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Well summarised by Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 223, 224.

<sup>3</sup> One source may have been the desire to provide the god, not with food, but with a servant or wife. So in Mexico many of the cases of human sacrifice seem to have been intended to provide brides for the deity (Sahagun, trans. by Jourdanet & Simeon, pp. 147, 148).

<sup>4</sup> First pointed out by Aufrecht, *Bodhran Catalogue*, p. 103.



## XXXII.

## THE CHILD KRISHNA, CHRISTIANITY, AND THE GUJARS.

By J. KENNEDY.

THE alleged influence of Christianity on the early development of Hinduism has long been a subject of investigation and controversy. Weber summed up in a masterly manner all that had been said for the one side; while with equal acumen Barth criticised and denied his conclusions. The discussion has had the effect of restricting the controversy to two points, both connected in the main with the worship of Krishna. The first relates to the Hindu doctrine of faith, or *bhakti*, as an essential condition of salvation, and has been dealt with by Dr. Grierson in a recent number of this Journal.<sup>1</sup> The second refers to the origin of the child Krishna, his legend, and his cult, and is the subject of the present essay.

The problem may be stated thus. We have in the Krishna of Dwārakā a great nature-god of immemorial antiquity, worshipped in the Kābul mountains and the Indus Valley. We also have a child Krishna who is not a nature-god at all, and has nothing in common with the elder Krishna except the name. The genesis of this child can be traced back to Mathurā and to the beginning of the sixth century A.D. This cuckoo nursling usurps the place of the ancient hero; and the multifarious elements of his legend, and the clumsiness with which they have been fitted together, show that he is no natural development, but a forcible adaptation of something foreign. Some of the *dramatis personæ* in the legend are Buddhist and others are Hindu, while the story itself betrays a 'marvellous'

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S. 1907, p. 311 ff.

similitude to the stories, evangelical or apocryphal, of our Saviour's nativity and infancy. How, then, account for the origin of this child? Some regard him as a pure Hindu, and connect his worship with that of the Divine Mothers or some similar source; others would make him a Buddhist. In opposition to these hypotheses it is here maintained that the idea of this child god was suggested by the Christian observances of some tribe of Scythian<sup>1</sup> nomads, possibly the Gujars. The discussion falls into three divisions. The first deals with the points of historical contact between Christianity and Hinduism during the first five centuries of our era. The second is devoted to an analysis of the history and character of Kṛishṇa of Dwārakā. The third part will deal with the origin of the child Kṛishṇa and his connection with the nomads.

But it is well to remind the reader that in all such discussions one thing should be borne in mind. "The Hindus," said Albē rūnī, "believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no science like theirs."<sup>2</sup> The Hindus, although eager to learn from outsiders, have never been willing to admit any obligations. And their boast is supported to some extent by the fact that whatever they have borrowed in religion, science, or art, they have disguised and metamorphosed. Hinduism is a viscous stream which absorbs, transmutes, and disguises everything. And yet it neither acknowledges any obligation, nor admits of any fundamental alteration. The Christianity of the third century, says Harnack, marked everything with the Cross; Hinduism marks everything with its own genius. Professing never to change, it changes incessantly. But it is only the surface which is ruffled; the depths move very slowly or not at all.

<sup>1</sup> Scythian is a convenient designation for all the tribes of Central Asia which invaded India between the second century B.C. and the sixth century A.D., since it is devoid of any racial connotation. The tribes on the northern and eastern frontiers of Persia and along the Hindu Kush were, some of them, akin to the Iranians; others were of Turki stock; others more or less Mongoloid, as they are at present. (J.R.A.S. 1906, p. 181 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> Albē rūnī, *India*, tr. Sachau, i, 22.

## I. EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES AND INDIA.

Missionary zeal has in all ages been able to make converts,<sup>1</sup> but any modification of a popular religion by a foreign cult requires a gradual infiltration of ideas and the long-continued contact of different communities. If, therefore, Christianity influenced the development of Hinduism, both must have dwelt together for a considerable period. There were three such points of contact during the first five centuries—Alexandria, the western sea-coast of the Dekhan, and the north-western frontiers of India; and we have to determine which of the three was in the best position to influence popular Hinduism. We begin with Alexandria.

India had direct communication with the Roman Empire by way of Alexandria during the first two centuries of our era; after that time the main tide of traffic was diverted to the Persian Gulf. Now, Dio Chrysostom casually mentions the existence of a small colony of Hindu traders at Alexandria in the time of Trajan, and the Gnostic Basilides was probably acquainted with some of its members.<sup>2</sup> We have no further notices of this colony, but it must have come to an end with, or shortly after, Caracalla's massacre of the Alexandrians in 215 A.D., a massacre which involved natives and foreigners in an equal ruin.<sup>3</sup> And this was only the beginning of the evils which befell Egypt in the third century. Egypt had

<sup>1</sup> Missionary zeal, pagan and Christian. Sir Alfred Lyall has shown in a famous essay that Hinduism is a great proselytising religion, and the same thing might be shown of many of the pagan religions of antiquity. Isis, Mithras, Cybele, and in fact most of the Thracian, Phrygian, Asiatic, and Egyptian cults which overspread the Roman Empire, are instances in point. Missionary zeal was often dangerous to the proselytiser, and Phryne was tried for her life because she had introduced an orgiastic Thracian worship among the women of Athens.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Chrys., *Orat.* xxxii, quoted in my "Buddhist Gnosticism, the System of Basilides" (*J.R.A.S.* 1902, p. 377 ff.), where the relation of Basilides to Indian beliefs is discussed.

<sup>3</sup> Dio Cassius (lxxvii, 22, 23) expressly mentions the slaughter of foreigners. Caracalla expelled the surviving foreigners who were not merchants. Spartian (*Caracalla*, c. 6) simply says: "Dato militibus signo ut hospites suos occiderent, magnam eadem Alexandree fecit."

ceased to be the granary of Rome, and it had not yet begun to supply Byzantium. The peasants were oppressed with intolerable taxation; many turned brigands. The savage Blemyes raided the upper country, and cut off the caravans between Coptos and the Red Sea. A later massacre laid Alexandria in ruins and reduced its population to a third; and a pretender to the empire and a foreign invasion completed the ruin of the country. But the first and most far-reaching of all these calamities was Caracalla's massacre, which put an end to the direct trade with India. That was transferred in part to Adule, and in part went to swell the trade by way of the Persian Gulf; and the rise of the Abyssinians to power<sup>1</sup> and the glory of Palmyra may both be traced to this cause. With Caracalla the hoards of Roman coins in Southern India, which so abundantly illustrate every Roman emperor from Augustus downwards, come suddenly to an end,<sup>2</sup> a striking proof of the entire cessation of the Indian trade.<sup>3</sup> When the series is resumed in the time of Theodosius and his successors, the finds are smaller and the succession more broken. The travellers who went to India—Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Theban Scholastikos, and others—took ship at Adule.

The Indian settlement at Alexandria which came to an end in 215 A.D. was never re-established. In some respects this was of little consequence, since these Indian merchants were not of a class likely to spread a knowledge of

<sup>1</sup> In 333 A.D. Ezanes, the ruler of Axum, could boast that he had subdued a large part of Southern Arabia. His Greek inscription, first copied by Salt (Valentia's Travels, iii, 181), has been the subject of much learned discussion. The conquests of the nameless king, whose inscription at Adule Cosmas copied, date from the latter part of the third century according to Glaser (McCrindle's Cosmas Ind., ii, 59).

<sup>2</sup> R. Sewell, "Roman Coins found in India": J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 591 ff. A few stray coins of Gordian have turned up; in one case they were brought into the country centuries afterwards; the others may possibly be evidence of the trade of Firmus mentioned in the following note.

<sup>3</sup> Vopiscus says of Firmus, the rich Alexandrian merchant and pretender to the empire, whom Aurelian slew: "*Idem et cum Blemiyis societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis. Naves quoque ad Indos negotiatorias saepe misit.*" The direct trade to India was therefore still fitfully carried on by paying blackmail to the Blemyes; but I find no other proof of its existence for at least two centuries. (Vopiscus, "Firmus," c. 3.)

Christianity. Dio Chrysostom tells us<sup>1</sup> that they were men from the sea-coast, and held in little consideration by their countrymen. They seem to have been chiefly Dravidians from the south of India, speaking a Dravidian tongue.<sup>2</sup> Hiuen-tsiang describes their successors as rude and unintellectual men versed only in the business of the bazars. And the Greek traders were not very different. The "Periplus" never mentions religion. If the Hindu traders were unlikely to receive the Gospel, the Alexandrian Christians in the days of the Antonines were not likely to attract the notice of a foreigner. Their religion was prohibited, their meetings were private, and for the most part they belonged to the Hellenic section of the population. Thus any direct importation of Christianity from Alexandria is improbable. The zeal of Pantæus (c. 180 A.D.) and doubtless of other missionaries carried them to India; but they came to a country where the last traces of Greek settlers had disappeared, and where Jews<sup>3</sup> were more at home than Hellenes.

It is true that in the fifth and sixth centuries—if not, indeed, at an earlier time—some learned Hindus were acquainted with Alexandrian astronomy and astrology, and understood Greek technical terms. The Rāmaka-Siddhānta gives rules for the meridian of Yavanapura; and Bāṇa, it is said, refers to a Greek romance.<sup>4</sup> The revival of the study of Greek and of Greek science is a part of the literary and scientific renaissance which characterised the Sassanians and the Indians in the fifth and sixth centuries. The famous Christian school of Edessa, which afterwards

<sup>1</sup> Dio Chrys., Orat. xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Hultzsch recognises some words of Kanarese in a fragment of a Greek farce, which represents a Rājā talking an Indian tongue (J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 399 ff.). Pliny distinguishes one of the three Kalingas by a Dravidian numeral. Other examples will be found in Bishop Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar.

<sup>3</sup> Jews traded to the mouth of the Indus (Abiria or Ophir). Pantæus found in India Christian Jews from the Persian Gulf, and Ietroune gives *graffiti* of Jews in Egypt engaged in this Indian trade. We also hear of a colony of Jews in Afghanistan in the second century A.D., and the legend of S. Thomas mentions a Jewish slave-girl.

<sup>4</sup> D'Alviella: "Ce que l'Inde doit," etc., pp. 99 ff. and 136.

migrated to Nisibis, was the centre of this study; but it is more likely that the few Hindus who knew anything of Greek science got their knowledge directly from Alexandria. Despite the fanaticism of the Christian populace, the Neo-Platonist school of Alexandria flourished throughout the fifth century, and had celebrated pagan professors, like Proclus and Isidore. Although the main commerce of the East went by way of the Persian Gulf, it is not surprising to hear of Brāhmans who visited Alexandria about 500 A.D. and were entertained in the house of an ex-Consul, Severus.<sup>1</sup>

But the influence of Alexandria was confined to a few savants. No Hindu community existed in Alexandria after the second century, and no wind from Alexandria could affect the popular religions of India.

The Christian communities which existed on the western sea-coast of India from the second century consisted of Jewish and Persian traders.<sup>2</sup> They were few in number, and appear to have been chiefly planted among Dravidian peoples: Cosmas Indicopleustes only mentions churches in Male and Calliana on the Malabar coast, and in Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> The clergy and the leading members of the community

<sup>1</sup> Damascios in Photii Bibliotheca, ed. Bekker, ii, p. 310, quoted by D'Alviella, "Ce que l'Inde doit," etc., p. 167 (Hoeschelius, col. 1041). As the passage is curious, I translate it: "There came Brāhmans down [the river:] to Alexandria to Severus, who entertained them in his own house with befitting hospitality. They lived at his house in a grave and honourable fashion after the manner of their country, neither frequenting the public baths or the sights of the town; rather they shunned to be seen abroad. They lived on dates and rice, and water was their drink. These men neither belonged to the Brāhmans who pass their time in the hills, nor were they of those Indians who live in towns; rather they belonged to both in their manner of life, since they served the hill Brāhmans in whatever was needed from the towns, and were intermediaries for the townsmen in matters which required the assistance of the hill Brāhmans. Concerning these hill Brāhmans they said pretty much what writers always say, that by their prayers they brought rain and cloudless weather, and could bring about or avert famines, and had means of warding off other ills, as many as were irremediable otherwise. They also told us of one-footed men who lived among them, and of seven-headed dragons of a monstrous size; and many other incredible things did they relate."

<sup>2</sup> Pantenus found some Christians who used a Hebrew (i.e. Aramaic) copy of S. Matthew's Gospel; and long afterwards we have Jewish names among the trustees of the church at Cranganore on a copper-plate grant of the ninth century (I.A. iii, 310). Otherwise we hear of Persians.

<sup>3</sup> McCrindle: Cosmas Ind., iii, 119, and xi, 365.

were foreigners long after this time,<sup>1</sup> although the story of Theophilus<sup>2</sup> proves that there were also native Christians; but it was almost impossible for these small communities of the South to have exercised any considerable influence on the evolution of Northern Hinduism.<sup>3</sup>

But one set of Christian communities, those, I mean, on the north-western frontiers of India, fulfils the conditions of the case. I have treated of this subject elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> but it will be convenient to summarise the evidence.

Bardaisan, the great Gnostic of Edessa, tells us that in his time (the early part of the third century) Christian communities existed among the Bactrians and the Gelae, as well as in Parthia, Media, and Persia,<sup>5</sup> and the evidence

<sup>1</sup> Burnell: I.A. iii, 308 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The story is well told in Medlycott, "India and the Apostolic Thomas," p. 188 ff. The original will be found in Migne P.G. and L., vol. lxx. The Bishop is, I think, the first ecclesiastical writer to recognise the perfectly obvious fact that Theophilus was a native of the Maldives—obvious to anyone who remembers that the Greek  $\beta$  represents a Latin *v*. The sceptical reader may consult Rae, "The Syrian Church in India," p. 96 ff.; but it is well to warn him that although I agree with Rae against the Bishop in the matter of Pantenus, I consider Rae's account of Theophilus both inaccurate and misleading. For the Indian mission of S. Thomas, see Phillips, I.A. xxvii (1903), pp. 1 ff., 115 ff.; Fleet, J.R.A.S. 1905, p. 223 ff. I have treated at some length of the history of S. Thomas and of these Persian settlements in the south of India in the S.P.G. Quarterly, *The East and the West*, April, 1907: "S. Thomas and his Tomb at Mylapore."

<sup>3</sup> I do not wish to deny all missionary activity to these Malabar and Singhalese Christians. They made a number of converts in their own neighbourhood, and the tomb of S. Thomas at Mylapore on the east coast of India was 'discovered' by a Christian hermit, apparently about the beginning of the sixth century. We read of a monastery of S. Thomas in Ceylon in the middle of the fourth century A.D. (Labourt, "Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Persé," p. 606), and the monks wandered far and wide, and were the chief missionaries of the East. About 780 A.D. the Chinese Emperor presented a dress of honour to, and bestowed a title of rank upon, a Nestorian missionary, an Indian, who came, says Le Quien, "ex regno Pagodum in India" ("Oriens Christianus," ii, cols. 1267-8). But the chief element in the churches of Malabar and Ceylon was foreign, and if any missions were ever undertaken to Northern India they have been unrecorded.

<sup>4</sup> J.R.A.S. 1907, p. 477 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *ὅτε οἱ ἐν Παρθίᾳ Χριστιανοὶ πολυγαμοῦσι, Πάρθοι ὑπάρχοντες, οὐθ' οἱ ἐν Μηδίᾳ κυρί παραβάλλουσι τοὺς νεκροὺς, οὐχ οἱ ἐν Περσίδι γαμοῦσι τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν, Πέρσαι ὄντες, οὐ παρὰ Βάκτροις καὶ Γήλοις φθείρουσι τοὺς γαμοὺς, etc.* (Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, vi, 10). "Neither do the Christians in Parthia, although Parthians, indulge in polygamy, nor do those in Media expose their dead to the dogs, nor do the Persian Christians marry their daughters, nor do those among the Bactrians and the Gelae corrupt their marriages." The Christians were numerous (*πολλοὶ ὄντες*). Eusebius ascribes his quotation to Bardaisan the Syrian. Modern scholars generally ascribe the Syriac work "De Fato" (from which the quotation is taken) to his son; but in any case the work dates from the

of Origen, although negative, confirms Bardaisan's statement.<sup>1</sup> John, the Persian, who attended the Council of Nicæa in 325 A.D., signs himself "Bishop of the Church of Persia and Great India," by which it is most reasonable to understand the India in immediate contact with the Persian Empire, the India of the Indus Valley and the plains beyond it, where Parthian chiefs had ruled, and where Sussanian influence was afterwards predominant. We hear of a Bishop of Merv in 334 A.D.; and in 424 A.D. the Bishops of Herat and Merv attended a synod held by the Katholikos on the border of Arabia. Elisæus, an Armenian historian of the middle of the fifth century, tells us that in the time of Iazdgerd II (438-457 A.D.) Christianity had spread over all the intervening regions and as far as India.<sup>2</sup> In the first half of the following century the Katholikos made special regulations for the Churches of Seistân. It was the custom of the Sussanian monarchs to transplant their Christian captives, taken in the Roman wars, to their eastern frontiers; and these captives brought with them the arts of the West and a knowledge of Christianity. Persian monks were zealous

third century, and is quoted with some alterations and dramatic additions in the Clementine Recognitions, ix, 19-29. Mr. Phillips, in his admirable synopsis of authorities for the Indian mission of S. Thomas (I.A. xxxii, pp. 1 ff., 145 ff.), has quoted this passage from the Clementine Recognitions, not noticing that the passage itself is a quotation, and that the words "As Thomas, who is preaching the gospel amongst them (i.e. the Parthians), has written to us" are a dramatic touch added by the author of the Recognitions, and without historical value. The omission is serious, as prominence is given to the extract from the Clementines. I may add that the followers of Bardaisan himself were to be found in Bactria for several centuries, although they did not form communities.

<sup>1</sup> "Nondum est prædicatum evangelium regni in toto orbe. Non enim fertur prædicatum esse evangelium—nec apud Seras nec apud Ariacin," etc. (Origen in Matt. Comment., quoted by Harnack, "Expansion of Christianity," ii, p. 159). Origen is defining the countries which Christianity had reached by enumerating the limits beyond which it had not passed. The Seres are, of course, the Chinese of Central Asia. Ariakê follows after Barygaza in the "Periplus," and, according to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indriji, it is the equivalent for Aparāntikā, the name of the western coast of the Dekhan. The MS. of Origen is corrupt, and Ariakê is merely an editorial emendation. No stress can be laid upon it.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Drouin, "Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites" (Louvain, 1895), p. 31. Drouin says: "Le christianisme pénétrait peu à peu dans l'Iran où l'on construisait des chapelles et des monastères; de l'Iran jusque dans le pays des Kouchans, les parties méridionales de l'empire, et jusqu'aux Indes." The Ephthalites adopted a Nestorian alphabet in the fifth century.

missionaries, and carried Christianity to wild districts and to wilder tribes. It is to a Persian or a Bactrian monk of the fifth century that we owe the story of Barlaam and Josaphat.<sup>1</sup> Christian monks and captives had spread Christianity among the White Huns in the last half of the fifth century; in the sixth the White Huns possessed a Bishop of their own. Finally, Cosmas Indicopleustes, the great Nestorian traveller and monk, affirms from his own personal knowledge that "the whole world has been filled with the doctrine of the Lord Christ. . . . Among the Bactrians and Huns and Persarmenians and Elamites and throughout the whole land of Persia there is no limit to the number of churches with bishops, and very large communities of Christian people, as well as many martyrs, and monks living as hermits."<sup>2</sup> And subsequent testimony shows that Cosmas was not exaggerating either the numbers or the importance of the Christian communities.<sup>3</sup> Now, we have seen that these communities were planted among the Huns and other barbarian tribes of Bactria, Scistān, and Herat; they appear to have influenced the art of Gāndhāra, and they were in constant contact with the Indian Brāhmins of those parts, who were numerous.<sup>4</sup>

The Buddhism of Central Asia admittedly borrowed much from Christianity; and the frescoes of the Ajanta caves represent scenes from the life of the Sassanian Court. Barsuyah, the physician of Anushirwān and the translator of the fables of the Pañchatantra, was possibly a Christian.

<sup>1</sup> The original work was probably in Pahlavi. "Barlaam und Josaphat," von E. Kuhn, p. 39. Sachau has proved the existence of a considerable Christian Pahlavi literature: J.R.A.S. (N.S.), IV, 230 ff. (quoted by Kuhn).

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle: "The Christian Topography of Cosmas," iii, pp. 119-120. Gibbon refers to this passage ("Decline," etc., c. 47).

<sup>3</sup> The Nestorian Patriarch Jesuab (650-660 A.D.) says: "Plenus est orbis terrarum episcopis, sacerdotibus, et fidelibus, qui tanquam stellæ celi de die in diem augentur."

<sup>4</sup> Παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Βάκτροις εἰσὶ χιλιάδες πολλὰ τῶν λεγομένων Βραχμάνων (Bardaisan in Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, vi, 10). "There are many tens of thousands of those called Brāhmins among the Bactrians and the Indians." "There are likewise amongst the Bactrians, in the Indian countries, immense multitudes of Brāhmins," as the Clementine *Recogn.* (ix, 20) put it. The companions of Alexander reckoned Brāhmins among the hill tribes of Kābul; and we have frequent references to the Brāhmins of Kābul and Bactria in subsequent writers.

The political influence of Persia throughout the highlands of Kābul and the western borderland of India was great, if intermittent, and there was a constant intercourse both of commerce and religion. The looms of Kaśmīr supplied the trousseau of the King of Kābul's daughter, whom Hormisdas II married, and Kaśmīr shawls were among the most admired of the gifts which the embassy of Bahram I carried to the Roman emperor Aurelian.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Bhavishya-Purāṇa, Magas of Śakadvīpa introduced their sun-worship at Multān.<sup>2</sup> It cannot be denied that the Christian communities on the north-west frontier were in a position to exercise a considerable influence upon the Scythic tribes invading India, and on the Brāhmins of the borderland.<sup>3</sup>

## II. KRISHNA OF DWĀRAKĀ.

Syncretism, the subsumption of different gods under a common name, and the gradual evolution of a single personality out of many, is the commonest way by which a pagan god attains to supreme dominion. Cicero says that there were four Jupiters; Diodorus Siculus counts three Dionysoi; and the Theban Herakles had many counterparts. The Pharaohs elevated Amen-Ra to be the

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson: "Seventh Oriental Monarchy," pp. 106 and 141. Kaśmīr is not mentioned by name, but is, I think, clearly indicated if we take both passages into account. Vopiscus (Aurelianus, c. 29) says that this Kaśmīr shawl ("pallium breve purpureum lanestra") was to be seen in his day in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. "Hoc munus rex Persarum ab Indis interioribus sumptum Aureliano dedisse perhibetur, scribens: Summe purpuram qualis apud nos est." None of the Roman dyes could approach the Indian at that time, nor could European dyes compete with them until quite recently.

<sup>2</sup> Gujarāt Gazetteer, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 142, where Wilson's works, vol. x, pp. 381-385, and Vishnu-Purāṇa, Preface, xxxix, are referred to.

<sup>3</sup> For the facts relating to the spread of Christianity in the East see J. Labourt, "Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perso sous la dynastie Sassanide," Paris, 1904; Harnack, "Expansion of Christianity," vol. ii, pp. 292-300 (Eng. trans.); W. Barthold, "Zur Geschichte des Christenthum in Mittel-Asien"; and Le Quien's monumental work, "Oriens Christianus," Parisii, 1740, vol. ii. Le Quien belonged to the order of the Preaching Friars.

guardian god of Egypt, although Amen and Ra continued to be separately worshipped. And the history of Indian religion abounds in examples of the fusion or subordination of totally distinct deities.<sup>1</sup> Kṛishṇa is a capital instance, for, besides the child Kṛishṇa, we have at least three other Kṛishṇas.

*First.* There is a chief of Dwārakā, famous for his cunning and his craft rather than his prowess, who plays a leading part in the epic of the great war, and yet holds only the inferior rank of a charioteer. An Asura is his cousin; he marries the daughter of the Bear King; and with another wife he contracts a Rākshasa marriage—that is, no marriage at all. He kills his uncle the King of the demons. His townfolk of Dwārakā are drunken and dissolute, and perish in a drunken brawl, and they live surrounded by Ahirs and robber tribes. The Indus Valley was the land of degraded Āryas, Śūdras, and Abhīras, according to the Vishṇu-Purāṇa<sup>2</sup>; and the Mahābhārata declares the Kshatriyas of Kṛishṇa's time to be far inferior to the Kshatriyas whom Paraśurāma had humbled and destroyed.<sup>3</sup> This heroic Kṛishṇa, a very Indian counterpart of the Grecian Odysseus, is famous for his 'policy,' a policy which consists in breaking every law of honour in force among the Kshatriyas. He acts a part often acted in the subsequent history of the Rājapūts, the part, for instance, of the Bhil chiefs who so greatly aided the Sisodias; and although the bards of the Mahābhārata have bestowed on him the complimentary rank of a Yādava, he is clearly no Aryan, but a dark-skinned indigenous hero of the Lower Indus.

*Second.* As a god the dark Kṛishṇa is associated with his elder brother, the white Balarāma, and his ensigns are

<sup>1</sup> In the days of the early Roman Empire this was carried so far as to reduce all the gods to one. "Some say that Apollo and Helios and Dionysos are the same, and that is your opinion, while many reduce all the gods simply to one single power and might, so that it makes no difference whether a man worships this one or the other" (Dio Chrys., Orat. xxxi, Rhodiaca).

<sup>2</sup> Wilson: Vishṇu-Purāṇa, translation, p. 481.

<sup>3</sup> Mahābhārata, Sabha-Parva, § 14; P. C. Ray's translation, p. 44.

the thunderbolt and the goad. Now, Balarāma is clearly a harvest god. He has a voracious appetite, and is full of jollity and drunkenness. He "annihilates the prowess of his enemies by the glances of his eyes that roll with the joys of wine." His weapon is the ploughshare, with which he cuts his wife down to suit his stature<sup>1</sup>; his standard is the toddy-palm. After the harvest comes the rainy season, the Indian Winter. After the lustrous Balarāma, with his wheat-fields whitening for the harvest, comes his brother Kṛishṇa, dark as a cloud, and of an ebon hue, a god who follows close on the harvest, and shares with Balarāma the title of Dāmōdara, the god 'with a cord round his belly,' as the wisps encircle the wheat-sheafs. A god who is also the hero of many a solar myth, the slayer of the demons, who dives under the sea, and slays Kaiṁsa and Kēśi and Madhu, this semi-agricultural, semi-solar, or atmospheric god is evidently connected with the dark sun and the storms of the rainy season, and his shrine is at Dwārakā on the sea-shore, where the sun dips into the boundless western ocean.

This elder Kṛishṇa is of immemorial antiquity, and is associated with certain other personages; he is always the son of Dēvakī and Vasudēva, and the younger brother of Balarāma, the slayer of Asuras, Daityas, and demons of every kind. He was a great god on the north-west frontier, as we shall see, before the arrival of the Macedonians, and Professor Bhandarkār has noted seven references to him in the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali, proving that his most famous feats were well known in the second century B.C.<sup>2</sup> A brilliant passage in the third book of the Mahābhārata, but of a much later time, describes his contest with the Daitya king Śālwa, who had besieged Dwārakā.<sup>3</sup> I refer to this passage more especially because it thinly veils the solar character of the god, and helps, I think, to establish a date. The poet makes

<sup>1</sup> Being more successful in this than was Baillie Nicol Jarvie, when he attacked his Highland opponent with the same weapon.

<sup>2</sup> I.A., vol. iii (1874), p. 14 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Mahābhārata, iii, Vana-Parva, §§ 15-22; P. C. Ray's translation, p. 49 ff.

Śālwa and Kṛishṇa shower arrows numberless as the sunbeams on each other; they produce innumerable suns by magic illusions. Kṛishṇa is sore bested; he piles a mountain of rocks—towering banks of clouds—upon his (solar) chariot, and dives under the sea to destroy the city of Śālwa. In this battle, be it noted, Kṛishṇa wields the thunderbolt of Indra,<sup>1</sup> and he fits “to his bowstring his favourite weapon of fire, which rises in the air like a second sun” and destroys the city of Śālwa. Kṛishṇa has not yet command of the discus of Viṣṇu or the bow of horn; the weapons of Indra must serve him. From this expedition under the sea, Kṛishṇa finally returns triumphant to Dwārakā on “his car resplendent as the sun.” So far the solar hero. And now turn to the description which the poet gives of the fortifications of Dwārakā, its walls and towers, its towered gateways, the roads and moats strewn with spikes, “the engines for hurling burning brands and fires . . . engines for hurling balls (of stone) and bullets and hot liquids.” “The land around the city for full two miles was rendered uneven, and holes and pits were dug thereon, and combustibles were secreted below the surface.”<sup>2</sup> Now this description is applicable only to a city attacked or defended by catapults, and ballista, and movable wooden towers, and engines for setting them on fire, and by subterranean mines and countermines. The novel art of besieging and defending fortified cities in this fashion was first learnt by the Sassanians from the Romans in the Roman wars; and the siege of Dwārakā by Śālwa reminds us irresistibly of the description given by Ammianus Marcellinus of the siege of Amida in 359 A.D.<sup>3</sup> The fortifications of Dwārakā, as imagined by the Indian poet, cannot well be earlier than the fourth century A.D.; and it follows either that the passage is interpolated, or that, in some parts of Hindustān at any rate, the identification of Kṛishṇa with Viṣṇu was not complete by 300 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhārata, iii, Vana-Parva, § 22: P. C. Ray, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhārata, iii, Vana-Parva, § 15; P. C. Ray, pp. 49–50.

<sup>3</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, xix, 1–8.

*Third.* The original Kṛishṇa of the Indus Valley, non-Aryan hero and semi-Aryan god, Aryan only in name, underwent a gradual *rapprochement* with the great Aryan divinities, with Indra when Indra was in the ascendant, and afterwards with Viṣṇu. Kṛishṇa, as an ascetic, even attempted to outbid the venerable Śiva. But his earliest connection appears to have been with Indra. He was called Upēndra, 'the little Indra,' and Gōvinda, 'the herdsman of the fertilising rain-clouds.' He was, moreover, closely associated with the white Arjuna, another form of Indra, although Kṛishṇa, being an intruder of non-Aryan origin, had to accept an inferior part. Although Kṛishṇa's character was originally shaped by his association with Indra, the final development came from the purely Aryan Viṣṇu. After, probably long after, Viṣṇu had become the personal embodiment of the impersonal and universal divinity, Kṛishṇa took the part of Viṣṇu's chief human representative. In this character he is sometimes a part, a fraction, of the supreme god, born of a black hair of Viṣṇu; sometimes he represents the whole of the divinity.<sup>1</sup> The process of identification must have been gradual; it was apparently not complete until the end of the fourth century A.D.

And now let us see what the Greeks have to say about this hero-god. The Greeks found their own gods everywhere abroad; a mere similarity of names was sufficient. Ptah was short for Hephaistos, Perseus was connected with Persia, Medea with Media, and the Egyptian Neith with Athene, since Neith was Athene spelt backwards. If the identification did not come from a similarity of name, it came from some resemblance of figure or of dress.<sup>2</sup> It was vain for philosophic historians to point out that the names were not really the same, that the foreign gods and their

<sup>1</sup> v. Wilson, *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Preface, pp. ix, xiii, xx, lxxi; trans., pp. 491, 492, 498.

<sup>2</sup> For a long list of identifications between Greek and Egyptian deities see the Greek inscription set up by the officials of Ptolemy Euergetes II at Sehele, near the first cataract. Letronne, "Recueil des Inscriptions, etc., de Egypte," *Inscr.* xxxii.

attributes were entirely different, and that some other Greek god represented them more closely. The popular imagination was alone responsible for these identifications, and it found them everywhere. And so, when the Macedonians took it into their heads that the Paropamisus was the Caucasus, they must needs locate in it the deliverance of Prometheus by Herakles. This was confessedly somewhat uncertain, but when they came to the town of Nysa they could no longer doubt. Nysa appears to have been situated in the wild mountainous region between the Kābul river and the Indus: by the Greeks it was sometimes included in India, sometimes placed outside it. The town lay on the lower slopes of Mt. Mēros,<sup>1</sup> and the country abounded in the wild vine and the ivy: in laurel, myrtle, and box. Euripides had invented, or made famous, the triumphs of Dionysos in Bactria—the land of exile for the Greek subjects of the Achaemenian kings; and the Macedonians had now alighted on an Indian Dionysos. Were not the wild vine and the ivy the special emblems of the god? Moreover, the local princes (like all the kings of India) observed Bacchanalian fashions: they wore flowered muslin dresses, not unlike those in which the attendants of Dionysos were clad: when they went to war, or to the chase, they were surrounded by a bodyguard of women, and accompanied with the clash of cymbals and of drums. These Indians loved music and the dance; and, seeing their dances, the Macedonians bethought them of the choric dances of the satyrs in Greek comedy. The Indians ascribed all their customs to the institution of the god. Clearly Dionysos had here set up his worship; and for ten days Alexander and his army crowned themselves with ivy, and worshipped the son of Semele, indulging in Dionysiac revelry, many pretending to be inspired by the god, and to be seized with a divine frenzy.

Dionysos had been found. It was next the turn of Herakles. Alexander's most famous feat of arms in this region was the storming of the mountain citadel of Aornos.

<sup>1</sup> Nysa and Mēru seem to have been common names throughout this whole region. The famous horses of the Persian kings came from the Nysæan plains.

According to some legend, the origin of which is unknown, a great Indian god whom the Macedonians identified with Herakles had failed to take it. Alexander the Herakleid had therefore outdone Herakles his ancestor. The vanity of Alexander loved, and the policy of Alexander dictated, his identification with the gods of the countries he subdued. His whole Indian campaign appears to have kept in view the conscious imitation of Herakles and Dionysos; he set up their exploits as an incentive to his soldiers; and when he had escaped from the sandhills of Mekran, he proceeded through Karmania in a Dionysiac triumph which became famous throughout the Hellenic world, and furnished a model for the pageants of the Ptolemies and Seleucids.<sup>1</sup> It became the fashion to represent Dionysos in a chariot drawn by gigantic elephants; and, in the time of the later Antonines, Alexander and Dionysos were sometimes regarded as almost one.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen the signs by which Dionysos was identified—the wild vine and the ivy, the crowds of women, and the Bacchanalian customs of the kings. The Indians furthered the identification. They said that their god was a hero-god, who had taught them the arts of agriculture, given them laws, and settled them in cities; and these were among the very benefits which Dionysos had conferred on the Greeks.

The marks of Herakles were different. In Greece, from

<sup>1</sup> The chief authorities for the Indian Dionysos and Herakles are Diodorus Siculus, ii, 38-39 (also more briefly, iii, 63); Arrian's "Indica," c. 5, 7, 8, and 9; Strabo, xv, 8 and 58. All these authors base their accounts mainly on Megasthenes. Nysa, Aornos, and the revels in Karmania are mentioned by all the historians of Alexander—especially by Quintus Curtius, who lays emphasis on Alexander's attempts to imitate Hercules and Father Bacchus. The Sibi, the Malli, and Oxydrace are mentioned by all the historians. See more especially Arrian, *Anabasis*, v, 4-14, for the Oxydrace; for the Sibi, Strabo, xv, 8 (also McCrindle's notes in "Ancient India—its invasion by Alexander the Great," pp. 350-1 and 366). For the Brachmanes, Garmānes, Pramnæ, and Gymnetæ as described by Megasthenes, see Strabo, xv, 59, 70, and 71, and for the worship of Zeus Ombrios and the Ganges, Strabo, xv, 69. For Prometheus, Arrian, *Anabasis*, v, 3, and Strabo, xv, 8. All these passages have been translated by McCrindle.

<sup>2</sup> Augustus used a seal with the head of Alexander; and Caracalla carried his imitation of Alexander to the extent of a craze. Among other things he led elephants about with him, *ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον μιμεῖσθαι δόξει* (Dio Cassius, lxxvii, c. 7), "so that even in this point he might appear to imitate Alexander or rather Dionysos."

the fifth century downwards, Herakles was invariably characterised by his club and his lion's skin.<sup>1</sup> These two were also the characteristics of the Indian Herakles; "the dress which this Herakles wore resembled that of the Theban Herakles, as the Indians themselves admit." The Sibi, a people of the Panjāb, and noted for their devotion to Herakles, dressed themselves in the skins of wild animals, carried clubs for arms, and branded their oxen and their mules with the mark of a club. Unlike the Indian Dionysos, the Indian Herakles had never travelled beyond India; he left many sons, but only one daughter, Pandaia, whom he married when she was seven years old.

The identification of the Indian Herakles is fairly easy. The Greek Herakles figures on the Indo-Scythic coins of Kadphises I, and is replaced by the Indian Śiva on coins of Kadphises II. Under the name Oesho, and with various attributes including the club, Śiva figures on coins of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva.<sup>2</sup> Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that the incarnation of Śiva as Lakulīśa, "the lord who bears the club," goes back to this very period.<sup>3</sup> It is held that the name of the people called Sibi in Sanskrit,—the Sibai of the Greeks, who mention them as descendants of the followers of Herakles,—marks them as special worshippers of Śiva, the letters *b* and *r* being constantly interchanged. Lastly, Herakles' daughter, Pandaia, recalls the kingdom of Pandion or Pāṇḍya, a famous kingdom of Southern India,<sup>4</sup> while we infer from the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo doubts the existence of an Indian Herakles, on the ground that his dress did not correspond with the ancient Greek *ἐόρα*: but Roscher, *Lexicon* (s.v. Herakles), says that from the fifth century B.C. the club and the lion's skin were the invariable characteristics of Herakles.

<sup>2</sup> "Oksho [properly Oesho] is a standing figure, evidently suggested by that of Herakles." On some of Huvishka's coins he has three heads and four arms. "With one hand he grasps a club which rests on the ground; the second hand holds a trident; the third a thunderbolt; the fourth a water-vessel." On other coins of Huvishka he is represented as a naked mendicant. Coins of Vāsudēva represent him with the trident and the moon, and sometimes with, sometimes without the humped bull Nandi. Cunningham enumerates seven different representations of Oksho [Oesho] on the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva. Cunningham, "Coins of the Kushāns," pt. iii, pp. 100-101.

<sup>3</sup> J.B.B.R.A.S., xxii, pp. 151-165; and see Fleet, in J.R.A.S. 1907, pp. 419-426.

<sup>4</sup> Periplus, c. 54 and 59. Pliny, H.N., vi, 105.

"Periplus" that Kumārī was especially worshipped at Cape Comorin.<sup>1</sup> Now, the Dravidians of this region are still noted for their devotion to Śiva, and Kumārī is at once his Śakti, his daughter, and his wife.

The Indian Dionysos cannot be so directly identified, for the Bacchanalian pomp of the kings and the bodyguards of women were common, as the Greeks admitted, to all the monarchs of India. We have a representation of an Indian Dionysos on a silver patera, an ancient heirloom of the Mirs of Badakshan.<sup>2</sup> The god is seated in his car, and is drawn in triumphal procession by two women; cupids attend him; a nimbus is round his head, a wine-cup in his hand; and a drunken Herakles, with club and lion-skin, follows the chariot. The patera is probably the work of a native artist,<sup>3</sup> but it is copied from some late Greco-Roman design, and it tells us nothing of the personality of the god, although it confirms the existence of his cult. Fortunately we have proof from another source to show that Dionysos is identical with Kṛishṇa. In the second century B.C., and consequent on the troubles which followed the break-up of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, an Indian tribe from the north-west frontier took refuge with the Parthian Valarsaces (149–127 B.C.), and ultimately settled in Armenia.<sup>4</sup> The tribesmen brought with them their two gods, whose names sounded to the Armenians like Gisane and Demetr. The nearest Indian equivalents are Kṛṣṇ and Dāmōdara, that is, Kṛishṇa and Balarāma.<sup>5</sup> Gisane had long hair, and his worshippers

<sup>1</sup> The "Periplus" mentions the cape and haven of Komar (Cape Comorin). It says that it was a sacred bathing-place frequented both by men and women, especially by persons who intended to devote the rest of their life to celibacy (Periplus, c. 58).

<sup>2</sup> Sir G. Birdwood ("The Industrial Arts of India," p. 147) gives a representation of this patera, and a full description of it.

<sup>3</sup> Fergusson supposed that the patera might have formed part of the spoils of Antioch when Chosroes I captured it; but the wheel of the chariot is thoroughly native; the spokes are far too numerous for a Greek or Roman chariot.

<sup>4</sup> According to an old tradition mentioned by Dr. Stein another colony of Indians migrated about the same time from Taxila to Khotan; and Lassen mentions various tribes which are said to have fled eastwards from the Panjāb, in consequence of the irruption of the Yavanas.

<sup>5</sup> Dāmōdara is a title generally of Kṛishṇa, but it is also applied to Balarāma. Wilson's Vishṇu-Purāṇa, trans., p. 570.

wore their hair long, and held it sacred by his command; on this point they were fanatical. Now Megasthenes tells us that Dionysos "instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god."<sup>1</sup> These Armenian Indians had come from the country where the Greeks discovered the Indian Dionysos, and Dionysos and Krishna must thus be identical.<sup>2</sup>

The later Greek and Roman writers adhere to the practice of calling Śiva Herakles, but the Indian Dionysos went out of fashion except among poets and writers of romance. Diodorus Siculus calls the second great Indian god Osiris,<sup>3</sup> and certainly there are many points of resemblance between Krishna and Osiris; both were dark, both had a divine brother and a history, and while the one represented the nightly sun, the other was associated with the travails of the Winter sun hidden behind the clouds of the monsoon. But the Egyptian Osiris was himself always identified with the Greek Dionysos;<sup>4</sup> and Diodorus may have meant nothing more in calling the Indian god Osiris; at any rate he displays no special knowledge of the Indian god.

Clemens of Alexandria is a much more important witness, for Clemens was well informed about Indian affairs, and in all probability got his information from his teacher Pantænus, who had visited the west coast of India. Now Clemens tells us that the Indians of his day (that is, the Indians of the west coast of India in the end of the second century A.D.) worshipped Herakles and Pan.<sup>5</sup> It is not quite certain

<sup>1</sup> Arrian: *Indica*, c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.A.S. 1904, pp. 313-314. Cunningham ("Coins of Ancient India," preface, pp. vii-viii) identifies Herakles with Śiva, but he makes Dionysos to be Sūryadeva, the Sun-god.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic., i, 19. McCrindle translates the concluding sentences of c. 19 and the first words of c. 20 ("Ancient India," p. 201), but gives a wrong reference.

<sup>4</sup> In the Ptolemaic inscription at Schele, already referred to, Dionysos is identified with Pet-en-p-Amenti, 'he who is in the Amenti,' i.e. Osiris. The identification here is based on the fact that Dionysos was a god of the underworld: it was possible for the Greeks to regard Krishna also as the representative of the Winter sun, the sun of the underworld. But I doubt if Diodorus meant anything more than I have said in the text.

<sup>5</sup> Clemens Alex., *Strom.*, iii, c. 7, p. 194 Syl.

which Pan Clemens meant, but probably it was the Orphic Pan, and the Greek conception of the Orphic Pan is closely akin to that of Vishṇu.<sup>1</sup> The value of Clemens' statement is brought out by a story given by Bardaisan.<sup>2</sup> "In the kingdom of Sandanes," says Bardaisan, that is, in the Western Ghats, there was a sacred cave of the Indians with a colossal statue of their supreme god. He was represented as half male and half female. On his right breast the sun was engraved, the moon on his left; "while on the two arms was artistically engraved a host of angels and whatever the world contains, that is to say, sky and mountains and sea and a river and ocean, together with plants and animals, in fact, everything." Everyone recognises this as Śiva-Ardhanārīśwara; and Bardaisan's description shows that by the second century A.D. Śiva had attained the highest rank as an embodiment of Pantheistic divinity. In the time of Alexander, according to Strabo, the Brāhmins taught that "the deity who made and governs the worlds is diffused through all its parts."<sup>3</sup> But this deity was neither the Herakles nor the Dionysos of that time, nor does he appear to have had a distinct personality. He was the neuter Brahman. The idea of a personal embodiment of this divinity, and his identification with a great popular god, develops itself between the third century B.C. and the second century A.D., and reaches its

<sup>1</sup> Clemens' statement is perhaps confirmed by an inscription at Redesiye, the second of the three halting-places between Edfu and the seaport of Berenice, the entrepôt of the Egyptian trade with India. It was customary for travellers to record their thanks for a prosperous journey in the ancient temple of Chnemu, or Pan, which stood there, and gave its name to the locality, *ὑδρευμα τοῦ Πανελου*. One of these travellers, an Indian named Sophôn (Subhānu?), expresses his gratitude to "Pan, the protector of my journey, and the hearer of my prayer" (J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 402; Subhānu is Hultzsch's suggestion). The epithets *εὐδοτος* and *ἐπήκοος* were the standing epithets employed by every traveller in these dedications; even Jews used them. It is doubtful, therefore, whether Sophôn was not merely paying his respects to the local deity; he may not have meant any Indian god at all. A full account of this fortified hydreuma, or caravanserai, and its inscriptions, will be found in Letronne, op. cit., vol. ii, Inscr. clxxvii, etc. The two Jewish inscriptions are the most curious.

<sup>2</sup> Given by Stobæus in an extract from Bardaisan (either directly or from a passage preserved by Porphyry), and translated by McCrindle, "Ancient India," pp. 172-174.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, xv, 59.

culmination in Śiva-Ardhanārīśwara; and if Viṣṇu be meant by Clemens' (Orphic) Pan, as apparently he is, then Viṣṇu, the perpetual rival of Śiva, must also have been worshipped as an embodiment of the supreme god in Western India before 200 A.D.

But whether Pan be Viṣṇu or not, there appears no trace at this time of the cult of Kṛishṇa in the Western Dekhan. For the great distinction between Kṛishṇa and Śiva was that the cult of Kṛishṇa was confined to the mountains and the Indus Valley, while the cult of Śiva existed all over India. Megasthenes tells us that the "philosophers of the hills" worshipped Dionysos, while Herakles was worshipped in the plains.<sup>1</sup> By 'the hills' the companions of Alexander meant the mountains of Kābul and of the delta between the Kophen and the Indus; neither they nor Megasthenes knew anything of the Himālayas, and it is doubtful if they had heard of Kāśmīr. All the peoples and localities connected with Dionysos belong to this north-western region: Nysa and Mēros, and the Armenian Indians, and the silver patera which I have described. The Oxydracæ also and the Malloi were worshippers of Dionysos. The people of the Jhelam sang Bacchic songs, and according to Quintus Curtius the name of Father Bacchus was famous on the lower Indus. Unlike the Indian Herakles, the Indian Dionysos was worshipped beyond the confines of India proper. He was worshipped in the regions west and north-west of the Indus, which were sometimes included in Ariauē, sometimes in India. The statement of Polyænus may have been suggested by Euripides, and is of little value,<sup>2</sup> but according to Polyænus he was worshipped in Bactria also. Doubtless the Brāhmanas of Bactria worshipped him. In fine, the god of Dwārakā was the chief god throughout the hills of the north-west frontier and in the Indus Valley.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xv, 58.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle: "Ancient India: its invasion by Alexander." p. 340.

<sup>3</sup> This was true down to Mahomedan times. Albērūnī, who was well acquainted with this region, knew only the Vaiṣṇavas. He scarcely mentions Śiva. Albērūnī's India, vol. 1, Preface, p. xlvii, tr. Sachau.

Herakles, or Śiva, was the god of the plains, and had never left India, so the Greeks were told. His images were carried before the soldiers of Porus; the Śibi (Shivis) of the Panjāb bore his name; the Śūrasēnas, whose capitals were Mathurā and Cleisobothra, were devoted to him; he had founded Palibothra at the junction of two streams, and many other cities; his daughter ruled the country of Pandion; and he was worshipped in Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> As Ardhanārīśwara he was worshipped in the Western Ghats. The statements of the Greeks are borne out by the Buddhist Pāli writers. They mention Mahādēva and Īsāna and priapic genii, but they make no mention of Kṛishṇa. He does not belong to this Buddhist world of Magadha and the Middle country.<sup>2</sup>

The statements of the Greek writers, thus interpreted, enable us to catch a glimpse of the great religious revolution that took place between the time of Alexander and the age of the Guptas—a revolution in which the foundations of modern Hinduism were laid. In the third century B.C. Śiva was worshipped throughout the length and breadth of India; pilgrimages to holy waters and holy sites were peculiarly meritorious; and argumentative Buddhist Śramaṇas and Jain Digambaras were to be found in numbers on the north-west frontiers long before the advent of the missionaries of Asoka. Indra, the Ganges, and the local cults were especially honoured in the Gangetic Valley; and the Brāhmins occupied themselves in their schools with speculations on an omnipresent, although impersonal, divinity. Kṛishṇa of Dwārakā had no part in this world of the interior, but he was supreme in the Indus Valley and the mountains of Kābul. Viṣṇu was great as yet only in Pañchāla, that is to say, in the country of the upper Doāb and Rohilkhand, which was the peculiar home of Brāhmanism.<sup>3</sup> With the invasions from

<sup>1</sup> "Coli Herculem" (Pliny, H.N., vi, 22).

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids' suggestive work, "Buddhist India," pp. 235-6.

<sup>3</sup> He is represented only on the coins of Pañchāla. Cunningham: "Coins of Ancient India," p. 84. The legends of these coins are in letters "somewhat later than Asoka's date, but I think earlier than the Christian era" (p. 90).

the north-west an era of political and religious fermentation began, which took definite shape by the end of the first century A.D. The old exclusiveness of the twice-born Āryas was to some extent broken down—Yavanas, Śukas, Parthavas, and Pahlavas were admitted to the rank of Kshatriyas; Indra and the sacrificial system fell into the background; while Brāhman philosophy allied itself to the popular religions, and Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa, Śiva, and Buddha<sup>1</sup> were exalted by their respective worshippers to unique monotheistic divinity. The development of the Vaishṇava cult is perhaps the most remarkable, as it was certainly the most progressive, feature in this religious evolution. The theory of incarnations, whereby Vishṇu became great, is peculiar neither to Hinduism nor to Vaishnavism. Every god temporarily assumes a material shape, as the Mahābhārata expressly tells us;<sup>2</sup> Indra did not disdain to be born as the son of Kusamba;<sup>3</sup> and ultimately all the heroes of the Great War came to be reckoned incarnations of the gods.<sup>4</sup> But the incarnations of Vishṇu differ from all others in that they were undertaken for the salvation of the earth or of the gods. Vishṇu is essentially a *θεὸς σωτήρ*, a saviour god.<sup>5</sup> A similar idea found expression in the nearly contemporary evolution of the Buddhist Avalōkitēśwara, a creation of the Bactrian Buddhists, and not uninfluenced perhaps by Christianity.<sup>6</sup> Far down into the Middle Ages the worship of Vishṇu was chiefly connected with his earlier incarnations

<sup>1</sup> Buddha is "l'êtré existant par lui-même." "Le dieu au dessus des dieux." "Il est dieu par lui-même." Lalita Vistara, trans. Foucaux, tom. i, pp. 85, 90, 107 (Musée Guimet, vi).

<sup>2</sup> "The incarnations on earth of portions of every deity." Mahābhārata, Sabhā-Parva, § 36, P. C. Ray's trans., p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's Vishṇu-Purāṇa, trans., p. 399.

<sup>4</sup> Barth: "The Religions of India," p. 167, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Nārāyaṇa, says an inscription, "is entirely devoted to [the welfare of] the universe." (Fleet, "Gupta Inscriptions," (C.I.I., vol. iii), p. 161.)

<sup>6</sup> For Avalōkitēśwara, see Cowell, I.A. viii, p. 219 ff. Also Fergusson and Burgess: "Cave Temples of India," *passim*. The so-called Buddhist litany, a frequent subject in the later caves, is best seen in pl. iv, and described on p. 358. Avalōkitēśwara appears from heaven to save his worshippers from the wild elephant, the tiger, and the snake, from shipwreck and the sword, etc. The cult of Avalōkitēśwara seems to me to throw considerable light on the development of the Hindu doctrine of *bhakti*.

as the Boar, the Dwarf, or the Man-lion. But he had the happy power of identifying himself with the local hero-gods who possessed a history—with Rāma and Buddha and Kṛishṇa. Kṛishṇa was among the latest of these identifications,<sup>1</sup> and we have some data for determining the time. He is not mentioned in the Buddhist books, or in the laws of Manu; and we have seen that in some parts of India he was still identified with Indra after 300 A.D.: Apparently he does not become identified with Viṣṇu until the time of Kālidāsa, that is, not until the fifth century A.D.; Kālidāsa completely identifies the two according to Weber. In the Tuśām inscription, an inscription from the Panjāb of the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D., Kṛishṇa's wife, Jāmbavatī, is brought into connection with Viṣṇu.<sup>2</sup> In Skandagupta's inscription at Junāgaḍh, dated 455-6 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> it is said that Viṣṇu [Kṛishṇa] "became (incarnate and) human by the exercise of his own free will." Another inscription of Skandagupta mentions Kṛishṇa by name.<sup>4</sup> So far the external evidence. Viṣṇu, the latest of the Vedic gods to start on a great career, had become the chief personal embodiment of the divine essence by the second century A.D.; and by the fifth century he had assimilated to himself Kṛishṇa of Dwārakā, the ancient hero-god of the north-west frontier, whose star had long been in the ascendant. It remained for a younger Kṛishṇa to contest with both the favour of the multitude.

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhārata, Śānti-Parva, Pt. C. Ray, ii, pp. 774-5, where Kṛishṇa is stated to be one of the latest incarnations of the god. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa makes him long posterior to Viṣṇu's incarnation as Buddha. Wilson, V.P., tr., pp. 338-341. For a different opinion see Barth, "The Religions of India," p. 167, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Viṣṇu, who is a mighty lily on the water-lily which is the face of Jāmbavatī:" Fleet: "Gupta Inscriptions," (C.I.I., vol. iii), p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet: "Gupta Inscriptions," (C.I.I., vol. iii), p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet: *ibid.*, p. 55.

## III. KRISHNA OF MATHURĀ.

We have discussed at length the ancient Krishna of Dwārakā; we now turn to the child Krishna of Mathurā.

It is generally agreed that the little Krishna is much younger than the hero-god. "The childhood tales of Krishna are of late (Purāṇic) origin, and most of the cow-boy exploits are post-Epic," says Professor Hopkins.<sup>1</sup> In the second book of the Mahābhārata, Śiśupāla is made to reproach Krishna with the low and servile employments of his youth among the cowherds, but Professor Hopkins says that "the scene has been touched up by a late hand;" and the references to Mathurā in the epic are all suspicious according to Wilson.<sup>2</sup> Weber considers the Jain traditions to represent the oldest form of the Krishna legend, and they know nothing of a pastoral Krishna.<sup>3</sup> Krishna, infant and youth, first makes his appearance in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa and the Harivamśa, works usually ascribed to the sixth century A.D. Some small bas-reliefs in the smaller Vaishṇava temple at Bādāmi are the first sculptured representations of his youthful freaks, and these sculptures do not go back beyond the last half of the sixth century at the earliest.<sup>4</sup> So far the direct evidence. On the other hand, a remark in the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta, composed soon after 455-6 A.D., would seem to indicate an older form of the legend which was subsequently altered. Skandagupta, describing his joyful return home after

<sup>1</sup> Hopkins: "Religions of India," p. 457. "It is certain," says Mr. Growse, "that Krishna was celebrated as a gallant warrior prince for many ages before he was metamorphosed into the amatory swain who now, under the title of Kanhuia, is worshipped throughout India" (Growse, "Mathurā," p. 50). All my references are to the second and much enlarged edition of this work published in 1880.

<sup>2</sup> "It is doubtful if Krishna the boy, and his adventures at Vrindāvan, were not subsequent inventions," i.e. subsequent to the completion of the Mahābhārata. "There are no allusions to them in the poem of an unsuspicious nature." (Wilson, Vishṇu-Purāṇa, trans., p. 492, note 1.)

<sup>3</sup> So says Weber, I.A., vol. xxx (1901), p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> I.A., vol. vi (1877), pp. 364-5.

a campaign against the Pushyamitras, says that he "betook himself to his mother, whose eyes were full of joy, just as Kṛishṇa, when he had slain his enemies, betook himself to his mother Dēvakī."<sup>1</sup> This must therefore have formed a famous incident in the killing of Kaiṁsa, but in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa it entirely disappears. Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, having destroyed the demon king, take notice for the first time of Vasudēva and Dēvakī, and prostrate themselves before them; Vasudēva makes a long Brāhmanical speech, Dēvakī says nothing, and, indeed, she had not set her eyes on the boys since they were born. In these circumstances the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century may be assigned as the birth-time of the infant Kṛishṇa.<sup>2</sup>

And Mathurā was his birthplace; at least, no other city has claimed the honour, although Dwārakā was always his 'favourite city' in the Epic and in the older time. We have seen that Mathurā was originally a capital of the Śūrasēnas, and the Śūrasēnas were devoted to Herakles, that is, to Śiva—of which more hereafter. Mathurā was afterwards entirely Buddhist and Jain; *Μόδοῦρα ἡ τῶν θεῶν*, Ptolemy calls it, probably from the multitude of its Buddhist and Jain images. Fa-hian (400 A.D.) found it entirely Buddhist. Buddhism was declining in the time of Hiuen-tsiang (630-644 A.D.). It is now the sacred capital of the infant Kṛishṇa.

These literary notices are borne out by the antiquarian remains. With one or two exceptions all the ancient sculptures and architectural remains found at Mathurā are Buddhist or Jain. An Ionic column and a feeble bas-relief of an unmistakable Herakles strangling the Nemean Lion show the former presence of the Bactrian Greeks.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fleet: "Gupta Inscriptions," (C.I.I., vol. iii), p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Although the Mahābhārata represents Kṛishṇa as an ascetic who passed long periods of time in penances on the banks of the Jamnā (Vana-Parva, § cxv, P. C. Ray, p. 381), Mathurā is nowhere mentioned among the various and conflicting lists of *tīrthas*, a proof of the lateness of the child legend, and that it was later than the story of the White Island, one of the latest passages in the poem.

<sup>3</sup> On the Greeks at Mathurā, v. Growse, pp. 99-100.

There is also a bas-relief of a large-limbed, portly, drunken man, discovered by Colonel Stacey in 1836, and called by him a figure of Silenus. Mr. Growse discovered a replica of this in 1874, and with the help of the other bas-reliefs on the same stone he has turned it into a Buddhist story, the story of an anchorite who fell, tempted by women and by wine.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Growse appears to me right; the work appears to be the work of a native artist, and similar Buddhist drinking scenes are common on the bas-reliefs at Sāñchi and elsewhere. At any rate, Silenus is a mere fanciful title; there is nothing to show that Silenus was ever known in India, or that the figure is rather that of a drunken Silenus than of a drunken Herakles.<sup>2</sup> The Śūrasēnas cannot have been devoted to Kṛishṇa, for they fought against him in the Great War, and Śūrasēna is the ancient name of a famous shrine of Mahādēva, now better known as Batesar, on the Jamnā.

And now for the legend of the young Kṛishṇa. Certain elements of it are obviously Hindu, and borrowed from the story of the older Kṛishṇa. Vasudēva, Dēvakī, Balarāma, Kainsa, and the story of his death at the hands of Kṛishṇa, could not be omitted; they are referred to by Patañjali, and were an integral part of the well-known legend.<sup>3</sup> Weber has shown that the names of some of the other chief *dramatis personæ*, especially Yaśōdā and Nanda, the reputed mother

<sup>1</sup> Growse: "Mathurā," 2nd ed., p. 155. Mr. Growse discusses the subject very fully. A full account of the Mathurā sculptures is given in his work, and in vol. iii of Sir A. Cunningham's Archaeological Reports. Mr. Growse also quotes in full the statements of Fa-hian and Hsien-tsiang regarding the Buddhism of Mathurā; and Mr. Watters devotes twelve pages to a commentary on Hsien-tsiang's visit to the place ("On Yuan Chwang," vol. i, pp. 301-313). He points out that Hsien-tsiang makes no mention of Buddhist (or other) religious establishments in the district round Mathurā. Braj had not yet become a sacred land, to the Buddhists at any rate—a proof that Buddhism had nothing to do with the invention of the story.

<sup>2</sup> The comic and drunken Herakles was a common subject in Greek literature and art after the time of Alexander.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the names, some of the details have been taken from Hindu sources. The story of Gōvardhana is imitated from Rāvana carrying off Kailāsa. When Parāśurāma visits the son of Daśaratha at Ayōdhya, he sees in the body of the youthful hero the Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, Pitris, the seas, the mountains, the Vedas, and Upanishads—in short, the three worlds (Vana-Parva, § xcix, P.C. Ray, p. 316), precisely as Yaśōdā afterwards perceived them in the mouth of the infant Kṛishṇa.

and father of Kṛishṇa, are borrowed from Buddhist sources ;<sup>1</sup> in other words, the new Kṛishṇa had his origin amid Buddhist surroundings.

Two other elements remain—the Christian, or what is supposed to be the Christian, and the pastoral. The honours paid to Dēvakī, the birth in a stable, the appearance of the star, the flight of Vasudēva with the infant, the massacre of the male children by Kamsa, and the part of the Baptist played by Balarāma, as well as various miracles,<sup>2</sup> bear a striking resemblance to the story of our Saviour's birth and infancy, whether as related in the New Testament or in the Apocryphal Gospels. It is true that the most striking of these coincidences are found only in the ritual which is of an uncertain date ; but even in its earliest form the framework of the story has an undeniably Christian look, while the similarity of name between Kṛishṇa and Christos makes a transfer, or rather an adaptation, of the story quite intelligible. Assuming for the moment that there is a certain amount of Christian colouring, note the following facts.

1. The religion of the nomads of Braj was a novel one. In the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, Kṛishṇa is made to say to Nanda and the nomads : “ We are sojourners in the forests, and cows are our divinities ; what have we to do wit' Indra ? Cattle and mountains are our gods. Brāhmins offer worship with prayer ; cultivators of the earth adore their landmarks ; but we who tend our herds in the forests and mountains should worship them and our kine.”<sup>3</sup>

2. Kṛishṇa offers himself as the new object of worship. “ Upon the summit of Govardhana, Kṛishṇa presented himself, saying, ‘ I am the mountain ’ ; and partook of much food presented by the Gopas ; whilst in his own form

<sup>1</sup> Weber : “ Indische Streifen,” vol. iii, p. 428.

<sup>2</sup> The Apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew supplies, I think, the nearest parallels to the stories in the fifth book of the Vishṇu-Purāṇa. The story of the crooked damsel Kubjā is usually compared with the Gospel story of the woman who had an issue of blood ; but the manner in which Kṛishṇa pulls the unguent-maker straight (Wilson, Vishṇu-Purāṇa, tr., p. 550) is exactly the way in which the youthful Christ makes two pieces of wood equal by pulling them out to the same length. (Pseudo-Matthew, c. 37.)

<sup>3</sup> Wilson : Vishṇu-Purāṇa, tr., p. 524.

as Kṛishṇa he ascended the hill along with the cowherds, and worshipped his other self.”<sup>1</sup> Here Kṛishṇa substitutes himself for Indra, a child-god for the king of the gods.

3. Unlike the elder Kṛishṇa, whose divinity is intermittent, the infant Kṛishṇa is always divine. He does not require to summon the discus and the bow of horn by an effort of the will; in pure playfulness he sports with the deadly dragons, and bruises the serpent's heads, and kills demons in the lightness of his heart; he is always conscious of effortless divinity, always lord of life and death; exercising the powers of omnipotence with the wanton carelessness of a child.

4. The young god is a pastoral divinity, a wanderer in the meadows and the woods, the coryphæus of the dance, the young musician.

“Singing he was, or floyting alle the day.”

As Muralidhara he carries a pipe, a musical instrument used only by Gujars and Ahirs. He has little in common with the elder Kṛishṇa, who is not a pastoral but an agricultural divinity, and the brother of the harvest god. The elder Kṛishṇa wields the ox-goad, and must therefore be connected with the ploughing season and the plough, while he borrows from Indra the epithet of Govinda,<sup>2</sup> but he has no especial connection with cows, nor does he mix with the Ahirs, who tend their cattle in the plains round Dwārakā. Much less is that grim warrior a flutist or a dancer.

5. The new god is not only a child-god, but an embodiment of childhood. It was a maxim of the Greeks that all the gods were born; all the Indian gods also were born, Māheśwara was the son of a god,<sup>3</sup> and the Mahābhārata mentions the birthplace of Kuvera.<sup>4</sup> Thus every god is supposed to have grown up and to have had a history; and

<sup>1</sup> Wilson: Vishṇu-Purāṇa, tr., p. 525.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Grierson informs me that the epithet Govinda has really nothing to do with cattle, but is equivalent to Upendra, ‘the little Indra.’

<sup>3</sup> “Māheśwara, le fils d’un dieu” (Lalitavistara, trans. Foucaux, vol. i, p. 102: Annales du Musée Guimet, vii).

<sup>4</sup> Mahābhārata, Vana-Parva, § lxxxix; P. C. Ray, p. 293.

although the childhood of most Hindu gods is unrecorded, yet the legend of Rāma's youth and of that of some other hero-gods is preserved. But in these cases the legend of the child is a part of the legend of the hero, and subordinate to it. But the child Kṛishṇa is worshipped, not because he is an unfledged version of the ancient hero, but simply because he is a child, the darling of Hindu mothers, Bālaji. Now, the divinity of childhood is an idea which the world owes to Christianity,<sup>1</sup> and it is this idea which the child Kṛishṇa expresses, however imperfectly.

6. It has required some violence to fit the Gospel narrative to a Hindu framework. Mary is the mother of the Saviour; and Yaśōdā believes herself to be the mother of Kṛishṇa, while Nanda knows that the child is not his. Thus, the relations of Nanda and Yaśōdā to the infant Kṛishṇa exactly resemble those of S. Joseph and Mary to the infant Saviour. "When Yaśōdā awoke," says the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, "she found that she had been delivered of a boy as black as the dark leaves of the lotus, and she was greatly rejoiced."<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth is the mother of the Baptist; and therefore Kṛishṇa's brother, Balarāma, must needs be (for the occasion) the foster-brother of Kṛishṇa. With the usual extravagance of Hindu mythology, this is done by transferring Balarāma from the womb of Dēvakī to Rohiṇī. Thus the old and well-known relations of the actors have been violently ruptured in order to fit them for their novel parts. On the other hand, the killing of Kāṁsa by his nephew found a complete and natural justification in the massacre of the Innocents.

Pastoral nomads were the companions of the youthful deity, and it was to them that he first revealed himself. They form the last, and perhaps the most important, element in the evolution of his history. The legend sharply

<sup>1</sup> This assertion requires an essay to itself, but if anyone will compare the miserable infant whom the Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia holds in his hand with the divine children of the Italian painters, he will be able to realise the vast gulf of feeling that separates the pagan from the Christian school.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson: Vishṇu-Purāṇa, tr., p. 503.

distinguishes them from the citizens of Mathurā. They live entirely among their cattle, moving from place to place ; they do not enter the city, nor do they accompany Kṛishṇa and Balarāma to the court of the demon king. At Mathurā all the personages are Hindu ; outside Mathurā we have only the nomads. Before the arrival of the nomads the land of Braj had no special sanctity ; it was their wanderings with Kṛishṇa which made it sacred, and it is these nomads which have given it its character. "The really old names are almost all derived from the physical character of the country, which has always been celebrated for its wide extent of pasture land and many herds of cattle. Thus *Gokul* means originally a herd of kine ; Gobardhan, a rearer of kine ; *Mat*, so called from *mat*, a milk-pail ; and *Dadhiganu* (contracted into *Dahganu*), in the Kosi Pergunnah, is from *dadhi*, 'curds.' Thus, too, Braj in the first instance means 'a herd,' from the root *vraj*, 'to go,' in the constant moves of nomadic tribes."<sup>1</sup> Thus the place is redolent of nomadic herdsmen. Now certain facts go to prove that these nomads were not Indian.

1. According to the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, they had no houses ; they lived in their waggons. Vasudēva fords the Jamnā with the infant Kṛishṇa to the waggon of Nanda, "as if," says Wilson, "Nanda and his family dwelt in such a vehicle as the Scythians are said to have done."<sup>2</sup>

2. The nomads were accustomed to tend their herds in the "forests and mountains," and "mountains were their gods." Evidently they were newcomers from a mountainous region, which could only be the Himālayas.

3. We hear of an ass-demon who violently assaults Balarāma with his heels. Surely no such ass was ever reared on the scanty herbage of Brindāban. The ass must have been the wild ass, the onager, who ranged the country

<sup>1</sup> Growse : "Mathurā," p. 73. Some of the sacred localities are 40 miles distant from Mathurā, and the perambulation of Braj by the pilgrims is said to embrace a circuit of nearly 150 miles. "To a very recent period, almost the whole of this large area" of Braj "was pasture and woodland" (Growse, "Mathurā," p. 70). The area was formerly much larger (p. 75).

<sup>2</sup> Wilson : Vishṇu-Purāṇa, tr., p. 506, note 1.

from the Tigris to the Indus. A pastoral poet embroidering his tale would not have hit upon these details; they are evidence of a true historical migration. And the necessary conclusion is that in the child Kṛishṇa we have a novel deity introduced into Mathurā by nomads from the north.

We have seen the resemblance of the new cult to Christianity; can we with equal probability ascribe its origin to a Hindu or a Buddhist source? I think not. There can never have been a legend of the youth of the elder Kṛishṇa, for the discrepancies between the Mahābhārata and the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa show us the legend in the making. Thus the Mahābhārata credits the child with the feats of Viṣṇu as the dwarf, a story which has no place in the legend of Braj. There are divine children in Hindu mythology, but they are not objects of worship by themselves. Each of the Great Mothers has a child in her quality of mother; but the child is a dummy, and the mothers themselves (like the cognate Earth Mother) belong to the most terrific apparitions of the cycle of Śiva.<sup>1</sup>

Nor is it probable that the Kṛishṇa legend was derived from a Buddhist original. The land of Braj was not sacred to the Buddhists in the time of Fu-hian and Hiuen-tsiang, and it is only in the mediæval legend of the youthful Buddha that we can find parallels. The Lalitavistara has none. Buddha is conceived as a white elephant, born from the right side of his mother under a sāla tree, bathed by the gods, and decorated with jewels; at his birth he makes seven strides towards all the points of the compass, and proclaims his superiority over gods and men. When he is carried to the temple the images fall down and worship him; he teaches his instructors; and although brought up among the women of the palace, he excels all the Sākya in manly exercises. These are the chief moments of his history in the Lalitavistara<sup>2</sup>; they are also favourite subjects

<sup>1</sup> See the bas-relief of the seven mothers at Ellora (Fergusson and Burgess, "Cave Temples of India," pl. lxxii), and the inscription translated by Fleet, "Gupta Inscriptions" (C.I.I., vol. iii), p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> I can find no trace of Christian influence in the Lalitavistara. There are certain bits of folklore which it has in common with the Apocryphal Gospels,

on the bas-reliefs of Sāñchi, Amarāvati, and Gāndhāra. Kṛishṇa has two mothers, Buddha has none; the two legends are poles asunder. For the child-god of Mathurā we must seek a Christian origin.

Who, then, were these nomads from the North that introduced the new cultus, and how did they come to be acquainted with Christianity? The answer must be problematical, but an answer can be found which has a certain amount of probability.

The land of Braj is at present chiefly inhabited by Gujars and by Jāts. The Jāts owe their social superiority to the neighbouring Jāts of Bhartpur, who migrated from the Indus in the reign of Aurangzeb. But this was a later swarm. The 'Hele' or 'Deswale' Jāts of Mathurā belong to an older settlement; how old we cannot say.<sup>1</sup> But they are a purely agricultural folk, and cannot have been the nomads in question. The Gujars, on the other hand, satisfy all the requirements of the case. They are still almost entirely

e.g., the sāl tree which bends down to Māyā Devī, the images falling down in the presence of the infant, the mysteries of the alphabet, and the tree which affords the meditative Buddha a shade despite the revolutions of the sun. The other resemblances to the Gospels are curious, but are sufficiently accounted for by the context. The birth of Buddha is announced in a dream, like that of many heroes, and explained to Śuddhodana by a Brāhman. Māyā Devī is an ascetic nun, and therefore a virgin: she remains intact after she is miraculously delivered of the infant; and everything is intended to enhance the idea of physical purity. The visit of the aged Rishi who takes the child to his bosom is followed by the visit of Mahēśwara, who does the same thing; and Asita's discourse on the marks of greatness which the child bears has no resemblance with the song of Simeon. Asita weeps because he will not see the glory of Buddha; S. Simeon rejoices that he has seen "the light of the Gentiles." The distress of the father and aunt is natural when Buddha makes his first meditation under the 'jambu' tree, and they know not where he is; and it is followed by attempts to restrain him within the palace. Thus the situation in each case can be rationally explained, and even if it were suggested, it is developed in purely Indian fashion. The birth of Buddha occurs at the full moon of Pausa (January), but that is because he was conceived in Vaiśākha, the first month of the year in Upper India. The number of these coincidences is certainly striking, but their working out is Indian.

<sup>1</sup> Their clan villages can be traced back to the middle of the seventeenth century (Baden-Powell, "Village Communities," p. 283). Elliott remarks generally that the Jāts of the United Provinces occupy the same Pergunnahs which they did in the time of Akbar (Elliott's Glossary, ed. Beames, i, p. 134). The Jāts of Hansi were defeated by Kutbu-d-din in 1192 A.D. (Elliott, History of India, etc., vol. ii, p. 217), while the Jāts are said not to have entered the Sahāranpur district until about 1600 A.D. (Elliott's Glossary, i, p. 295). They were probably in Mathurā and the districts round Delhi before this time.

pastoral, following their herds over the low-lying grass-lands of the Jamnā Valley; their history goes back to the sixth century A.D., and they answer in minute details to the nomads of the Vishṇu-Purāṇa.

The Gujars, says Mr. Crooke, form "something like a class of their own,"<sup>1</sup> at least in the Panjāb and the United Provinces, where they are most numerous. They have never taken kindly to agriculture, but are still a pastoral people, noted for their turbulence, and for their skill in lifting cattle and tracking them when stolen. Although once powerful and great, they are now generally poor, at least in the United Provinces and the Eastern Panjāb, where the Rājah of Rewāri is the only Gujar nobleman. Alone among the people of the plains they practise polyandry.<sup>2</sup> Female infanticide was formerly very common, and the deficiency of women was supplied by concubines from other castes. Despite this constant infusion of foreign blood, the physical type has been well preserved in the Panjāb and the United Provinces, while the distinctive features of the race seem to have disappeared in the Bombay Presidency. "The Gujar [of the Panjāb] is a fine stalwart fellow of precisely the same physical type as the Jāt," says Sir D. Ibbetson. The Kāśmīr Gujar is described as tall and gaunt, his forehead and his chin are narrow, his nose fine and slightly curved. The Gujar of the United Provinces is above the medium height, well made and active, his face long and oval, and his features fine rather than coarse. He is a "fairly typical Indo-Aryan," says Crooke.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke: "Natives of Northern India," p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> On Gujar polyandry see Crooke's "Tribes and Castes," etc., s.v. Gujar, vol. ii, pp. 444-5.

<sup>3</sup> On the character, physique, and distribution of the Gujars in the Panjāb and the United Provinces see Elliott's Glossary (ed. Beames), vol. i, p. 99 ff., also pp. 179 and 296; Ibbetson, "Outlines of Panjāb Ethnography" (Census of 1881), sections 480 and 481; and W. Crooke, "Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh," s.v. Gujar; also Crooke, "Native Races of Northern India," pp. 22 and 114 f. Every officer who has served in the Gujar districts can confirm from his own experience the accounts given by these authors. The Bombay Gazetteer deals very fully with the subject of the Gurjara, but says little of their distribution or physique in the Bombay Presidency. Bombay Gazetteer, vol. i, pt. 1, chapters viii-x, and Appendix iii; also vol. ix, pt. 1,

The Gujar clans are widely spread ; they extend from the Indus to Mathurā. They are found in the Hazara Mountains, in Swat, and in Kaśmīr ; they abound on either side of the upper Indus, and in the Gujarāt district (Panjāb), where they are most numerous, they form one-seventh of the population.

"In the Panjāb," says Sir D. Ibbetson, "they essentially belong to the lower ranges and submontane tracts ; and though they have spread down the Jamnā in considerable numbers, they are almost confined to the riverain lowlands." They are very numerous in the Upper Doāb, in Sahāranpur, Mozaffarnagar, Mirat, and Bulandshahr. Mathurā forms the limit of the Gujar settlements in this direction.<sup>1</sup> The Gujars are few and scattered throughout Eastern Rājputāna, but in Western Rājputāna they are fairly numerous, and at one time they must have formed a considerable part of the population of the adjoining Gujarāt. Their most southerly settlements are in the Narbaddā Valley and the districts of Nāgpur, to which they migrated in the tenth century.<sup>2</sup> They have given their name to the Gujranwāla District in the Panjāb, and to at least four Gujarāts. Besides the famous kingdom of the Solankis and the less well-known Gurjara-desa of the Panjāb, a part of the Sahāranpur District was known as Gujarāt down to the eighteenth century, and there is still a small Gujarāt in the north of Gwalior. The Gujars are closely associated with the Rangars, or converted Rājputs, of Sahāranpur and Mozaffarnagar ; while the Bargujar Rājputs of Bulandshahr are supposed to come of a Gujar stock. With the exception of the Ahirs, the Gujars are the greatest of all the pastoral tribes of North-Western India.

We first hear of the Gujars at the end of the sixth century,

App. B, is devoted to the Gurjjaras. For some further information see Cunningham, *Archæological Survey*, vol. ii, pp. 70-73, and Baden-Powell, "*Indian Village Community*," p. 101.

<sup>1</sup> Individuals strayed further east. A certain Gurjara was employed to engrave a copper-plate grant of Harshavardhana's, found in the Azimgarh District. *E.I.*, vol. i, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. 1 (Gujarāt), p. 469.

when Harshavardhana's father, Prabhākaravardhana, made war against them. He was, says Bāṇa,<sup>1</sup> "a lion to the Hūṇa deer, a burning fever to the king of the Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gujarāt, a bilious plague to that scent-elephant, the lord of Gāndhāra, a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭs, an axe to the creeper of Mālwa's glory." As Gujarāt is here placed between the Indus and Gāndhāra, it was probably the Northern Gujar upon whom the lord of Thāṇeśar made war. These Northern Gujar were feudatories of the Shāhi kings of Gāndhāra, but we hear nothing more of them until the ninth century, when Śaṅkaravarman, king of Kuśmīr (883-902 A.D.), subdued Alakhāna, the king of Gurjaradesa, forcing him to yield the submontane tract of Takkadesa, which extended from Kāngra to the hills west of the Jhelam.<sup>2</sup> Besides Gurjaradesa of the Panjāb, two other Gujar kingdoms existed in the sixth century—the great Gujar kingdom of Bhīmāl and the small and short-lived one of Broach.<sup>3</sup> The former is known to us from the testimony of its enemies, the latter from the copper-plate grants of its kings. Bhīmāl, or Śrīmāl, the capital of the greatest of the early Gurjara kingdoms, lies on the border of the Rājputāna desert, about fifty miles west of Mount Ābu, and some fifteen miles from the last outliers of the Ābu range. It was a great city, and the Arabs of the tenth century reckoned its king the fourth among the monarchs of Hindustan. The Gurjara

<sup>1</sup> Harshacharita, trans. Cowell and Thomas, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Rājatarāṅgiṇī, v, al. 149 ff.; Stein's trans., i, p. 205 and note. Cunningham: Archaeological Survey, ii, p. 71. Duff: "Chronology of India," 883 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> The history of Bhīmāl is given in the Bombay Gazetteer (Gujarāt), vol. i, pt. 1, appendix iii, more especially p. 467 ff. For the Broach kingdom v. *ibid.*, chap. x, p. 113 ff. (also some remarks in chap. viii). In the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. ix, pt. 1, appendix B, p. 469 ff., the whole subject of the Gujars is treated at length, with special regard to their early history. Cunningham and Bühler, relying on three copper-plate grants, traced back the Broach dynasty to 400 or 430 A.D., and connected them with the Kushans. But Pandit Bhagwanlal Indriji and Dr. Fleet have shown that these grants are forgeries. The controversy is summed up in a note to the Gujarāt Gazetteer, vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 117-118; and the compilers of the Gazetteer regard the arguments against the genuineness of the grants to be conclusive. Indeed, the genuine grant made by Nirihullaka, the Forest King (Bombay Gazetteer, Gujarāt, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 114, and E.I. ii, 21), is sufficient in itself to decide the question against Cunningham and Bühler.

kingdom of Bhīnmāl dates from the middle of the sixth century. In 628 A.D. the Indian astronomer Brāhmagupta wrote his *Siddhānta* at the court of the Gurjara king of Bhīnmāl. Hiuen-tsiang says that the king of Pi-lo-mo-lo was a Kshatriya and a devout Buddhist; and Hiuen-tsiang's Pi-lo-mo-lo is commonly supposed to mean Bhīnmāl. The Arabs of Sindh attacked the Gurjaras of Bhīnmāl unsuccessfully in the eighth century; and after this time the Bhīnmāl kings are frequently mentioned in the wars of the period, until they became feudatories of the Solanki kings of Gujarāt in the latter part of the tenth century A.D. The third and much smaller Gurjara kingdom of Broach had its capital at Nandod, and is known through various copper-plate grants of Dadda II and Jayabhāṭa III, the earliest of which is dated 629, the latest 735 A.D. We learn that this petty kingdom was founded by Dadda II's grandfather, Dadda I, somewhere between 580 and 590 A.D. The Broach Gurjaras were feudatories of an unnamed suzerain, probably the chief of Bhīnmāl, and as the royal signatures are in the Northern style it is certain that they migrated from the North.<sup>1</sup>

The Gurjaras both of Bhīnmāl and of Broach became rapidly Hinduised. They were originally sun-worshippers, like the Hūṇas, and the ruins of a great temple of the sun are the chief visible proof of the former greatness of Śrīmāl. But we have seen that the king of Bhīnmāl was a Buddhist, and called himself a Kshatriya, by the time of Hiuen-tsiang; and Dadda III of Bharoch towards the end of the seventh century followed the example of his chief. He dropped the name of Gurjara, and declared himself a devotee of Śiva. The Gurjara kings subsequently laid claim to be descended from the strong man Karna, the famous ally of the Kauravas,<sup>2</sup> precisely as the Manipuris of the present day graft themselves on the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*.

<sup>1</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, Gujarāt, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Two other details should be noted. About 953 A.D. 18,000 Gujars migrated "with their carts" from Bhīnmāl by way of Mālwa to Khāndesh.<sup>1</sup> The migratory tribes of India usually move with pack-animals, not waggons. Waggons are peculiar to the Gujars and the Scythian nomads of Braj. And next, according to the Gujarāt Gazetteer,<sup>2</sup> "the Gurjaras or White Hūnas" were "the most religious of Northern invaders." They brought their own priests with them, who afterwards rose to be Brāhmanas; they possibly worshipped their king; and they immolated themselves and their families in the frenzied climax of the *jaohār*.

We are now in a position to make certain inferences. (1) The earliest settlements of the Gurjaras were in the extreme north-west of the Panjāb. Their physique, their traditions,<sup>3</sup> and the present distribution of the clan point to this conclusion, and it is no less certain that the Southern Gurjaras came from the North, probably by way of Rājputāna. (2) The Gurjaras suddenly appear in the middle of the sixth century as a great and powerful clan, dispersed over a wide area, and founding important states. The Greek historians, the Mahābhārata, and other sources have made us well acquainted with the tribes of the North-Western Panjāb. The sudden appearance among them of a people so great and powerful as the Gurjaras can only be explained on the hypothesis of a foreign migration. These Gurjaras, who worshipped neither Śiva nor Buddha, cannot have been of Indian origin; and their sun-worship, their waggons, and to some extent their polyandry, all point to Central Asia. (3) As the two most important Gurjara

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 469, quoting Khāndesh Gazetteer, xii, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, Gujarāt, vol. ix, pt. 1, p. 500 ff. The Gazetteer identifies the Gujars with the White Huns, and certain of the existing Rājput tribes with the Gujars, and thus ascribes to the Gujars what is true of the Rājputs or of the Hūnas.

<sup>3</sup> "The Gujars, like the Jāts, all state that they came from the west country into these parts," i.e. into the districts round Delhi and Mirat (Elliott's Glossary, ed. Beames, vol. i, p. 101). For some other details v. Crooke ("Tribes and Castes," etc., s.v. Gujar, pp. 443-4) and Ibbetson ("Panjāb Ethnography," § 480). Some of the subdivisions claim to be connected with the Bhattis.

states date from the first half of the sixth century, the Gurjaras must have entered India somewhat earlier; in other words, they must have come with the Hūṇas. In common with the Hūṇas they worshipped the sun; the kings who warred against the Hūṇas were the enemies of the Gurjaras; and the princes of Gurjaradesa were feudatories of the Shāhi kings of Gāndhāra, who were of Turki, if not of Hūnnic, origin. There is a close connection between the Gurjaras and the Hūṇas.<sup>1</sup>

If, then, the Scythian nomads of Braj were Gurjaras, as the evidence would suggest, it is easy to see how they might have acquired some tincture of Christianity, either from their neighbours in Central Asia or from their connection with Christians among the Hūṇas. The Christian stories of the Nativity passed readily into the mediæval Buddhism of Central Asia; they are popular among Hindus of the present day, who know nothing else of Christianity; and reminiscences of the Christmas festival still linger among some of the Berber tribes of North Africa. It is no idle fancy, therefore, to suppose that the Northern nomads who roamed through the woods of Braj brought with them a child-god, a Christian legend, and a Christmas festival; and in a city of lax Buddhists and eager Hindus this germ sufficed for the birth of a new if hybrid divinity. The priests who accompanied the nomads would readily invent, or lend themselves to the invention, of a cult which promised them speedy advancement to the full-blown rank of Brāhman. For although the mass of the Gurjaras, as of the White Huns, was barbarian, yet there is plenty of evidence to show that among the upper classes there was a knowledge of letters and considerable civilisation. The new god was a god of divine childhood and of love. In Buddhism the idea of love has ranged from universal benevolence towards men and animals down through every stage of the scale

<sup>1</sup> The Gujars "appear to have come into India in connection with the Huns," says Dr. Hoernle (*Hist. of India* by Hoernle & Stark, p. 61). The *Gujarāt Gazetteer* (vol. i, pt. 1, p. 468) speaks of the "great horde of Northern invaders whom the Gurjaras led."

to the grossest licentiousness; and Mathurā was not free from such exhibitions, as its sculptures testify. Probably the nomads who brought the new god to Mathurā knew little of Christianity except the stories of the Infancy. They brought them to a Buddhist city where they would find a ready acceptance. But by the beginning of the sixth century the Buddhism of Mathurā was on the wane, and Hinduism was in the ascendant. The name of the new god sounded in the ears of Hindus like that of the elder Kṛishṇa, whom the popular epic had exalted to the highest rank: the new god, like the elder Kṛishṇa, was an incarnation of the Most High; and so the youthful Kṛishṇa was born, who was destined, in the course of centuries, to surpass all his older rivals in the ardour of his devotees and the multitude of his worshippers.

The Śūrasēnas of Mathurā had, some centuries before, passed by an easy transition from the worship of Śiva to that of Buddha. Śaivism and popular Buddhism were ancient allies and much akin. Both represented primæval beliefs slightly Aryanised and modified; both threw their mantle over innumerable local cults and superstitions; each encouraged witchcraft and magic; and neither was averse to orgiastic excesses. They were on friendly terms despite a standing difference on the subject of animal sacrifice, and the same individual might simultaneously belong to both, so that the devout Buddhist was frequently an ardent worshipper of Śiva. But Buddhism and Śaivism were essentially conservative creeds, and although the one produced the greatest practical reformer and the other the greatest master of the schools whom India has seen, both remained incapable of real development so far as the multitude was concerned. Unlike them, the cult of Viṣṇu was purely Aryan, and capable of indefinite expansion. It appropriated the heritage of Buddha; it created the type of a national hero in the ever-victorious warrior Kṛishṇa; Indian chivalry and constancy became personified in the idyllic Rāma; and in the child-god of Mathurā Hinduism attained to the deification of pure human love. If this idea was capable of infinite

degradation, for *corruptio optimi pessima*, it also opened the door to a truer conception of divinity and a sublimer spirituality. Reverence and fear are the first steps in the history of religion ; but the human soul can only bring forth its ripest fruit when it enters into loving communion with the unseen.



## XXXIII.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN INDIA, 1906-7.

By J. H. MARSHALL.

**I**N view of the inevitable delays which must always attend the publication of lengthy and illustrated reports in India, it was suggested to me a short time ago by the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society that it would serve a useful purpose if I contributed to the Journal, from year to year, an account of the chief discoveries made by the Archæological Department in India. It is particularly satisfactory to respond to this suggestion at the present juncture, not only because the prospects of systematic and steady work in the field of exploration are brighter now than they have ever yet been, but also because the particular season that has just gone by has been more than usually productive of interesting results. My only regret is that it is not possible to present these results in a more adequate form. Government orders, however, permit only the publication of very short preliminary accounts in European journals, and I must be content, therefore, to give the following brief summary, referring the reader who wishes for further information to the descriptive accounts of the discoveries which will appear in due course in our official reports.

**Kasiā.**

The two most important undertakings of the year were those at Kasiā and Sārnāth, both of which sites are now being exhaustively examined. At the *Mathā-Kūar-ka Kōt*, close to Kasiā, Dr. Vogel has now completely laid bare the whole of the *large monastery* already partly exhumed in previous years, and has continued the excavation of the

*earlier monastery*, which now proves to extend over all the south-west portion of the mound (see Plate I). Among the objects found in this earlier monastery were a fragmentary record of the early Kuṣaṇa period and a broken Buddha statue with a votive inscription in characters of the sixth century, while in front of it was turned up a gold coin of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. From the evidence of these and previous finds, Dr. Vogel conjectures that this monastery dates back to the first century of our era, that it was in occupation in the days of the earlier Guptas, and that it was destroyed towards the end of the sixth century.

Besides excavating these two monasteries, Dr. Vogel has also unearthed a number of smaller monuments, mostly *stūpas*, to the south of the central shrine, and three larger buildings in the ground recently acquired by Government outside the mound proper. One of these buildings is a typical monastery; the other two may have been meant for the accommodation of pilgrims.

The minor finds made during the past season include some 500 or more clay sealings, broken or complete, of which 464 belong to the "Convent of the Great Decease," 9 to other monastic establishments, and the rest to private individuals. The presence of sealings in such preponderating numbers from the "Convent of the Great Decease" cannot but suggest a very close connection between the Kasiā *Saṅghārāma* and that convent, but at the same time they certainly cast doubt on the supposed identity of the two buildings, for it is difficult to see for what other purpose but that of letters so many seals could have been used. If, then, Kasiā does not represent Kusinārā, the question naturally arises whether we know of any other ancient *Saṅghārāma* with which we can identify it. This question, Dr. Vogel thinks, is now answered by the discovery of a seal die near the *earlier monastery*, bearing the inscription *Sri-Viṣṇudvīpa-vihāre bhikṣusanghasya*, "of the community of friars at the convent of Holy Viṣṇudvīpa" (Plate III, fig. 1). The Viṣṇudvīpa corresponds with the *Veṭṭhadīpa* of the Pāli books, and Dr. Vogel is now of opinion that the



Sarnath : view of excavations east of the Main Shrine.



was purposely made, at a time when the ground around had risen, to keep the inscription open to view. On the east, this pavement ends in three steps rising to the level of the concrete floor above.

Most of the area excavated under the pavement, to the east of the Main Shrine, is occupied by a large rectangular chamber or court measuring 48 by 28 feet, with a variety of other structures adjoining it (see Plate II). This chamber was surrounded on three sides by a stone railing of Mauryan date, built into the brickwork of the walls. Much of this railing has, unfortunately, perished, but the position of all the columns and crossbars is clearly marked by indentations in the brickwork. One of the coping-stones belonging to this railing was, according to a monumental Prakrit inscription incised on it in the Brāhmī character, presented by a nun named Suvahikā; while a short column found close by appears, from two Kuṣaṇa or early Gupta epigraphs carved on it, to have been used as a lamp-holder in a *gandhakūṭi*, which may be the rectangular structure in question. A second column bears two Sanskrit inscriptions in the same script as the above, from which it seems that it was the gift of a monk named Bodhiṣeṇa and was afterwards converted into a lamp-post by a certain layman named Bhavarudra.

Among the small antiquities found below the pavement may be noticed the interesting capital with Perso-Ionic volutes (Plate III, fig. 4), and another capital belonging to the Mauryan period, decorated on one side with a group of *dharmacakra* and *triratna* symbols, and with the Bodhi tree overhung with garlands, the *Vajrāsana*, and a column with Persepolitan bell-shaped capital, on the other.

Further out, and beyond the limits of the concrete pavement, our excavations were carried to a considerable distance on every side of the Main Shrine, for the most part down to the level, approximately, of the concrete pavement, but descending much deeper in places. The majority of the architectural remains unearthed consisted, as we naturally expected, of small chapels and *stūpas*,

the largest group of which (comprising more than fifty structures) lies to the west of the Main Shrine. A smaller, but more ancient and interesting, group came to light at some distance to the north-east. That this group marks some exceptionally hallowed spot seems certain, not only from the fact that the *stūpas* are crowded together more thickly than anywhere else, but also from the fact that they have been added to and built over, time and again. Several of these *stūpas* are of peculiar importance, because within the outer and later shells the earlier structures are to be found in practically perfect preservation, while the relic-chambers in others have yielded numbers of sculptures and tablets of sun-burnt clay.

But perhaps the most attractive of the structures brought to light this year is a large monastery (for there can be little doubt about its character) away to the north-east, beyond the group of *stūpas* described above. The part of this monastery which has so far been unearthed consists of a very fine block of buildings with a spacious entrance facing the east, and a paved courtyard on the west, surrounded, apparently, by extensions from the main structure, which, however, have only been partially excavated. The basement of the monastery is of brick, admirably moulded and carved, and standing to a height of about eight feet. The super-structure was of stone massively constructed; but all of it save the lowest courses has fallen, and the ponderous blocks are lying in great heaps over the basement and in the courtyard below. The precise date of this building is not yet fixed, but, on the evidence of style, it may be assigned to the latest building epoch at Sārnāth.

Between the monastery and the area around the Main Shrine the digging was carried to a much lower level, but revealed only a series of walls of no special interest, though the lower strata appear to date back to the earliest period when the site was occupied.

In other parts of the site a trial trench has been sunk in the mound to the west of the Jaina temple, which bids fair to yield valuable results, and the ground has also



*1 1/2 by 2 3/8 inches*  
1 Seal die - Kasia



2 Stucco head - Sahribahlol.



3 Stone frieze of the Gupta period - Sarnath.



*height 13 inches*  
4. Perso-Ionic capital. Sarnath.



been cleared again above the so-called "hospital"<sup>1</sup> excavated by Major Kittoe, but this was rather for the purpose of providing earth for a ramp needed in connection with certain repairs to the Dhamekh Stūpa than because we hoped to find anything of particular interest there. As we expected, all the remains of the "hospital" proved to have been hopelessly knocked about and damaged in the previous excavation.

No doubt the whole *Saṅghārāma* at Sārnāth, as at Kasiā and other places, was surrounded by a massive circuit wall, and, so far as we can judge at present, a section of this wall has been brought to light alongside the *jhil* to the west of the site. The wall in question is nine feet thick and of very solid construction, with footings at the base, similar to the wall which surrounds New Rājagṛha. Should this prove to be part of the circuit wall, as we believe it is, it is hoped that it will be possible eventually to follow it up along its whole length and to extend the excavations over the whole area surrounded by it.

It remains to notice a few more of the smaller antiquities found above or beyond the pavement round the Main Shrine. One of them is a fragment of a stone umbrella incised with a quotation from the Pāli texts, setting forth the four cardinal truths of Buddhism, namely, suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the cessation of suffering. Among sculptures, two rectangular slabs (Plate IV), one found broken into three pieces but complete, the other one not quite entire, are particularly interesting. One (fig. 1) is divided into eight small panels, containing representations of the chief events in Buddha's life, and apparently referring to the "eight chief places." The four main events are represented at the four corners, starting chronologically at the left-hand bottom corner, viz., the birth, the illumination, the first sermon, and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. The four minor scenes appear to be connected with Vaiśālī, Rājagṛha, Sāṅkāśyā, and

<sup>1</sup> No doubt a monastery.

Śrāvastī, and represent respectively the offering made by the monkey, the subjugation of the elephant, the descent from the *Trayastrimśadevaloka*, and another scene, of which the identification is doubtful, but which appears to have taken place at Śrāvastī. The other slab (fig. 2) depicts the conception, birth, and washing of the child, the flight from Kapilavastu (?), and the meditation under the Bodhi tree. A point of some interest in this slab is the non-canonical position of Māyā in the conception scene, lying on her right side.

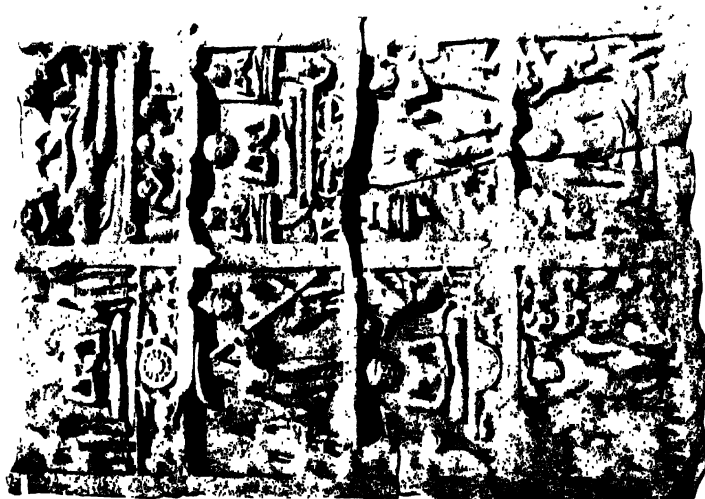
A fact which our discoveries have now made abundantly clear is that the most important building age at Sārnāth was the age of the Imperial Guptas; yet more, they establish the existence of an important and wide-reaching school of sculpture at that epoch, and open up for us an almost new chapter in the history of Indian art. A few specimens of Gupta architecture and sculpture have, of course, been known to us for many years past, from different sites in Northern and Western India, but how little the essential characteristics of this school have hitherto been understood may be gauged from the fact that one of the finest examples of Gupta art has been generally assigned (on the authority of Fergusson)<sup>1</sup> to the eleventh century of our era. I refer to the Dhamekh Stūpa at Sārnāth. Of the Gupta origin of this famous monument there can now no longer be a shadow of a doubt; for there is not a motif in its decoration which does not find an exact counterpart in one or other of the Gupta sculptures recently unearthed. But, for further information on this interesting subject, I must refer the reader to our official publication of the discoveries. A specimen of Gupta work—part of a fine, bold frieze of a building—is reproduced in Plate III, fig. 3.

<sup>1</sup> See *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 66-8. Sir A. Cunningham's earlier opinion has now been vindicated.



2

Stone bas-reliefs : Sarnath.



1



**Sahribahlol.**

In the Frontier Province some very valuable discoveries were made by Dr. D. B. Spooner in a small and insignificant mound at the village of Sahribahlol, near the foot of *Takht-i-Bahāī*, which he found the villagers exploiting for sculptures.

"Of the architectural finds made in this mound," says Dr. Spooner, "the most interesting was a little *stūpa* measuring six feet square, which is shown in the illustration (Plate V, fig. 1). The three friezes on the sides are made up of elephants and Atlases alternating. When first uncovered these were in nearly perfect condition, but unfortunately some person or persons demolished them in our absence, and before it was possible to photograph them, as the *stūpa* had been only partially uncovered at that time. Perhaps next in interest to this was the row of standing Bodhisattva figures which we found, badly broken but still *in situ*, along the front of what would appear to have been the central *stūpa*. At either end of this row, and set a little back from the alignment, was a seated Buddha figure: the pedestal of one of them was particularly noteworthy for the delicacy and intricacy of its pattern, and for the unusual naturalness in the postures of the many tiny animals it contained. It was among the *débris* of the building behind these statues, and along the westernmost side of the mound, where a line of chapels may have stood, that the major portion of our sculptures were obtained. These are of all sizes and of various degrees of excellence, and, moreover, in a variety of materials, stone, and stucco, and what might be called stucco-faced, where the figure is a mere stucco shell filled with soft earth. The most remarkable example of this kind was an apparently female head some six inches in height, wearing an elaborate fringe of curls and adorned with a curious lofty crown with well-defined points. The plaster of which this is made is singularly white and delicate, and only about  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch in thickness. The modelling is distinctly inferior, but the whole is of great interest, nevertheless. Taking the sculptures as a whole, I have no

hesitation in ascribing them to one of the very best periods of the Gandhāra school. The numerous heads found, both stone and stucco (e.g., Plate III, fig. 2), compare very favourably with those in any other collections, and a few of the larger pieces—such as, for example, one or two of the seated Buddha figures (e.g., Plate V, fig. 3), and the Kubera and Hārītī statue (Plate V, fig. 2)—would seem inferior to few, if any, of the sculptures of this school yet found. Another point of interest is the large number of well-defined Bodhisattva types encountered. We have several distinct types, repeated with great fidelity to detail, especially in the case of the head-dresses, so that the conviction is forced upon one that they must have been intended to represent individual and particular Bodhisattvas. That, with increased material, further study will lead to a satisfactory differentiation of these figures, seems reasonable to expect. And, judging by these Sahribahlol finds, the head-dress will prove to be of special significance in any such enquiry. One is reminded of the passage in the *Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra*: ‘All beings can recognize either of the two Bodhisattvas (Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāna) by simply glancing at the marks of their heads.’<sup>1</sup>

“Among the fragmentary sculptures one small piece in particular calls for mention. A mere broken piece of a stone halo, it still preserved its ancient coating of stucco, and this in turn its original painted design, a pattern of radiating rays in gold on a brilliant red background. Many of the sculptures showed traces of colouring or gilding, and some of them elaborate traces, but none of any such interest as this little fragment.

“Of the monastic quadrangle to the east of the great wall, which divided the mound from north to south into two nearly equal halves, there is little need to speak here. The finds from this side were naturally few and of comparatively slight interest, except a couple of copper spoons of excellent design, and a metal leaf still retaining the brilliant colouring

<sup>1</sup> S.B.E., vol. xlix, p. 187, para. 21, Takakusu's translation.



1. Stone Stupa with stucco ornamentation : Sahribahlol



2. Kubera and Hariti : Sahribahlol.



3. Seated Buddha : Sahribahlol.



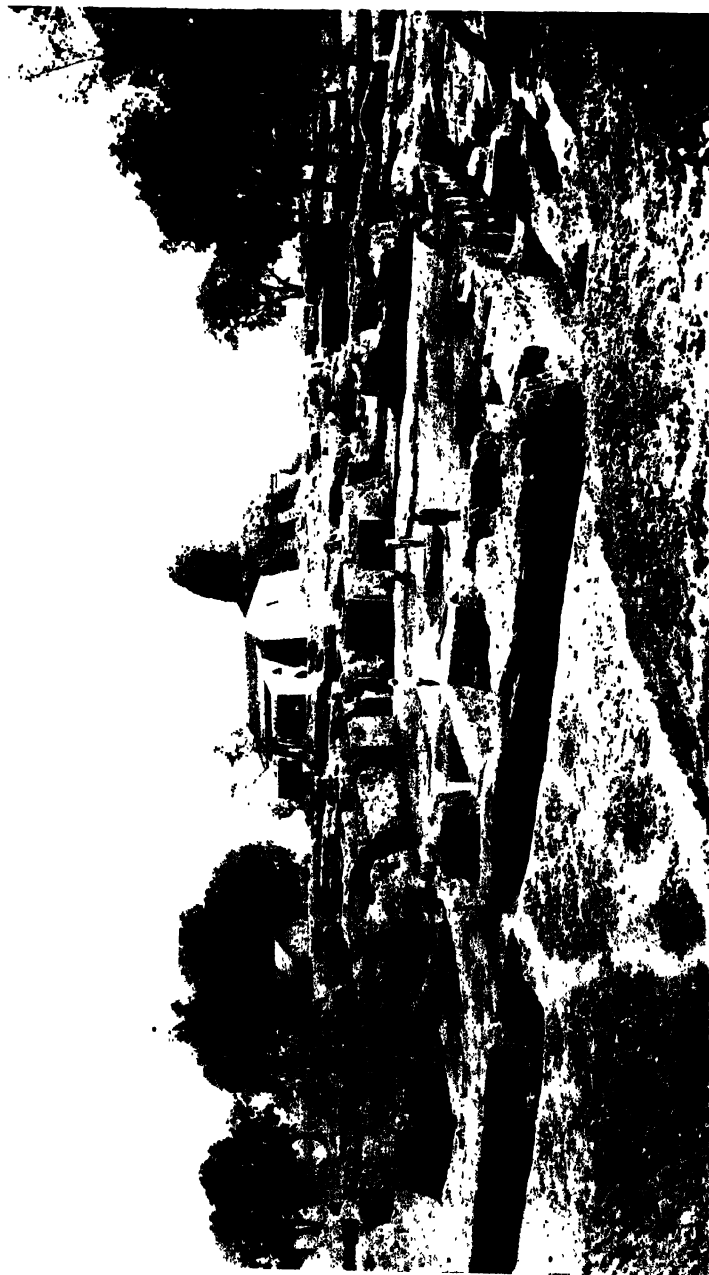
with which it was originally adorned. The usual arrangement of cells was found, the only noticeable thing about them being that they were all built of extremely *kacchā* walls, mere unshapen earth mixed with the crushed ends of grain left after threshing. Even the fine stone foundations of the outside walls of this quadrangle, fully four feet wide, show traces of having been built up originally in the same way. But, that wood was used somewhere in the construction, presumably in the roofing, seems certain from the large quantity of charcoal found here and there in the *débris*, which points also to fire as the primary agent in the destruction of the place. The centre of this quadrangle, however, presents an unexpected feature of considerable interest, namely, another quadrangle, also in stone, which appears, from the presence of a drain leading to the south, to have been a central tank. The curious thing about this, however, is that the outer side is broken into a number of deep bays, whose purpose it is difficult to determine. Possibly further excavations in the neighbourhood will throw some light on the problem."

### Pagān.

Another excavation that has yielded results of much value for the history of Buddhist iconographic art is that of the Pet-leak-paya, or 'Pagoda of the curling leaf,' at Pagān, in Burma. This pagoda, as well as another one close by it, known locally as the 'Elder Sister,' had attracted my attention some time ago, by reason of its peculiar shape and character, which distinguished it from those around and pointed to an earlier origin. As only its superstructure was then visible above ground, I made arrangements for the removal of all the *débris* which enveloped its base, though, when I did so, I had little idea that under this *débris* would be found such a treasure-house of relics as has now come to light. For the note which follows, of the discoveries made here, I am indebted to Dr. Sten Konow, who was with

me in the early spring at Pagān, and who has been making a special study of the terra-cotta plaques :—

“ Around the four sides of the Pet-leak-paya the excavations have now revealed the existence of an arched corridor, the walls of which are adorned both inside and outside, with a double row of terra-cotta reliefs, illustrating the scenes of the Jātakas. Each plaque illustrates one Jātaka by means of one of the principal scenes occurring in it. An inscription in the ordinary Pali-Burmese character of the eleventh and twelfth centuries gives the name of the Jātaka, and the number of the tale in the Jātaka book has, moreover, been added. Somewhat similar plaques containing illustrations of the Jātakas have long been known to exist on other pagodas in Pagān. The Ananda and Shwezigon Pagodas, in particular, are adorned with a large number of them, and scholars in Europe will remember the small collection from the Mangalacheti Pagoda, which found its way some years ago into the Royal Museum for Ethnography in Berlin. Many of these last-mentioned ones have been fully described by Professor Grünwedel in the fifth volume of the publications of the Museum. The Pet-leak finds are, therefore, not absolutely unique, but they are much superior in quality to the other ones. The plaques found in the Ananda, Shwezigon, and Mangalacheti Pagodas are all covered with a thick bluish-green enamel, and the execution is of the coarsest description. Moreover, in many cases they are so much damaged that nothing could be made out of them. The Pet-leak plaques, on the other hand, are not enamelled, and, owing to the fact that they have long been buried under ground, they still retain all their original freshness. Their technique, too, is of a higher quality. Professor Grünwedel has drawn attention to the stereotyped character of the illustrations from the Mangalacheti Pagoda, in which practically only four different types of figures occur. The Pet-leak plaques are, it is true, also conventional, but the treatment of the different figures is much more vigorous and free. Another point also, in which they differ from the plaques dealt with by Professor Grünwedel, is the



Kasia: view of excavations south-west of the Matha-Kuar-ka Kot.



remains at Kasiā represent the ancient *Vethadipa*, which (see this Journal, 1906. 665, 671) received a portion of the relics of Buddha after the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. No doubt the evidence of this die is of a very tangible nature; at the same time it must be conceded, as Dr. Vogel himself realises, that the die in question might easily have been brought from elsewhere, and, until further confirmatory evidence is forthcoming, we cannot look upon the question as settled. There yet remain to be examined at Kasiā two important *stūpas*, the *Rāmābhār stūpa* and the one on the *Māthā-Kūar-kā Kōṭ*, besides a number of other edifices, and it is not too much to hope that something or other will be found which will settle the matter beyond dispute.

### Sārṇāth.

The excavations at Sārṇāth were resumed this spring under my own supervision, and, as I had the valuable co-operation of both Dr. Sten Konow and Mr. W. H. Nicholls, and the assistance of Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, we were able to continue them on a more ambitious scale. Before, however, describing the discoveries of the past season, it will be as well—and it will certainly make my description more intelligible—if I briefly summarise the results of the first season's operations, which are only just now being made public. Among the monuments then unearthed the most conspicuous was a structure which we may distinguish by the name of the *Main Shrine*, as it formed the centre of a number of smaller memorials built around it. This Main Shrine is a rectangular building measuring 95 by 90 feet, with doubly recessed corners, and is still standing to a height of 17 or 18 feet. It is built partly of stone, partly of brick, most of its material having been taken from earlier structures. Around this Main Shrine was a concrete pavement, on which had been raised a host of chapels, *stūpas*, and other memorials, some of them built of brick and plaster, some of stone, ranging in date from the Kuṣāṇa epoch to the eleventh or twelfth century. This

pavement extended about 40 feet around the Main Shrine, and beyond it, again, were found numerous other small memorials, mostly of the later epoch. Breaking through the concrete pavement, immediately to the west of the Main Shrine, was found the top of the broken shaft of an Aśoka column, the inscriptions on which have already been published in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. viii, pp. 166-179). The upper part of the column, with its superbly sculptured capital, was found leaning against the side of the Main Shrine. A narrow pit sunk around this column afterwards revealed the existence of a stone pavement, 2 feet beneath the concrete floor, and, 2 ft. 8 ins. further down, two brick walls, one within the other, forming squares around the column.

So much for the results of the first season. In continuing the operations in 1906-7 we had before us two main purposes: first, to deepen the excavations in the immediate vicinity of the Main Shrine after cutting through the concrete pavement; secondly, to widen out the excavations in all directions. The pavement proved to consist of several layers superimposed, at different intervals of time, one immediately above the other; and, in view of the fact that nothing of a later date than the Kuṣāṇa period has been found beneath, it may be considered as practically certain that the lowest layer dates back approximately to the early Gupta period, while the uppermost may be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century.

This fact is of considerable importance, inasmuch as it enables us to date, with comparative assurance, all the buildings found beneath the pavement. Prominent among these is a group of admirably constructed *stūpas* at the south-west corner of the Main Shrine; near which, but at a still lower level, has also come to light part of the plinth of a much larger structure, which, however, has still to be followed up. The stone pavement, which had been partly laid bare around the Aśoka column in the previous season, proved to be composed of slabs cut from a railing of decadent Mauryan style, and it may be surmised that this depression



1. Khurappajataka



2. Kakkatagataka



3. Chuladbanmajataka.



4. Matimgajataka



5. Chihaddantajataka.



6. Samajataka.

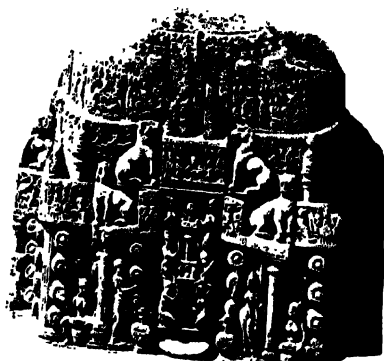
new Jātakas, the *Velāma* (497), the *Mahāgovinda* (498), and the *Sumedhapañḍita-jātakas* (499). The *Mātaṅgajātaka*, which is No. 497 in Fausböll's edition, is accordingly No. 500 in the Pet-leak collection. Then the numbering runs on in the same way in both series up to the *Nimijātaka* (Fausböll 541 = Pet-leak 544), after which a new Jātaka, the *Mahosadhajātaka*, is again inserted, as No. 545. *Velāma* is mentioned in the introduction to the *Khadiraṅgārajātaka* (J.A., i, p. 228); *Mahāgovinda*, *Sumedhapañḍita*, and *Mahosadha* are all mentioned as Bodhisattas in the *Nidānakathā*. We do not know why the tales about the Buddha's doings in these births have not been incorporated in the recension of the Jātakas published by Fausböll. The Pet-leak plaques show that they were all found in the collection of birth-stories current in Pagān at the time when the Pet-leak pagoda was erected. We are unable as yet to determine with certainty when this was done, but it cannot well have been later than in the reign of King Anawrata, for votive tablets bearing his name have been unearthed together with the plaques.

"Several hundred of these Jātaka illustrations have already been found at the Pet-leak pagoda, and, as the sister pagoda mentioned above, which appears to be of an almost precisely similar character, has still to be excavated, there is every reason to hope that the number will be doubled before the site is exhausted.

"The six illustrations from these plaques given in Plate VI. are named and numbered as follows :— Fig. 1, *Khurappa*, No. 265; fig. 2, *Kakkata*, No. 267; fig. 3, *Chūladhammapāla*, No. 358; fig. 4, *Mātaṅga*, No. 500 (Fausböll, 497); fig. 5, *Chhaddanta*, No. 517 (Fausböll, 514); fig. 6, *Sāma*, No. 543 (Fausböll, 540)."

#### Amrāvati.

At Amrāvati, in Madras, Mr. RCA has resumed the excavations which were dropped years ago on the assumption that there was nothing more to be found. It now turns



1. Panel of Stupa  
outside south gate at Amravati.



3. Monolith at Mandor  
in Marwar.



2. Excavations at Amravati:  
view of Stupa with entrance pillars in foreground.



out that the original ground-level around the circular pavement is in reality lower than was imagined by earlier explorers, and Mr. Rea's excavation of this area has added quite a rich harvest of antiquities to the already splendid collections from Amrāvati. At the close of last season Mr. Rea had found, among other things, outside the south gate of the great Tope, a *stūpa*, eleven feet in diameter, of which the lower part is remarkably well preserved. It is expected that similar memorials will be brought to light at other gates, but, before they can be reached, it is necessary first to remove the great masses of débris heaped up, without a thought as to what they might be concealing, by previous excavators. In the meantime, his excavations have brought to light a number of walls and marble rail-piers *in situ*, besides numerous detached sculptures (including a fine black stone image), inscriptions, stone troughs, pillars, celts, coins, beads, and other miscellaneous articles. I much regret that the photographs of the latest finds have not yet reached me. Illustrations of the *stūpa* at the south gate are given in Plate VII, figs. 1 and 2.

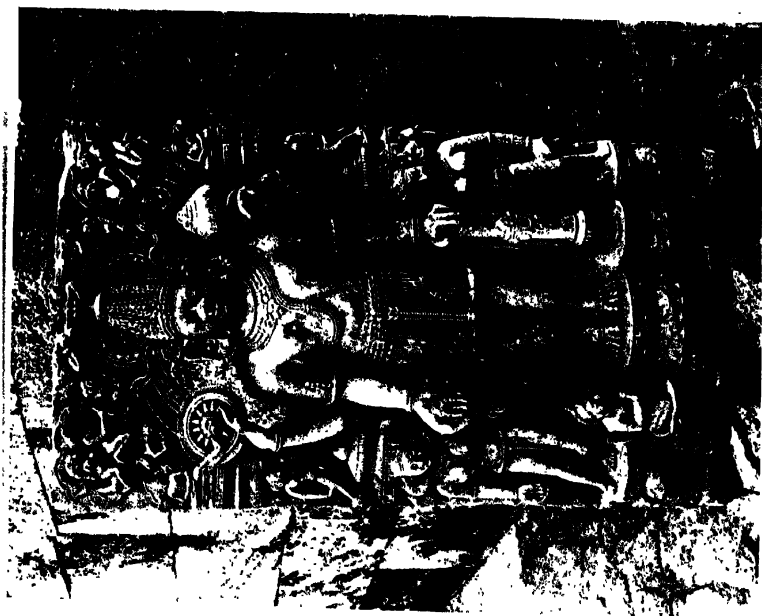
### Early Caves.

Another discovery in the Madras Presidency that deserves notice is that of some ancient caves, with beds chiselled out of the rock, that have recently been found in the Madura and Tinnevely districts. The following note by Dr. Konow about these caves is based on information furnished by Mr. V. Venkayya:—"One such cave, situated at Marugāltalai, ten miles from Palamcottah, has already been known for some time. But the last year brought five new ones to light in the Madura district, one on the Ānaimalai hill, six miles north-east of Madura, and four on the Kaḷugumalai hill, eight miles from Melūr. They all appear to be natural caves with beds chiselled in the rock. The popular name for these beds is *Pañchapāṇḍavar-paḍukkai*, 'the beds of the five Pāṇḍavas,' in accordance with the

common custom in these parts of attributing everything that is ancient to the Pāṇḍavas. These caves are probably connected with the earliest history of Buddhism in Southern India. They contain some few inscriptions in old Brāhmī character. The estampages I have seen are too imperfect to make it possible to read them, and I am not even certain that they are written in monumental Prakrit, and not in a Dravidian dialect. One of them seems to run:— *chānatāritānā koṭūpikāna*, which apparently means 'of the Chānatārita householders.' If my reading and interpretation are correct, the form *koṭūpikāna* shows certain influence of the Dravidian idiom of the district. The alphabet is, in most characteristics, identical with that in use in the Aśoka edicts. The only point of interest is the form of the letter *ma*, which agrees with that in use in Old Burmese."

### Konarak.

In Bengal, owing to the unfortunate absence of Dr. Bloch on sick leave, the exploration of Rājagṛha, which had opened with such promise in the previous season, could not be resumed. The work, however, of excavating the Black Pagoda at Konarak continued uninterruptedly, and is now nearing its close. While the 'Dancing Hall' and *Maṇḍapa* of the temple were being cleared, it was merely a matter of lading out sand and carting it away; but as soon as the shrine was reached, the undertaking entered on a far more laborious phase, as the spire above it had long ago collapsed and buried the sanctum in a vast heap of débris more than fifty feet high. Fortunately it was possible to lay down a light railway and remove all the most colossal blocks of stone by the aid of a running crane, with the result that the work has been pushed on this season far more rapidly than would otherwise have been possible, and the whole of this stupendous temple— all at least that remains of it— is once more exposed to view. It is, indeed, an





imposing and magnificent fabric. The *garbhagrha*, which is still standing to a third, roughly, of its original height, proves to be decorated with the same class of erotic scenes as the rest of the temple, but it possesses also large niches on the north, south, and west sides, in which statues were placed, while below them are doorways giving access to the shrine. Among the débris around the spire have been found some twenty statues, of the same beautiful green chlorite stone that is used in the construction of the temple, and of excellent workmanship. Photographs of two of these are appended (Plate VIII, figs. 1 and 2). The first represents Bāla-Kṛṣṇa sitting in a chair which is being gently rocked by attendant figures. The chains by which this chair is suspended are cut with such remarkable skill that it is difficult to believe they are not of metal. The second is a figure of Viṣṇu standing on a lotus pedestal beneath a trefoil arch. The rest of the collection comprises, among others, statues of Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Yamarāja, Rṣis, an Ācārya with students round him, and the river Ganges.

### Discoveries in Mārwar.

It remains to mention, in conclusion, some sites in Mārwar, where Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has made several interesting and valuable discoveries without the help of the spade.<sup>1</sup>

The first of these is the old fort of Maṇḍor, about five miles to the north of Jodhpur, where there are many ruins of ancient temples and other structures, all of them apparently earlier than the tenth century. Among these remains are two monoliths, which appear to be the jambs of an ancient *torana*, very likely the same "gateway and magnificent Torun or triumphal arch" noticed by Colonel Tod. One of the jambs (Plate VII, fig. 3) has an inscription engraved on it, but it was too much defaced to

<sup>1</sup> The note which follows is based on information supplied by Mr. Bhandarkar.

allow Mr. Bhandarkar to make anything out of it, though a few letters faintly preserved here and there appeared to him to belong unmistakably to the Imperial Gupta Period. The carvings, be it remarked, bear the stamp of earlier work. The scenes on these monoliths are of no little value as monumental records of the Kṛṣṇa cult, one of them representing the uplifting of the mountain Govardhana, the other the trampling down of the serpent Kālīya.

Another place of much interest is Ghaṇṭiyālā, about 22 miles west of Jodhpur. Here Mr. Bhandarkar found a *lāt* or pillar, consisting of three separate pieces one above the other, the whole surmounted by a capital with four images of Gaṇapati, facing the cardinal points. On the shaft of the column are four inscriptions, from which we learn that it was erected by Kakkuka, of the feudatory Pratihāra dynasty. These records also tell us that the old name of the place was Rohiṃsakūpa, and that it was infested by Ābhīras and was consequently left almost desolate, but that Kakkuka routed them and repopled the place.

The last site to be noticed is that of Osia, 32 miles north of Jodhpur. Round about the village are the remains of twelve temples, one of them Jaina and the rest Vaiṣṇava. "They resemble in style," says Mr. Bhandarkar. "those found at Eraṇ and Paṭhārī in the Central Provinces, and Jhālrapaṭṭaṇa and Āmvaṃ in Rajputana. In a porch of the Jaina temple is an inscription which is unfortunately mutilated, but the portion of it preserved speaks of the temple as existing in Ūkeśa (Osia) in the time of Vatsarāja of the (Imperial) Pratihāra dynasty. Vatsarāja is doubtless the same prince of that name who was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns Govinda II and Dhruva, and for whom the date 705 Śaka (A.D. 783) has been furnished by the Jaina Harivaṃśa." A feature worthy of remark in these temples is the prominence given to Kubera, god of riches, who is figured with Gaṇeśa on the lintels of the shrine doors, in the interior of the Sancta, on the outside walls of the shrines, and on the front of the raised terraces on which the temples stand. Some scenes in the life of

Kṛṣṇa are also depicted, such as the uplifting of Govardhana, the release of the Elephant, and so forth.

Two ancient temples of exactly the same style as those at Osia were also found at Buchkalā in the Bilār district, and one of them has an inscription dated Samvat 892, which refers itself to the reign of Śrī-Nāgabhaṭṭa, son of Śrī-Vatsurāja. This is the first date, furnished by an inscription, of a prince of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty earlier than Bhoja I.

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## XXXIV.

## MOGA, MAUES, AND VONONES.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

## I. Moga.

CERTAIN well-known coins from the Panjāb (see the second part of this article),<sup>1</sup> of which some present a Greek legend only and others present Greek legends on the obverse with legends in an Indian dialect and in the Kharōshthī or Kharōshtrī characters on the reverse.<sup>2</sup> give us a king whose name is not written quite in agreement in the two classes of legends. The Indian legends give the genitive *Moasa*, and yield the name *Moa*. The Greek legends give the genitive *Maou*. The nominative of the Greek name may have been either *Mauos*, *Mauas*, or *Mauēs*. The last-mentioned form appears to be the one which has met with general approval.

The record on the Taxila or Sir-Sukh plate, last edited by Bühler (EI, 4. 55), gives us the name of a king Moga. It comes from the same territory with the coins of *Moa*, *Mauēs*, and is similarly written in an Indian dialect and in the Kharōshthī characters. It is a record of the reign of Moga, and is dated in the year 78 of an unspecified era, and on the fifth lunar day of the Macedonian month *Panēmos*. And it registers the fact that, on that day, *Patika*, son of the Chhatrapa (Satrap) *Liaka-Kusuluka*, re-enshrined a relic of Buddha, the original Stūpa of which

<sup>1</sup> In the next, or next but one, number of this Journal.

<sup>2</sup> It is usual to follow Professor Bühler in using the form 'Kharōshthī.' But it is by no means certain that M. Sylvain Lévi is not right in holding that the real name of these characters is 'Kharōshtrī.'

had fallen into disrepair,<sup>1</sup> and founded a monastery, at a site named Chhema on the north-east of the city Takhasilā (Taxila). The passage containing the date runs:—*Samvachharayē aṭhasatatimacē 20 20 20 10 4 4 maharayasa mahamntasa Mogasa Pa[nē]masu<sup>2</sup> masasa divasē pañchamē 4 1 ētayē purvayē*; “in the seventy-eighth year, 78, on the fifth day, 5, of the month Panēma of the great king, the great one, Moga:” on this (*lunar day, specified as*) above.” And by its construction it probably marks that Panēmos as the first Panēmos in the reign of Moga, and so places the initial date of Moga in the preceding part of the year 78 itself, or at any rate not earlier than the sixth day of Panēmos of the year 77.

<sup>1</sup> The text says:—*apratīḥavita . . . . . śariram [pra]titha[vē]ti*; “he establishes an unestablished relic.” Professor Bühler considered that the term “*apratīḥavita*,” ‘not established,’ probably is meant to indicate that this particular relic had not been worshipped formerly, but had been newly discovered.” That is not, however, the meaning that presents itself to me.

<sup>2</sup> This word stands at the place where the plate is broken down the middle. The following observations must be made regarding the reading of it.

The recognition of the word as *panēmasa* was made by Professor Dowson, and has been always followed, with one exception. Babu Rajendralala Mitra proposed (JASB, 32, 1863. 153) to read *pañchamasa* (sic), ‘of the fifth:’ this we need not discuss.

Professor Dowson presented *pañchamasa* in his text (this Journal, 1863. 222), but observed (ibid., 224):—“The first [of the letters] may be *p*, *k*, or *bh*, and “the second seems to be *sh*. . . . . The initial letter seems to be preferably “*p*, and it is easy to perceive how the letter *ne* might come to look like *sh*, “where the plate is so eaten away and corroded.” He assumed that the word is *pañchamasa*, because the names of other Macedonian months had been found in records of the same class.

Professor Bühler gave *pa . emasa*, from the original plate, and said:—“Restore “*panemasa* with Professor Dowson; only part of the vowel and of the head of “the consonant has been pre-erred:” see EI, 4. 55, and note 6.

The lithographs in JASB, 31, 1862. 532; this Journal, 1863. 222; ASI, 2. 125, present the appearance of the top part of *sh*, with or without a superscript *e*. But they are in no sense facsimiles. The original record was incised in dots (see the facsimile published with Professor Bühler’s article), in the place of which these illustrations give continuous strokes.

I have closely examined the original plate, which is in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the first syllable we certainly have either a *p* or the remains of a *k*. Of the next syllable so little remains that it is quite undeterminable. But, in a good light, the following *masa*, and the initial *ma* of the next word *masasa*, are unmistakable. Having regard to the points, that at least two other Macedonian months, Artemisios and Daisios, are certainly mentioned in the records, and that no other admissible reading can be found, there can be no doubt that the original here had *panēmasa*.

<sup>3</sup> There is no authority for supplying in the translation any such words as “in the reign” (of Moga); nor any necessity to do so. The word *mogasa* is dependent, neither on *rajanimi*, ‘in the reign,’ understood, nor on *sañvachharayē*,—(the passage has been translated on both those lines),—but on *panēmasa masasa*.

To determine the date given in the Taxila record, and so to fix a definite year in which Moga was reigning, would not be a lengthy matter: it would only be necessary to adduce certain evidence substantiating the correct solution which was propounded almost at the outset, by intuitive accuracy of perception, by Dowson (see page 1016 below). There has been, however, no such specific aid in respect of Moa, Mauēs, whose date, accordingly, still remains open to argument within certain small limits. Also, through an erroneous identification of Moga with him, there has been created a general question so intricate that the answer to it cannot now be simply stated off-hand. A sketch, as complete but as brief as we can make it, of what has been written about the whole matter, is due to distinguished writers, now deceased, whose views, though sometimes erroneous (from lack of the fuller information which we now possess), cannot be summarily dismissed. It may, perhaps, also serve to clear the way towards a quicker determination of other doubts surrounding the early history of India. We shall never get quite to the bottom of some of the problems the solution of which rests in any way on numismatic evidence, until we have a compilation giving us full information as to the find-places of the coins, and as to the theories that have been advanced from time to time regarding the chronology and history of the rulers to whom the coins belong.

#### Previous views about Moga and Mauēs.

The coins of Moa, Mauēs, appear to have been first described by Prinsep, in JASB, 4, 1835. 338 (= *Essays*, 1. 186). He classed them under the heading "Bactrian and Indo-Scythic."

A period for Moa, Mauēs, B.C. 100 to 80, was apparently first proposed by Wilson, in 1841, in his *Ariana Antiqua*, 313. Wilson classed him under "Barbaric princes of Bactria." He considered that the name Moa, Mauēs, indicated a barbaric prince. He held that the elephant-and-

caduceus coins of Mauēs, presenting only a Greek legend, belong to a better and earlier period of art than his other coins (as seems in fact to be the case), and were of Bactrian currency alone. And he conjectured that he reigned at Bamian (in Afghānistān) or at Kunduz (in Afghān Turkistān).

In 1843, Cunningham, as quoted by Thomas in this *Journal*, 1863. 119 (= *Prinsep's Essays*, 2. 176), proposed for Mauēs the period B.C. 135 to 110, and assigned to him first Patalene, Saurāshṭra (Kāthiāwād), and Larice, and then Taxila, the territory of Porus, and Cathaea, in addition to those territories, but considered that in B.C. 105 he lost Taxila to one of the Kadphisēs kings.

In 1852, Lassen, as quoted by Thomas (*ibid.*, 120, 177, respectively), assigned to Mauēs the period B.C. 120 to 100. He classed him under the general heading "Indo-Scythian and Parthian kings," and in the subdivision "Śaka kings."

There was then brought to notice the Taxila or Sir-Sukh plate (see page 1013 above). This record was first edited by Dowson, in this *Journal*, 1863. 222, with a supplementary note on it in *JASB*, 32, 1863. 421 ff. I do not find that Dowson offered any suggestion as to the identity of the king Moga of this record, or, on that occasion, as to the nature of the era cited in it. But subsequently (this *Journal*, 1875. 380, 382), referring this date to the same series with the date in the year 103 given for king Guduphara-Gondophernēs by the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription, he treated them both as dates of the so-called Vikrama era of B.C. 58. If that view had been accepted and various connected questions had been worked out on the same lines by other scholars, we should have been spared many of the complications which render it so difficult to now evolve order out of all that has been written about the early history.

In the same year Cunningham published his reading and translation of the Taxila record (*JASB*, 32, 1863. 140). He expressed the opinion (141) that the Moga of the record was probably identical with the Moa, Mauēs, of the coins. He cited (142) B.C. 163 as the year quoted by Lassen from

the Chinese authorities as the actual date of the occupation of Transoxiana by the Sök, the Śakas.<sup>1</sup> He said regarding that year :—" I think that it may be accepted for the present " as the most probable approximation to the era used by the " Indo-Scythian Sakas." And, adopting that starting-point, he placed (ibid.) the Taxila record in  $163 - 78 = \text{B.C. } 85$ , and found a date for Mauēs, as = Moga, in that year.

In his Archæological Report for 1863-64, published in 1871, Cunningham expressed himself more plainly in favour of the identification of Moga with Moa, Mauēs (ASI, 2. 54, 59, 187).

In 1879, Von Sallet (*Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen*, 65) placed Mauēs not later than B.C. 100, and put immediately before him a person, Rājūvula, to whom we shall come farther on (page 1024 below). And he maintained (140) that the numismatic evidence indicates an Arsacidan, rather than an Indo-Scythian, origin for Mauēs.

In 1886, Gardner remarked (Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, introd., 40) that it is impossible to place Mauēs at a later date than the middle of the first century B.C., and (33) selected B.C. 70 as his initial date, and apparently assigned to him a reign from then till about B.C. 35. To this result he seems to have been led (49) partly by an agreement in the probability of the identification of the Moga of the Taxila record with Moa, Mauēs, partly by an inclination to identify the Liaka-Kusuluka of the same record with Kozola-Kadaphes, of the Kadphisēs group of kings, who, he held, probably reigned at the very beginning of the Christian era, and might well be placed seventy-eight years later than the accession of Mauēs. And, observing that it is all but impossible that Mauēs could himself have reigned for seventy-eight years, he propounded the view that the statement in the Taxila

<sup>1</sup> I may be excused, I think, for substituting, here and anywhere else, the form Sök for any other forms used by writers whom I may quote : see Dr. O. Franke's note on " The Identity of the Sök with the Śakas " (page 675 ff. above).

record must denote the year, not of his reign, but of an era established by him.

In 1888, Cunningham suggested (*Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, 44) that the rule of Mauēs and two successors, Azēs and Azilisēs, in the Western Panjāb, may have lasted from about B.C. 100 to the beginning of the Christian era.

In 1890, he made this about B.C. 100 to 20. (*Coins of the Sakas*, 8). On this occasion (22) he took over Gardner's view that the year 78 of the Taxila record did not fall in the reign of Moga but was the year 78 of an era founded by him; and, treating Moga as identical with Moa, Mauēs, and as one of the leaders of the Śakas in a conquest by them of the provinces of the Indus, which, he held, could not be placed later than B.C. 120, he arrived at about B.C. 40 as the date of the Taxila record and of Liaka-Kusuluka.

In 1891, in the *Academy*, April, 397 ff., Cunningham, again identifying Moga with Moa, Mauēs, credited him with the foundation of an era commencing either in B.C. 100 or in B.C. 80. He thus, on this occasion, pushed on the date of Liaka-Kusuluka to B.C. 22 or 2. At the same time, treating certain other rulers as Śakas along with Moga as = Moa, Mauēs, he referred their recorded dates to the same supposed reckoning: he thus placed Nahapāna in B.C. 58 and 54, or 38 and 34; Śodāsa (regarding whom, see page 1025 below) in B.C. 28 or 8; and Gondophernēs in A.D. 3 or 23.

Bhagwanlal Indrajī, in his treatment of the Taxila record, followed the identification of Moga with Moa, Mauēs, and the view that the year 78 of the record was a year, not in the reign of Moga, but of an era founded by him (this *Journal*, 1894. 553). Elsewhere, he accepted B.C. 70, approximately, for the initial date of Mauēs, who, he held, probably belonged to the Śaka tribe of Scythians (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1, 1. 22); and thus he appears to have placed the Taxila record about A.D. 8.

Bühler, in 1896, intimated his opinion (*Academy*, March, 1896. 266; *VOJ*, 10. 56; *IA*, 25. 141), that the date, the year 113, in the Kaldarra or Kaladara Nadi inscription, is very probably in the same era with the date 72 in the

Mathurā inscription of Soḍāsa (see page 1025 below) and the date 78 in the Taxila record of Moga, and deduced, from the statements of the numismatists, that the era used in the inscription of Soḍāsa must have commenced at some time between B.C. 137 and 112; but, quoting Bhagwanlal Indrajī's opinion (see page 1031 below) to the effect that all the "Northern Kshatrapas" ruled in the first century A.D., he added:—"In my opinion the only certain point is that Raijubula and Soḍāsa preceded Kanishka." It seemed to him, however (*Academy*, May, 1896. 368; *VOJ*, 10. 173 f.), very tempting to consider the above-mentioned three dates of the years 72, 78, and 113, the Takht-i-Bahāi date for Gondophernēs in the year 103, and various other dates, including those for Kanishka and his successors in the years 5 to 98, which he proposed to treat as abbreviations (by omitted hundreds or suppressed centuries) for 205 to 298, as links of one and the same chain; and he expressed the opinion that, in that case, the commencement of the era must fall in the first half of the first century B.C. In editing the Taxila record at about the same time, he mentioned (*EI*, 4. 55) Cunningham's identification of Moga with Mauēs, and Von Sallet's reference of Mauēs to not later than B.C. 100: but the point of view from which he did so is not clear.

Rapson, in 1898 (*Indian Coins*, § 29), accepted as probable the identification of Moga with Moa, Mauēs; followed the view that the dynasty of Mauēs was the earliest of the Śaka dynasties in India; and endorsed the opinion that his date is not later than about B.C. 120.

In 1899, R. G. Bhandarkar and D. R. Bhandarkar, following the identification of Moga with Moa, Mauēs, but rejecting the view that he founded an era, arrived at the conclusion that he was the last member of a Śaka dynasty founded by Vonōnēs, who, they held, in doing that, founded also the so-called Śaka era of A.D. 78; and, taking the year 78 of the Taxila record as the year 78 of that era, they assigned to Mauēs, as = Moga, the period A.D. 154 to 168 as = the years 76 to 90 of the Śaka era (*JBBRAS*, 20. 292 f.).

Finally, V. Smith capped the matter in the opposite direction. In 1889, while declining to assert that the so-called Vikrama era of B.C. 58 was actually employed by Gondophernēs, he expressed the opinion (IA, 18. 258) that the era used by Gondophernēs in the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription of the year 103 cannot have differed very much from the era of B.C. 58, and "may have been that of the "great king Moga," in the 78th year of which the Taxila inscription of the Satrap Liako-Kusulako is dated." In 1903, however, he changed over to the understanding that the Taxila record is dated, not in the 78th year of an era of Moga, but in the reign of Moga himself and in the year 78 of a reckoning of some other kind; and, adopting the identification of Moga with Moa, Mauēs, and the view that his initial date was about B.C. 120 (this Journal, 1903. 46, 58), he placed the date of the Taxila record specifically in B.C. 99 (ibid., 47, 59). This he did by taking the year 78 as equivalent, according to a system of omitted hundreds, to the year 2978 of a Kashmirī reckoning, called by him the "Laukika era," which has its initial point in B.C. 3076. In the same way (loc. cit.), he placed in B.C. 105 the Mathurā inscription of Sodāsu (see page 1025 below) dated in the year 72, taken by him as = 2972. And he thus arrived at two "ascertained dates" (ibid., 47, note)—whatever that may mean—for Šodāsu, and for "Moga (Maues)" and Liako-Kusuluku.

On that same occasion, V. Smith suggested (ibid., 58) that "Moga (Maues)" was a Śaka king of Kābul and the Panjāb. In the following year, however, still holding that Moga was almost certainly Mauēs, he classed Mauēs and his successors as Indo-Parthians (*Early History of India*, 202); and to the proof and development of that view he devoted a long article, entitled "The Indo-Parthian Dynasties," which was published in ZDMG, 1906. 49-72. But now, in the current year, he has devoted another long article, entitled "The Śakas in Northern India" (ZDMG, 1907. 403-21), to invalidating that conclusion. He has in this article decided (421) that "the evidence, as it now stands, does not warrant

“us in affirming as a fact that Maues and his successors “were Śakas.” Nevertheless, he has said (420):—“It is “by no means improbable that Maues was, as has commonly “been supposed, a Śaka chieftain.” And he has added (421):—“Personally, I think it probable that Śaka chiefs “ruled in the Panjāb until the Yüe-chi conquest in the “latter part of the first century A.D.” This last declaration reminds us naturally of another recent pronouncement by the same writer (IA, 1905. 185):—“Personally, I do not “believe in the existence of Buddhaghōsha, ‘the Voice of “Buddha,’ as an historical personage.” These curious declarations, and these vacillating results following each other so quickly, need no comment.

### The names Moa, Mauēs, and Moga.

Some remarks may be made here on the nature and possible connexion of the names Moa, Mauēs, and Moga. In making them, I assume that the spelling presented in the Taxila or Sir-Sukh record gives the name Moga in its full form, so that we have not to complete it into Mogga by doubling the *g*.<sup>1</sup>

In the first place, the Greek and Indian forms of the name yielded by the coins do not exactly match each other: the Greek legend gives *au* in the first syllable; the Indian legend gives *o*. The Kharōshthī alphabet had, it is true, no sign for *au*. But the sound *au* might have been easily represented by the form Mavua or Maüa. The inference seems to be that the sound of the vowel in that syllable was neither exactly *o* nor exactly what we mean by *au* in transliterating Sanskrit, Prākṛit, etc., but was more like the sound of the *au* in such words as ‘taught’ and ‘daughter.’

Secondly, in support of an opinion, first that Mauēs and certain other kings were Dahae Scythians from the frontiers of Parthia, and then that they were Śaka - Scythians,

<sup>1</sup> There might also be the possibility that the name should be completed into Moḡga, by supplying an Anusvāra. But it is rendered very doubtful, if it is not actually negatived, by the fact that the Anusvāra is distinctly expressed, almost in every case in which it is required, throughout the record.

Cunningham, in *ASI*, 2. 59, and *Coins of the Sakas*, 1, cited, as other instances of the occurrence of the same name, the names of Moagetes, a tyrant of Cibyra in Phrygia (his date was about B.C. 189), and of Moaphernes, whom he described in the first place as the father-in-law of Strabo and in the second place as an uncle of Strabo's mother, and as "a person of some consequence during the "reign of Mithridates of Pontus" (meaning, I infer, Mithridates VI, B.C. 120 to 63). And it was probably under the influence of those two names that he wrote 'Moas' more usually than 'Mauas.' There is not found, however, any authority in the coins for the form 'Moas.' And the point mentioned in the preceding paragraph seems to negative the supposition that in the name Moa, Mauēs, we have the first component of the names Moagetes and Moaphernes.

Cunningham further told us (*Coins of the Sakas*, 1) that Arrian mentions "a king of the Sakas, named *Mabakes*, "who joined Darius Codomannus. His name might also be "read as *Mauakes*." The reference is to Arrian's *Anabasis*, 3. 8. We there learn that Mauakēs was the commander of the horse-bowmen of the Sakai, "a Scythian tribe of the Scythians who were sojourning, or had settled, in Asia," at the battle of Gaugamēla or Arbēla (B.C. 331): further, that these Sakai, led by Mauakēs, were not included with the Bactrians, the Sogdianians, and the Indians who were conterminous with the Bactrians, under the command of Bessus, viceroy of Bactria, but were in alliance with Darius.

In connexion with this name Mauakēs, F. W. Thomas, who has classed the names Mauēs and Moga as Scythic, has said (this *Journal*, 1906. 208): — "In all Iranian "languages *ka* is a common *kose*-suffix, and in the Scythic "names it is especially frequent in the form *ga*. No doubt "*Moga* = *Mauaka*." From that conclusion, which implies (I suppose) that the name Moa, Maua, was the more precise appellation from which Moga, Mauaka, was derived as a sort of familiar or endearing form, I have no desire to differ: it affects only the possible nationality of Mauēs and Moga.

There is also another point of view, from which the names Moa and Moga might be regarded as identical. We know that in the Indian dialects a medial single consonant was often liable to disappear. We have a notable instance in the place-name Śākula, which, through the vernacular form Sāgala, and then evidently through the forms Sāala, Sāla, gave us, with the addition of the word *kōṭṭa*, *kōṭa*, 'a fort, a stronghold,' the Sālkōt, Sālkōṭ, of Albērūnī, and then—as the result of a frequent tendency of Panjābī to insert an *i* or *iy*—the modern name Siālkōt, Siyālkōṭ.<sup>1</sup> And, as other instances, we may cite the two well-known forms *dhramika* and *dhramia* from coins, and the form *nakaraa* in the inscription F. on the Mathurā lion-capital (this Journal, 1894. 537), against the form *nakaraka* in the inscription N. (ibid., 539).

In that way, the name Moga itself might quite possibly pass into Moa. On the other hand, we can trace in that same part of India an occasional tendency to insert an apparently unnecessary consonant where none seems to have existed in the original word. Thus, the name of the Macedonian month Daisios appears, if we may trust the lithograph (see, e.g., IA, 40. 325, plate), in the Indian form Daisika in the Suē-Vihār inscription of B.C. 46: and coins which give Lusias as the Greek name of a certain king give both Lisia and Lisika as the Indian form (see Gardner, plate 8, figs. 7, 6, respectively). Thus, the name Moga might possibly be evolved from Moa, almost as readily as Moa might be obtained from Moga.

It is not right, however, to press such linguistic occurrences and etymological possibilities too far. From the quite admissible possibility that the names Moa and Moga are essentially one and the same, it does not necessarily follow that they would always mark an identity of persons. Also, while F. W. Thomas has in one place characterized the

<sup>1</sup> See my article "Sāgala, Śākula, the City of Milinda and Mihirakula" in the Transactions of the Fourteenth Oriental Congress, Algiers, 1905, part 1, Indian Section, page 164 ff.

name Mauēs as “specifically Scythic” (loc. cit., 216), to his linguistic statements on page 208 ff. he has attached the remark that they “are intended as purely positive.” His results, therefore, seem not to preclude the possibility that the names Moa, Maua (Mauēs), and Moga may have occurred in other languages also. Further, even if they are Scythic names and nothing else, it does not necessarily follow that the bearers of them were always of Scythian nationality; much less, that they were Śakas.

However, be all that as it may be,—(and, as intimated above, it is all dependent on the understanding that the name presented in the Taxila or Sir-Sukh record is really Moga, and not Mogga or Moiga),<sup>1</sup>—there is an absolute obstacle to the identification of the king Moga of the Taxila inscription with the king Moa, Mauēs, of the coins.

### Inscriptions of Rājūvula, Śodāsa, and Kharaosta.

We must now bring into the field of our inquiry three other rulers, Rājūvula, his son Śodāsa, and his grandson, (daughter's son) Kharaosta.

An inscription in Brāhmī characters at Mōra or Mōramēyi, about five miles on the west of Mathurā (ASI, 29. 49, and plate 5), gives us the name of the ‘Mahakshatrapa’ (Great Satrap) Rājūvula.<sup>2</sup> It is a record of a son of his, whose name is lost. The date, if recorded, is not extant.

An inscription in Brāhmī characters at Mathurā (this Journal, 1871. 188, No. 29, and plate; ASI, 3. 30, and

<sup>1</sup> See the note on page 1021 above.

<sup>2</sup> On previous occasions, following Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (this Journal, 1894. 532), I have been writing this name as Rājūvūla. But I notice that Professor Bühler, while writing the name as Rājuvula, with a short *u* in both syllables (EI, 4. 55: *Indian Paleography*, § 19, A), has entered the second syllable of it as *jū* in his plate iii, 13, ii. And, examining the lithograph again, and comparing other early records, I think that we must take the name as Rājūvula, with the long *ū* in the second syllable and the short *u* in the third; rejecting as part of the record the somewhat detached stroke in the lithograph on the right of the vowel of the third syllable. It need hardly be said that the fact that the legends on the Brāhmī coins (see page 1026 below) present the name as Rājuvula, with a short *u* in both syllables, does not preclude us from finding a long *ū* in either syllable in an inscription, and from accepting it as giving the more correct form. The Kharoṣṭhī legends of course shew only the short *u*.

plate 13, No. 1; IA, 1904. 149, No. 24) gives us the name of the Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa. The date, if recorded, is not extant. Neither does this record nor does the next one yield the name of his father.

Another inscription in Brāhminī characters at Mathurā (EI, 2. 199, and plate) mentions again the 'Mahakshatrapa' Śoḍāsa, and gives a date for him in the second month of the season Hēmana of the year 72 of an unspecified era.<sup>1</sup>

On the Mathurā lion-capital we have a series of records in intrusive Kharōṣṭhī characters and an intrusive Indian dialect, foreign to that locality, and used there in these records in exceptional circumstances as the result of that territory having fallen for a time into the hands of a strange power from the north-west.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription A. (this Journal, 1894. 533) registers the fact that a relic of Buddha was enshrined and a monastery was founded by Nadasi-Kasa, daughter of Yasi-Ka[mudha] the chief consort of the Mahachhatrava Rajula (= Rājūla), and mother of the Yuvaraja Kharaosta, together with her (?) maternal aunt Buhola, her paternal grandmother (?) Piśpasi, her brother Hayuara, her daughter Hana, her ladies in waiting, and her retinue.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription B. (ibid., 535), which must be a subordinate clause of one of the other records, marks that some act was done when the Chhatrava (Satrap) was Śuḍasa (= Śudāsa), son of the Mahachhatrava Rajula. And the Chhatrava Śuḍasa is mentioned again in the inscription M. (ibid., 539).

The inscription E. mentions again, as the Yuvaraya

<sup>1</sup> Professor Bühler originally read the date as "the year 42, or perhaps 72" (*Academy*, April, 1891. 374). General Sir Alexander Cunningham said that he read it, without hesitation, as "72 and not 42" (ibid., 397). Professor Bühler presented it as "42 (?)" in his published text and translation (EI, 2. 199). He subsequently endorsed the correction into 72 (EI. 4. 55, and note 2).

<sup>2</sup> In respect of the dialect, an instructive detail is the form *bhakarvata* = *bhagavataḥ* in the inscription A, line 12. The *k* for *g* is a Paisācī feature: see Vararuchi, 10. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The construction of this record is not exactly confused, but is open to a charge of ambiguity. Professor Bühler understood it in such a way as to make Nadasi-Kasa, mother of Kharaosta, the wife of Rajula (this Journal, 1894. 531). Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji understood it as making her a daughter of Rajula (ibid., 546). I agree with the latter.

Kharaosta, in connexion with some act registered by it, the person who is called the Yuvaraja Kharaosta in the inscription A.

It is to be added that the inscription G. (ibid., 537) marks that some act was done either for the worship of, i.e. in honour or in memory of, the Mahachhatrava Kusulaa-Patika<sup>1</sup> and the Chhatrava Mevaki-Miyika, or else was done by Kusulaa-Patika in honour or in memory of Mevakicha-Miyika.

### Coins of Rājūvula, Śodāsa, and Kharaosta.

Coins of Moga, Liaka, and Patika, have apparently not yet come to light. But we have coins of Rājūvula, Śodāsa, and Kharaosta. The coins of Rājūvula and Kharaosta are the useful ones for our present purpose: those of Śodāsa, however, may be briefly noticed at the same time.

The coins of Rājūvula are of two classes: A, those which bear legends in the Brāhmī characters only; B, those which bear legends in Greek and Kharōshthī characters.

A. His coins of this class have the legends on the obverse.<sup>2</sup> They seem to always shew the long ā, at any rate in the proper name: if they do so, the legend runs—

Mahākhatapasa Rājūvulasa; “of the Mahākhatapa Rājūvula.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The photograph of the record, which I have before me, is somewhat suggestive that we should take Kusulaa, with *u*, not *a*, in the third syllable. However, I follow for the present Bhagwanlal Indraji and Bühler in that detail.

As regards another detail, it would seem that Mr. F. W. Thomas, who has been engaged for some years on an exhaustive study of the records on the Mathurā lion-capital,—(he has given us one result in his elucidative article entitled “Sakastana,” published in this Journal, 1906. 181 ff.),—prefers to read the proper name (here, at least; and, I presume, in also the Taxila record) as Padika, with *d* instead of *t* (see, e.g., loc. cit., 213). I shall be quite ready to take over that form when it is established: meanwhile, I follow the form given by the previous decipherers.

<sup>2</sup> For illustrations, see JASB, 7, 1838. 1050, plate 32, fig. 20 (= *Prinsep's Essays*, 2. 223, plate 44, fig. 20); Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, plate 8, fig. 4; Bhagwanlal Indraji, in this Journal, 1894. 541, plate, fig. 4; and Rapson, *Indian Coins*, plate 2, fig. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Following Cunningham (loc. cit. in the preceding note, and *Coins of the Sakas*, 70, No. 15), Rapson has transcribed the legend so as to present *b* in the third syllable,—*Rājubulasa*. But the illustrations in C.CAI, and R.IC, and this Journal, 1894 (see the preceding note), distinctly shew *v*.

B. His coins of this class present legends in Greek characters on the obverse and in Kharōshthī characters on the reverse.<sup>1</sup> They seem to be of several varieties. But one peculiarity appears to pervade them all; namely, that the Greek and Indian legends do not match each other: the Greek legend describes this prince as “king of kings, the saviour,” while the Indian legends describe him as “the Chhatrapa, or the Mahachhatrapa, whose discus is unrepelled.”

The Greek legend usually runs—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΑΙΥ.

In this there are two peculiarities. The *i* at the end of *basilei* does duty for *ōn*:<sup>2</sup> with this we may compare ΧΑΡΑΗΛΙΣΤΕΙ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΕΙ, in which *ei* does duty for *ou*, on the coins of Kharastota (see page 1029 below). The *razu* stands, no doubt, for a full genitive *razubalou* or *°bolou*, of which the last two syllables were omitted from the dies because there was no room for them. It would appear<sup>3</sup> that some of the coins omit even the *u*; that others shew *io* instead of it; and that others shew *b* or *ba* after the *u* or *io*.

The Indian legend runs, sometimes—

Apratihatachakrasa chhatrapasu Rajuvulasa; <sup>4</sup>  
sometimes—

Chhatrapasa apratihatachakrasa Rajuvulasa.

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations, see JASB, 23, 1854. 688, plate 35, figs. 5, 6, 7; Von Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen*, plate 5, fig. 3; Gardner, *Catalogue*, plate 15, figs. 11, 12; Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, plate 12, figs. 12, 13, and *Coins of Ancient India*, plate 8, figs. 2, 3; Bhagwanlal Indraji, in this Journal, 1894. 541, plate, figs. 2, 3; and Rapson, *Indian Coins*, plate 2, fig. 5.

<sup>2</sup> There is something of the same kind on some of the Parthian coins, where Mr. Wroth has told us, an *i*— (or an apparent *i*)— does duty at times for *a*, *e*, *s*, *r*, and *u*: see his *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, introd., 77.

<sup>3</sup> See JASB, 23, 1854. 690; ASI, 3. 41; *Coins of Ancient India*, 86.

<sup>4</sup> The name has always been transcribed from these legends with *b* in the third syllable. There is, perhaps, no reason why the *v* of the Brāhmī legends should not have passed into *b* in the dialect of the Kharōshthī legends. At the same time, there is no particular reason why that should have happened; and the hand-drawn illustrations by Cunningham in JASB, 23, 1854. plate 35, figs. 5, 6, 7, distinctly suggest *v*, not *b*, and the coins themselves in the British Museum, which I have examined, do the same.

Some of the legends in Kharōshthī characters have been understood to present

Some of the coins seem to have *mahachhatrapasa*, instead of the lower title. On others, the epithet appears to be shortened to *apratichakrasa*.

Śoḍāsa was a son of Rājūvula. His coins present legends in the Brāhmī characters only, and are of three varieties.<sup>1</sup> It seems not quite certain whether the legends on them always shew the long *ā* in the word *mahā*: if they do so, they run<sup>2</sup>—

(a) Mahākhatrapasa putrasa khatrapasa Śoḍāsasa; “of the Khatrapa Śoḍāsa, son of the Mahākhatrapa.”

(b) Rājuvula-putrasa . . . . .; “of . . . . ., son of Rājuvula.”

(c) Mahākhatrapasa Śoḍāsasa; “of the Mahākhatrapa Śoḍāsa.”

Kharaosta was a grandson—(daughter’s son)—of Rājūvula (see page 1025 above), and was consequently a nephew of Śoḍāsa. His coins are of one class only, presenting legends in Greek characters on the obverse and in Kharōshthī characters on the reverse. They have been best treated by Rapson, in this Journal, 1905. 792 ff., with an illustration,

the first syllable of the name as *ram*. And, in addition to Cunningham’s original Rājābula (with the variants Rajabula, Rājābūl), to which he subsequently added Rajubul, Rājubul, Rājubula, Ranjabula, and Ranjubul, the name has been written indifferently, by various writers, as Rājābula, Rajubula, Rajuvula, Rājābula, Rājuvula, Rājūvula, Ranjabula, Ranjubula, Ranjabala, and Rañjubula.

A coin in the British Museum—(perhaps the only one which shews the first syllable fully, or at any rate clearly)—certainly shews below the vertical stem of the *r* a curved stroke to the left, which might mean an Anusvāra if an Anusvāra were required. It can at least not mean a long *ā*. And in the face of the distinct *rā*, with no Anusvāra, of the Mōra inscription and the Brāhmī coin-legends, we must, in my opinion, regard this stroke as not denoting even an Anusvāra, but as being only the meaningless bend to the left which Professor Rapson has commented on and illustrated in his article on Kharōshthī documents in the Transactions of the Fourteenth Oriental Congress, Algiers, 1905, part 1, Indian Section, page 210 ff.: see page 219, bottom, and the table on page 213, which shews this stroke in the *ō* of *bahu*, the *g* of *gachhishyati*, and the *y* of *yajñesi*.

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations, see JASB, 7, 1888. 1050, plate 32, fig. 21 (= Prinsep’s *Essays*, 2. 223, plate 44, fig. 21); Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, plate 12, fig. 16, and *Coins of Ancient India*, plate 8, fig. 5; Bhagwanlal Indraji, in this Journal, 1894. 541, plate, figs. 5 and 6; Rapson, in this Journal, 1903. 312, plate, fig. 4; and V. Smith, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1. 192, plate 22, fig. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding certain details,—*tra*, not *ta*; and *śō*, not *śu* or *śau*,—see Professor Rapson in this Journal, 1903. 289, note 3.

fig. 9 in the plate at page 814, from an excellent specimen belonging to Mr. Bleazby.<sup>1</sup> That treatment of them, however, like the others, failed to recognize an important feature in the Greek legend; namely, the inclusion of the Latin H, *h*, amongst the otherwise Greek characters, with the result that we have Kharahōstēs as a quite reasonable transliteration of the native name Kharaosta.

The Greek legend runs<sup>2</sup>—

ΧΑΡΑΗΩΣΤΕΙ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΕΙ ΑΡΤΑΥΟΥ.

The first two words are quite distinct: so also are the last five letters of the last word, which seems to be a more or less blundered rendering of ΑΡΤΑΟΥ ΥΟΥ (= ΥΙΟΥ), or else of ΑΡΤΟΥ alone, with ΥΙΟΥ, ΥΟΥ, understood.

The Kharōshthī legend, as restored by Rapson from several specimens, runs—

Chhatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Arṭasa putrasa.

Herc, the syllable *pra* is at present unintelligible. The rest means:—"Of the Chhatrapa Kharaosta, son of Arṭa."

### Previous views about Rājūvula and Śoḍāsa.

We must now run through the proposals made from time to time regarding the date of Rājūvula and Śoḍāsa.

Cunningham originally read and wrote the name of the first of these princes as 'Rājabāla'; he identified him with a certain Rājapāla, alleged to be the last king of the 'Mayūra' dynasty of Delhi; and, on the strength of an assertion that Rājapāla was vanquished by 'Sākāditya' and

<sup>1</sup> For other illustrations, see Gardner, plate 23, fig. 6; Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, plate 12, figs. 9, 10, 11; and Bhagwanlal Indraji, this Journal, 1894, 541, plate, figs. 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup> The *epsilon*, *omikron*, and *sigma* have certainly the rectangular forms. I agree with Rapson in taking the *omega* as [Ω], not [ω]; with Cunningham in considering that the *alpha* is Α, not A.

The fifth letter is distinctly not Μ, but Η, with the value of *h*. I may note that Cunningham, while shewing it in one place as Μ (op. cit., 25), shewed it in the other place as Η, even while still treating it there as Μ (op. cit., 68).

the latter by the legendary Vikramāditya, the supposed founder of the so-called Vikrama era of B.C. 58, he assigned to Rājīvula the period B.C. 70 to 60 (JASB, 23, 1854. 683). There is, of course, nothing in that; except that it started the fairly general inclination to assign to Rājīvula and Śodāsa a much earlier period than is really correct.

In 1873, Cunningham found reasons for concluding (quite correctly) that Rājīvula was the father of Śodāsa (ASI, 3. 40). On account of similarity in type, he referred the coins of Śodāsa to the period of Azilisēs, which, he held, could not be later than B.C. 80 to 70 (loc. cit.). He expressed the opinion that the undated Mathurā inscription of Śodāsa — (see pages 1024–5 above; his dated record was not known then)— was older than various records dated in the era of B.C. 58, which, he then held (ibid., 39), was founded by Wēmo-Kadphisēs. And he thus fixed Rājīvula at approximately B.C. 120 to 80, and Śodāsa at B.C. 80 to 57 (ibid., 41).

In 1879, Von Sallet, as we have seen (page 1017 above), put Rājīvula immediately before Moa, Mauēs, whom he placed not later than B.C. 100.

On the basis that the bilingual coins of Rājīvula resemble those of Strato II., Gardner, in 1886, expressed the opinion that Rājīvula was nearly contemporary with that king, and was a Satrap who asserted his independence (Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, introd., 39). This had the effect of assigning to Rājīvula an initial date between B.C. 90 and 80, and of placing him before Mauēs, to whom Gardner assigned the period B.C. 70 to about 35 (ibid., 33).

In 1890, Cunningham held (*Coins of the Sakas*, 21) that the inscription P. on the Mathurā lion-capital, which he interpreted as meaning:—"For the merit of all the people of Sakastān,"— (for its real meaning: "*A gift* of Sarva, in honour of his home," see this Journal, 1905. 155),— gave decisive proof that Rājīvula and Śodāsa, and certain others whom, with them, he classed as "Saka Satraps" and as belonging to the period of "Saka rule," were of Śaka

nationality.<sup>1</sup> From the find - places of the coins, he concluded (*ibid.*, 26) that Rājīvula held the eastern Panjāb and North-West India as far as Mathurā. And he took him as the independent ruler of those territories just before the conquest by Wēmo-Kadphisēs, whose initial date he had then pushed on to A.D. 35 (*Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, 58). Also, no coins of Śoḍāsa having been found in the eastern Panjāb, he concluded (*Coins of the Sakas*, 27) that the rule of Śoḍāsa was limited to the districts round Mathurā during the reign of Wēmo-Kadphisēs, A.D. 35 to 75.

In 1891, however, in circumstances indicated on page 1018 above, Cunningham carried back the date of the year 72 for Śoḍāsa, in the Mathurā inscription, to B.C. 28 or 8.

Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his treatment, edited by Bühler, of the inscriptions on the Mathurā lion-capital, expressed the opinion that Śoḍāsa cannot have ruled later than in the first half of the first century A.D., and might possibly be still earlier (this *Journal*, 1894. 531 f.). And he classed Rājīvula and Śoḍāsa amongst those whom he called the "Northern Kshatrapas," whose rule, he held, commenced under Mauēs about B.C. 70, and ended with the accession of Kanishka about A.D. 78 (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1, pt. 22). It may be added that, while interpreting the inscription P. as meaning:—"In honour of the whole Sakastana," he marked that interpretation as dubious by observing (*loc. cit.*, 530) that "the insertion

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. Cunningham seems to have thus started this interpretation of the inscription P; in print, at any rate.

(On the same occasion he said (*loc. cit.*, 21), with reference to the inscription R:—*Koḍinasa tachhilasa*, that "the name of the city of Taxila is also found on "the capital. At this time, therefore, the Indian territory of the Sakas must "have extended from the Indus to Mathura, and from Kashmir to Sindh." And that view, also, was endorsed when the record was edited (this *Journal*, 1894. 540). But can any instance be cited, of the name *Takhasilā*, *Takhasilā*, *Takhasilā*, *Takkasilā*, being contracted into a form *Takshilā*, from which we might have *tākshilā*, and then *tāchchhila*, *tachhila*, 'belonging to Taxila'? At the bottom of *koḍinasa* we may have a clan-name quite as well as a personal name. And it is quite possible that the words of the inscription R. are a subordinate clause of one of the other records, and that at the bottom of *tachhilasa* we have *tachchhila*, 'accustomed to that, similar, having that character or disposition.'

“ of the whole country of the Śakas in this list is remarkable, “ as a similar case is not known.”<sup>1</sup>

Bühler, who seems to have been finally of opinion (*Indische Palaeographie*, § 19, B) that the initial date of Kanishka was in A.D. 78 or thereabouts, and that the recorded dates of him and his successors might be treated either as dates of the Śaka era commencing in that year or as abbreviated dates of the fifth century of the Seleucidan era of B.C. 312, placed Rājūvula and Śoḍāsa in the first century B.C. or perhaps A.D. (op. cit., § 10 (3); § 19, A), or about the end of the first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D. (EI, 4. 134). But he held that the only certain point is that they preceded Kanishka (IA, 25, 1896. 141).

Rapson has apparently regarded Rājūvula as probably not later than about B.C. 120 (*Indian Coins*, § 33, taken with § 29).

The Bhandarkars have taken A.D. 150 as the equivalent of the date, the year 72, given for Śoḍāsa in the Mathurā inscription (JBBRAS, 20. 283, 375).

Finally, in 1903, V. Smith, as we have seen (page 1020 above), took B.C. 105 as an “ ascertained date ” for Śoḍāsa, by applying the year 72 of the Mathurā inscription as meaning the year 2972 of the Kashmīrī reckoning which has its initial point in B.C. 3076, and placed the initial dates of Rājūvula about B.C. 125, and of Śoḍāsa about B.C. 110; placing at the same time Moga, as = Mou, Mauēs, about B.C. 120 to 95 (this Journal, 1903. 46 f.). His latest ruling in the matter runs thus (Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1. 191): — “ Rañjubula and “ Śoḍāsa may be placed, according to my view, in the last “ quarter of the second century B.C., somewhere about “ 125–100 B.C., and the date 72 of Śoḍāsa’s inscription “ must be interpreted accordingly.” To that, however, he appositely added the remark:—“ But this theory of the “ chronology is not universally accepted.”

<sup>1</sup> Or, is this indication of opinion to be attributed to Professor Bühler? The article is edited in such a manner as to make it difficult to know exactly which parts of it belong to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, and which to his editor.

### The date of Moga.

The previous views, sketched above,— especially, the two latest attempts to settle matters by fixing definite dates for Moga in quite opposite directions, with a discrepancy of no less than 274 years,— are calculated to create a feeling of perplexity. It is, however, not very difficult to dispel that feeling when we set to work on consistent lines with the guidance of certain practical considerations.

There is no question that Mou, Mauēs, was of early date. We shall come to that matter further on, in part 2 of this article: here, it need only be said that we may probably best agree with Lassen, and place his initial date in B.C. 120 or closely thereabouts.

The date of Moga is quite a different matter. In handling this question, we must first dismiss three leading mistakes that have been made in connexion with him.

In respect of the view, enunciated by Gardner and taken over by Cunningham (page 1017 f. above), that the year 78 of the Taxila or Sir-Sukh record does not fall in the reign of Moga but is the 78th year of an era founded by him, it need only be said that, even if the text of the record were not itself clear enough, there are various other records which render unmistakable the point that the Taxila record does not cite the 78th year of an era founded by Moga, but places the given day of the month P'anēmos of the year 78 in his reign.

As to the result arrived at by the Bhandarkars, assigning to Moga, as = Mauēs, the date A.D. 154 to 168 (page 1019 above), it is sufficient to say here that it is disproved by various considerations. We shall have occasion to notice their theory again farther on, in connexion with Mauēs and Vonōnēs.

As regards the belief entertained by V. Smith, that an "ascertained date" in B.C. 99 for Moga, as = Mauēs, and for Liaka-Kusuluka, can be arrived at by taking the year 78 as meaning the year 2978 of the Laukika reckoning of Kashmīr (page 1020 above), I need only repeat what I have

intimated before now (see this Journal, 1903. 334; 1906. 981). The idea that the Laukika or popular reckoning of Kashmīr, or any system whatsoever of "omitted hundreds," can be used to fix any dates for Moga, Liaka-Kusuluka, Śodāsa, Kanishka, or any other early rulers, is altogether illusory: no such chronological system existed in Indian territories in any early times; it was only devised in Kashmīr in the eighth or ninth century A.D., and introduced into some of the northern parts of India in the tenth century.<sup>1</sup>

For the rest, the complication is due, partly to the erroneous identification of Moga with Moa, Mauēs, based on a quite possible (but by no means certain) identity of name, which, however, would not in any case necessarily entail identity of person; partly to the general inclination, created by Cunningham's early misreading of the name and speculations about the owner of it, to assign far too early a date to Rājūvula.

Taking naturally in the first place the epigraphic bases, we have to observe that there can be no question that the Rajula (= Rājūla) and his son Śudasa (= Śudāsa) of the inscriptions A, B, and M, on the Mathurā lion-capital (page 1025 above), are the Rājūvula and Śodāsa of the Mōra inscription and the Mathurā inscriptions (ibid.), one of which is dated in the year 72. And, in view of the co-incident dates, there can hardly be any question—(and none, I think, has ever been raised)—that the Kusulaa-Patika of the inscription G. (page 1026) had some close connexion with

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Smith would now have us understand, at any rate in connexion with Kanishka, that his determination of dates by means of "the Laukika era" is only "a minor matter" (see, e.g., his *Early History of India*, 220, note; ZDMG, 1907. 406, note). That is hardly in consonance with the flourish with which the supposed discovery was announced (this Journal, 1902. 175),—[it was not a new idea even then: it had been suggested by Mr. Growse a quarter of a century earlier, IA, 6. 218 f.],—and with the elaborate manner in which it was worked out (this Journal, 1903. 1-64). And the position is this: Mr. Smith used his supposed discovery to obtain definite dates for the records which mention Kanishka and his immediate successors [see, e.g., this Journal, 1903. 61, where he put forward A.D. 129 as the "earliest known date (year 5 = 3205 Laukika) of Kanishka," and placed the accession of that king about A.D. 125]; but, while still placing the accession of Kanishka "in or about 120 or 125 A.D." (*Early History of India*, 226), he would now treat as quite a secondary consideration, if not actually as non-existent, the means which led him to that result.

the Liaka-Kusuluka, father of Patika, of the Taxila or Sir-Sukh record of the year 78 (page 1013). Thus, the records establish— (and I think they have always been recognized as establishing)— the general contemporaneousness, at some time about the years 72 and 78, of Rājūvula and his son Śodāsa in the Mathurā territory, and of Moga with Liaka - Kusuluka and his son Patika in the territory of Taxila. To that I would add two observations. It seems obvious that the records on the Mathurā lion-capital were incised before the year 72: because the inscriptions B. and M. on that capital describe Śudasa-Śodāsa as Chhatrava and the inscription A. describes Rajula-Rājūvula as Mahachhatrava, while the inscription of the year 72 at Mathurā describes Śodāsa as Mahākshatrapa. The circumstances seem to indicate that there were two Patikas: the Patika of the Taxila record is mentioned therein as a son of the Chhatrapa Liaka; in the Mahachhatrava of the inscription G. we have, I suspect, the father of Liaka.

We now turn to the numismatic evidence. And here it is the bilingual coins of Rājūvula, in the first place, which give the required clue. The instructive point is that, whereas the Greek legends on the coins of Moa, Mauēs (see part 2 of this article) are in “capitals” only, the Greek legends on the coins of Rājūvula (page 1027 above) include the “lunar” or “uncial” forms Ε, C, and Ω. We shall go farther on another occasion into the questions connected with the use of the “lunar” or “uncial” forms on the coins of India and adjacent territories, and of the fine type of “cursive” characters on the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva. It is sufficient to say here that the occurrence of these forms on the coins of Rājūvula separates him, and Moga through him, by a wide interval from the king Moa, Mauēs: they mark his coins as later than even the coins (see part 2 of this article) of Azēs II., the third successor of Manēs.

So far, the numismatic evidence places Rājūvula not earlier than about B.C. 60. But further, the occurrence of the Latin H, h, on the coins of his grandson Kharaosta, Kharahōstēs, discloses a Roman influence, which cannot

have come into operation in India before B.C. 21 (in or about which year Augustus received an Indian embassy), and is hardly likely to have really reached India until some little time after that.

For the farther bearing, in a matter which does not come within the scope of this article, of this mark of Roman influence in the coins of Kharaosta, Kharahōstēs, reference may be made to my note "A Point in Palaeography" in the Miscellaneous pages of this number of our Journal: a facsimile reproduction is there given of the first word in the Greek legends on his coins. As regards our present inquiry, everything indicates the commencement of the Christian era as the period to which we may approximately refer the rulers whose case we are considering, but before which we cannot place them. And, looking round for an era to which we may refer the inscriptional dates of the year 72 for Śoḍāsa and the year 78 for Moga without having recourse to the expedient of imagining the existence of an otherwise unknown reckoning, we find it at once in the so-called Vikrama era of B.C. 58, the historical era of Northern India, and the only one existing there in the times with which we are concerned.<sup>1</sup> Referring the dates to this era, we have the following results.

<sup>1</sup> For some previous remarks by me on this era, see this Journal, 1903. 334; 1905. 232 ff.; and page 169 ff. above.

The era is cited sometimes as the era of B.C. 57; sometimes even as the era of B.C. 56. The position in respect of this point is as follows.

The calculations of many dates shew that the first current year of the era, as we have it now, began with the day Kārttika śukla 1 in B.C. 58, and ended with the day before that day in B.C. 57. There is no essential objection to calling it the era of B.C. 57, if, according to the very general, but not universal, Hindū custom of citing expired years, we regard its numerical reckoning as running from the commencement of its first year as an expired year; that is, in reality, from the commencement of its second current year. And in the same way we may call the Kaliyuga era, the first year of which began in B.C. 3102 and ended in 3101, the era of B.C. 3101. But, in that case, we must call the Śaka era, the first year of which began in A.D. 78 and ended in 79, the era of A.D. 79: we must do that in order to maintain the difference of exactly 135 years between the commencement of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, and of 3044 and 3179 years between the commencement of the Kaliyuga and of the Vikrama and Śaka eras,—all regarded for this purpose as commencing either with the vernal equinox or with

The Mathurā record of Śoḍāsa is dated in the year 72, and on the ninth day of the second month of the Indian season Hēmana, the cold season. With the year 72 taken as Kārttikādi or commencing with the month Kārttika (September-October),<sup>1</sup> and as the expired year,<sup>2</sup> the given date falls in the cold season of A.D. 15.

Chaitra śukla 1. As, however, it has become habitual to cite the Śaka era as the era of A.D. 78, it follows that, to be consistent, we must cite the Vikrama era as the era of B.C. 58, and the Kalyuga era as the era of B.C. 3102.

It is, in any circumstances, a mistake to call the Vikrama era the era of B.C. 56.

<sup>1</sup> For treating the years as Kārttikādi, I need do nothing but quote the result arrived at by Professor Kielhorn (JA, 20, 399); namely, that 'the reckoning by Kārttikādi years was from the beginning intimately connected with the Vikrama era, just as the reckoning by Chaitrādi years has always been characteristic of the Śaka era.'

In respect of another detail in the calendar, Professor Kielhorn arrived at the result (loc. cit., 401) that "in early times the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the "lunar months" [each month ending with the full-moon day] "was more commonly followed in connection with the Vikrama era than the *amānta* "scheme" [each month ending with the new-moon day]. We may supplement that by the following observation.

We have an inscription from Zeda, of the time of Kanishka, the date in which, as read by M. Senart (JA, 1890, 1. 136) runs:—*Sau 10 1 Ashadāsa masasa di 10 Utara-Phaguna isā-chunamī*. This reading has been given by also M. Boyer (JA, 1904, 1. 466); except that he has taken *isā chunamī*, and has endorsed Sir A. Cunningham's reading of the day (ASI, 5. 57) as 20, instead of 10. And (setting aside the question of the day) it is fully borne out by the facsimile published with M. Senart's article.

The moon cannot stand in the *nak-hatra* Phalgunī, either Pūrvā or Uttarā, on *krishṇa* 10 (or 5) of Āshāḍha, either *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*. But she often enters Uttarā-Phalgunī on Āshāḍha śukla 5, which is the twentieth lunar day of the *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha. And anyone who is interested in the matter can find, by Professor Jacobi's Tables, that the moon was in Uttarā-Phalgunī during suitable hours on Saturday, 13th June, B.C. 46, = Āshāḍha śukla 5, Kārttikādi Vikrama-Saṁvat 11 expired. I need hardly say, however, that I mention this result, not as proving anything final by itself, but as one amongst many items of cumulative evidence.

<sup>2</sup> There has long been a certain amount of doubt and irregularity in connexion with the question of current and expired years.

In the present day, while the Hindū almanacs of the rest of India cite expired years, some of those prepared in Madras cite the current year: see my *Gupta Inscriptions*, introd., 140 f.

As regards the inscriptions, the number of instances in which the year is defined as expired or current is probably much smaller than the number of instances in

The Taxila or Sir-Sukh record of Moga, Liaka-Kusuluka, and Patika, is dated in the year 78, and on the fifth day of the Macedonian month Panēmos. The exact equivalent of the month Panēmos seems to be still somewhat uncertain: but the month corresponded either to part of June with part of July, or to part of July with part of August. With the year 78 taken, similarly, as Kūrttikāḍi and as the expired year, the given date falls in June-July or July-August, A.D. 22.

To this I may add two details which seem instructive. We have been told (Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1. 56, note) that it is difficult to distinguish between, on the one hand, the bilingual coins of Rājūvula, and, on the other hand, certain small coins which bear on the obverse the name of Undopherrēs and on the reverse the name of Gudupharna (that is, of Gondophernēs, regarding whose date see just below). Further, the epithet *apratihatachakra*, 'he whose discus is unrepelled,' which stands on the coins of Rājūvula, is apparently found elsewhere only on some of the other coins (*ibid.*, plate 9, fig. 9) of the Undopherrēs-Gudupharna series.

\* \* \* \* \*

I shall shew hereafter that my results, A.D. 15 for Śoḍāsa son of Rājūvula, and A.D. 22 for Moga and Liaka-Kusuluka, place those rulers in a most appropriate historical position,

which the year is left undefined. But, however that may be, the case in other respects is as follows. The results of calculations of such dates as can be actually verified shew that some of the inscriptions do cite current years, which sometimes are defined as such, and sometimes are left undefined. A few of them cite both the current and the expired year. Some of them expressly define as current years which were actually expired. And others expressly define as expired years which were actually current.

Now, most of the Indian eras originated with regnal reckonings, for which current years would seem more appropriate than expired years. And I have expressed the opinion (*ibid.*, 143), and have often acted on it, that current years could come to be superseded by expired years only if, and when, any particular era was taken over by the astronomers for astronomical purposes. The researches of Professor Kielhorn, however, have shewn, in respect of the Śaka era of A.D. 78

between Huvishka and Vāsudēva. I will add here some remarks about another ruler, Gudupharna, i.e. Gondophernēs, whom I have mentioned just above.

The Takht-i-Bahāi inscription gives us (see this Journal, 1905. 229 ff.) a date for Gondophernēs on a day, say  $x$ , in the month Vaiśākha (March-April; the reading of the actual day is not settled yet) in the 26th year of his reign, and in the year 103 of an era which is not specified but is plainly the era of B.C. 58. With the year 103 taken, like the year 78 of the Taxila record, as Kārttikādi and as the expired year, this date falls in March-April, A.D. 47;<sup>1</sup> the twenty-sixth year, expired,<sup>2</sup> of the reign of Gondophernēs began on some day from Vaiśākha  $x + 1$  in A.D. 46 up to Vaiśākha  $x$  in A.D. 47; his first year, expired, began on some day from Vaiśākha  $x + 1$  in A.D. 21 to Vaiśākha  $x$  in A.D. 22; and his initial date, the first day of his first current year, was some day from Vaiśākha  $x + 1$  in March-April, A.D. 20, to Vaiśākha  $x$  in March-April, A.D. 21.

The results dispose at once of the purely gratuitous view (see my remarks in this Journal, 1906. 707 f.) that Gondophernēs commenced his career as king of Taxila. The Taxila or Sir-Sukh record shews that Taxila belonged to Moga in June-July or July-August, A.D. 22. The Takht-i-Bahāi record shews that the territory immediately on the north-west of Taxila belonged to Gondophernēs in A.D. 47; and it can hardly be doubted that his dominions then

(IA, 25. 267), that during the period before A.D. 1078 the rule was to cite the expired year, and current years were cited very exceptionally indeed; and, as regards the Vikrama era of B.C. 58 (IA, 20. 398), that it has been at all times the rule to cite the expired year, and current years were cited only exceptionally. In these circumstances, I have more recently changed my practice, in favour of applying uniformly as expired all years, whether of eras or of reigns, which are cited without definition and cannot be proved by actual calculation of details to be current years.

<sup>1</sup> I have previously treated this date as falling in A.D. 46. That was with the year 103 taken as Kārttikādi, but as current. On this point, see note 2 on page 1037 above.

<sup>2</sup> See note 2 on page 1037 above.

included Taxila also. We cannot, then, treat Gondopherneś as reigning at Taxila in March-April of A.D. 21 (or even of the following year, as would be the case if we should take his twenty-sixth regnal year as current), unless we should proceed to make the unreasonable assumption that he was ejected by Moga before the middle of A.D. 22, and subsequently won the place back.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The relative positions would be just the same if we should apply the years 78 and 103, Kārttikādi, both as current; and even if we should take them as Chaitrādi, either both current or both expired.

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

## A POINT IN PALAEOGRAPHY.

My recognition of the letter H with the value *h*, instead of M, *m*, on the coins of a certain ruler in Northern India (see page 1029 above), has removed the difficulty in the way of finding identically the same name on both the obverse and the reverse of the coins. The Indian legend in Kharōshthī characters on the reverse gives the name as Kharaosta; as also do the inscriptions A. and E. on the Mathurā lion-capital (page 1025 f.). The Greek legend on the obverse had been taken as giving the name Kharamostis (Cunningham), Kharamosta (Bühler and Rapson), or Charamostis (V. Smith): and the question of identity, both of name and of person, had been argued on both sides,—the chief difficulty being the supposed M. That question is now settled by my reading, XΑΡΑΗΛΙΕΤΕΙ, in the place of the previously accepted XΑΡΑΜΛΙΕΤΕΙ. This gives us, against Kharaosta as the native form of the name,<sup>1</sup> a Greek form, Kharahōstēs, which exactly matches it except for the *h*, which was probably inserted because, otherwise, the *alpha* and *omega*, coming together, might be pronounced as *au*, *aw*.

There is no room for doubt about this matter. On the coin presented by Rapson in this Journal, 1905. 814, plate, fig. 9, the word is XΑΡΑΧΩΕΤΕΙ. There is no question of reading a given M as meaning H = *h* in order to serve a purpose: we simply take as H = *h* an undeniable H which

<sup>1</sup> The third syllable seems to be distinctly *o*, not *ho*, both in the inscriptions and on the coins.

has hitherto been misread as M. And the point is made still more clear, if that is possible, by the circumstances in which the same feature occurs elsewhere (see below). The importance of it lies in the result to which it leads us.

We must first note the date of the Chhatrapa (Satrap) Kharaosta, Kharahōstēs, on whose coins we find this letter H with the value *h*. He was (see page 1025 above) a grandson—daughter's son—of Rājūvula, and was consequently a nephew—sister's son—of Rājūvula's son Śodāsa. For Śodāsa as Mahākshatrpa (Great Satrap), we have a date in A.D. 15 (page 1037). His nephew Kharaosta is therefore to be placed closely about A.D. 15 to 30.

This use of H with the value *h* distinctly indicates a Roman influence. The characters of the legend are essentially Greek: this is shewn by the Π, P, Γ, and Λ. But the letter H with the value *h* disappeared from the Greek alphabets at a very early time,—according to Taylor, before B.C. 350 (*The Alphabet*, 2. 86); and its place there was taken by the rough breathing, which was developed from it. It was not taken back into the Greek alphabets. But it was taken into the Italic alphabets; apparently during the period B.C. 153 to 54 (see Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary*, under H). It is, therefore, only under some Roman influence that the letter can have been introduced, with that value, into the otherwise Greek legends on coins of India. The letter may have been introduced into India at any time after B.C. 21, in or about which year (see McCrindle, *Ancient India*, 77, 78, note 2, 212) an Indian embassy was received by Augustus: but it can hardly have been actually taken into use there until some little time after that event. The insertion of it in the name Kharahōstēs may itself be another sign of Roman influence: compare, for instance, the Latin optional form Phrahātēs alongside of the Greek Phraātēs.

We find the same Roman influence, shewn by the same letter H with the value *h*, some seventy years later on the

coins of the "Western Kshatrapa" Nahapāna as made known to us by Mr. Scott's account, published in a recent paper in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the great hoard of coins of that king and of Gōtamiputa-Siri-Sātakaṇi found at Joghaltēmbhi in the Nāsik district.

Nahapāna's period is well established. We have (ASWI, 4. 103, No. 11) an epigraphic date for him as king in the year 46 (of the so-called Śaka era of A.D. 78), = A.D. 124-25. An earlier epigraphic date is furnished for him by a record of his son-in-law Ushavadāta (ibid., 102, No. 9; EI, 8. 82), which is dated in the month Vaisākha, the year 42, falling in A.D. 120. And an earlier date still, between A.D. 80 and 89, is furnished by the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, who, writing in that period, tells us (see, e.g., McCrindle's translation, IA, 8. 140) that the then king of a certain territory, which we can identify as including Kāthiāwād which was part of the territory of Nahapāna, was Mambanos,—(or may we say Mambanēs?),<sup>1</sup>—whose identity with Nahapāna has already been established by M. Boyer (JA, 1897, 2. 134-8).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It must have been by some slip of the pen that McCrindle presented this name as Mombanos, with *o* (instead of *a*) in the first syllable. He was using the text published by Didot in *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. 1, which (p. 289) gives the genitive *Μαμβάνου*, and presents *Mambanae* in the Latin translation. In respect of the reading, Müller observed in his *Prolegomena*, p. 144, that we should read *Μαμβάνου* with the codex.

<sup>2</sup> We can now see more clearly how the name Nahapāna became transformed into Mambanos or Mambanēs. The case with which the H as *eta* (and necessarily also as *h*), the M, and the N might, at any rate in their cursive forms, all be confused with each other, is well illustrated by the coins of Kanishka and Huviska. It may also be well recognized in the table of cursive Greek characters given by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in his *Greek and Latin Palaeography*, at page 148.

The initial *m* in the form *Μαμβανος*, *Μαμβανης*, came from some copyist's confusion of *mu* and *nu*. The second *m*, however, came, not from any insertion of an *m*, under phonetic influence or otherwise, as in the case of Palibothra, Palimbothra, but from a similar confusion of *h* and *nu*: just as modern numismatists have been mistaking H for M on the coins of Kharasta, Kharahostēs, so some ancient copyist—(or possibly the author of the Periplus himself, in citing the name from a coin)—made the same mistake with the name of Nahapāna, written, not exactly in its full form *ΝΑΗΠΑΝΑ*, but, with the omission of an *alpha*, as *ΝΑΗΠΑΝΑ*, in which form it actually occurs on some of the coins. That mistake produced the form *Ναμπανα*, or, with the mistake in the initial letter already made, *Μαμπανα*. From that we might have *Μαμβανα* under phonetic influence: or a cursive *pi* might easily be mistaken by a copyist for a cursive *beta* (see Thompson's table of the Greek cursives).

These coins of Nahapāna bear legends in Brāhmī, Kharōshthī, and Greek characters, which I transcribe from some specimens kindly shewn to me by Mr. J. S. Cotton. The Greek legend is on the obverse: the Brāhmī and Kharōshthī legends stand together on the reverse.<sup>1</sup>

The Brāhmī legend runs—

Rājñō kshaharātasa Nahapānasa; “of the king, the Kshaharāta, Nahapāna.”

The Kharōshthī legend runs—

Rañña<sup>2</sup> chhaharatasa Nahapanasa; and has the same meaning.

The Greek legend is a transliteration of the Indian legend, with an omission of the final *a* of the two genitives ending in *sa*: in its fullest form, it runs (with sometimes Z instead of I as *zeta*)—

ΠΑΝΝΙΩ ΙΑΗΑΡΑΤΑΣ ΝΑΗΑΠΑΝΑΣ.

Here, in a legend which again is essentially Greek, as is shewn by the I, Π, P, and Ω, we have again, under Roman influence, the H with the value *h* in two words; the proper name *nahapāna*, and the tribal or family name *śaharāta* = *chhaharāta*, *kshaharāta*,—the *kshaharāta* and *khakharāta* of inscriptions (e.g., ASWI, 4. 99, No. 5, line 1; 108, No. 18, line 6: EI, 8. 78, line 1; 60, line 6).

In connexion with certain views which would place Kanishka more or less after Nahapāna, we naturally look for the same Roman influence in the coins of the Kanishka group. But we look in vain. The H with the value *h* is not found there. And, not only is it absent, but in two cases at least it is conspicuously absent.

<sup>1</sup> There are twenty-four characters— (should have been twenty-six)— in the Greek legend, but only twelve in each of the others.

<sup>2</sup> No doubt some of the coins present *raññō*, as read by Mr. Scott. But there is no clear instance of the *ō* in the specimens seen by me. The Greek transliteration *rannio* is interesting, as illustrating the pronunciation of *jñ* and *ñ*, *ññ*, with the *y*-sound.

The first case is in the treatment of the name Huvīshka. This is usually represented by  $\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ ,  $\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ , and  $\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ . There are also two exceptional forms on a few coins attributed to Huvishka: Gardner has read  $\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$  from three coins, not figured (Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, 137, No. 15; 142, No. 52; 149, No. 110); and a coin given by Cunningham in his *Coins of the Kushāns*, plate 23, fig. 8, presents  $\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ [ $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ , or  $\omicron$ ]. There is certainly no  $h$ ,  $\hbar$ , in any of these forms. But is there any  $\hbar$  at all in the treatment of this name? the point is worth considering, though it is only a side-issue.

On the hypothesis that  $\omicron$  means sometimes  $\hbar$ , as well as  $v$  ( $w$ ) and  $u$ , on the coins of the Kanishka group, we might transliterate the last two forms, given above, into Huvēshki.<sup>1</sup> But we cannot treat the other three forms in that way: in  $\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ ,  $^{\circ}\omicron\iota$ ,  $^{\circ}\omicron\omicron$ , there are not letters enough for us to find Huvēshke,  $^{\circ}\omicron\iota$ ,  $^{\circ}\omicron\omicron$ ; while Hvēshke, etc., which on the said hypothesis we might find, would represent the original name imperfectly: and it may be added that Wēshke, etc.,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stein's case for an  $\hbar$ -value of  $\omicron$  rests chiefly (IA, 17. 91, 95) upon the name MAO as = the Pahlavi and modern Persian Māh, the Moon-god, and upon the regal title  $\rho\alpha\omicron\nu\alpha\nu\omicron\rho\alpha\omicron$  as = *shāhānāno shāh* as a form of the Iranian *shāhān-shāh*. I have no special object in denying the possibility. But Dr. Stein himself has indicated Māo as the Avestic name of the Moon-god; and we have  $\omicron$  = clearly  $u$ ,  $w$ , at least in  $\omicron\alpha\Delta\omicron$ , the Wind-god, the Vēdic Vāta, Wāta, and probably in  $\omicron\alpha\iota\iota\iota\Delta\omicron$ , = Vanaiṇti-(uparatāt); and it seems to me that the cases specially relied upon by him are fully met by treating the  $\omicron$  as  $\omicron$  itself, with the value  $u$ ,  $w$ ,—especially since, in another of his cases, against the usual  $\rho\alpha\omicron\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron$  we have an instance of  $\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\omicron$  (Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushāns*, plate 22, fig. 9). We may also ask:—If  $\omicron$  had sometimes the value  $\hbar$ , why was not the first component of the Indian name Mahāsēna (see page 1047 below) transliterated by MAOA?

This question about the  $\hbar$ -value of  $\omicron$  may be considered fully when we come to deal with the name  $\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ ,  $\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha$ , Oēsho, Oēsha (in one exceptional case  $\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ , Oēzo), applied to a god who is unmistakably Śiva. I regard this word as a very good attempt to represent in Greek the Sanskrit Vṛisha, as pronounced Vṛisha or Wisha, which, in addition to denoting Śiva's bull, was an appellation of Śiva himself as 'the rain-maker.'

The words quoted in this note, and some of those quoted in my text, ought to be shewn in cursive characters. But it has not been found convenient to do so on this occasion.

which we might find on the analogy of another name mentioned below, would fail to represent the original name properly at all.

I can only treat the forms  $\omicron\omicron\text{H}\text{P}\text{K}\epsilon$ ,  $^{\circ}\text{Kl}$ ,  $^{\circ}\text{Ko}$ , as follows. The first  $\omicron$  represents  $u$ : as also, on coins, in  $\text{BA}\text{ZO}\Delta\text{HO} = \text{Vāsudēva}$ ,  $\text{Vāsudēw}$ ;  $\text{BO}\Delta\Delta\omicron = \text{Buddha}$ ;  $\text{KO}\text{MA}\text{PO} = \text{Kumāra}$ ; and in literature in  $\text{Παλιβοθρα} = \text{Pāliputra}$ ,  $\text{Pātaliputra}$ . The second  $\omicron$  has again the value of  $u$ , but, standing between two vowels, it takes the almost inevitable sound of  $w$ , and answers to a  $w$ -sound of the  $v$  in the original name. The  $\text{H}$ , *eta*, here and in  $\text{KANH}\text{P}\text{KOY}$  and  $\text{KANH}\text{PKl}$ , =  $\text{Kanishka}$ ,  $\text{Kaṇishka}$ , represents  $i$ :<sup>1</sup> as also in  $\omicron\omicron\text{HMO}$  and  $\omicron\omicron\text{HMO} = \text{Vima}$ , pronounced  $\text{Wima}$  (in this legend the  $w$  is  $\omicron\omicron$ , literally “double- $u$ ,” instead of simply  $\omicron$ ).<sup>2</sup> The  $h$  of the original name is not represented, but is to be found in the rough breathing understood: as in the case of  $\text{HAI}\omicron\text{C} = (^{\circ})\bar{\text{E}}\text{lios}$  on coins of  $\text{Kanishka}$  (Gardner, plate 26, fig. 2; Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushāns*, plate 16, figs. 1, 3),  $\text{H}\Phi\text{AICTO}\text{C} = (^{\circ})\bar{\text{E}}\text{phaistos}$  on coins of the same king (Cunningham, *ibid.*, fig. 11), and  $\text{HPAKIA}\omicron = (^{\circ})\bar{\text{E}}\text{rakilo}$ ,  $\text{Hēraklēs}$ , on coins of  $\text{Huvishka}$  (Gardner, plate 27, fig. 15; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, plate 23, fig. 13).<sup>3</sup>

Thus, the Greek forms of the name of this king, which transliterate literally into  $\text{Oo}\bar{\text{u}}\text{shke}$ ,  $^{\circ}\text{ki}$ ,  $^{\circ}\text{ko}$ , denote respectively  $(^{\circ})\text{Uwishke}$ ,  $^{\circ}\text{ki}$ ,  $^{\circ}\text{ko}$ , =  $\text{Huvishka}$  pronounced as  $\text{Huwishka}$ . Anyhow, the point remains that the Latin  $\text{H}$ ,  $h$ , is not found in the transliteration of the name  $\text{Huvishka}$ : and yet it is at least difficult to believe that it would not have been used in that case, if it had been known in India in his time.

<sup>1</sup> We have something very similar, namely an *eta* representing a long  $\bar{i}$ , in  $\text{A}\theta\eta\text{ria}$  alongside of  $\text{A}\beta\eta\text{ria} = \text{Abhira}$ , and in  $\text{θηραριον} = \text{the Persian } \bar{d}inār$ , which we have in Sanskrit as  $\bar{d}ināra$ .

<sup>2</sup> Professor Rapson has shewn us that the first component of the native name of this member of the Kadphises group is  $\text{Vima}$ , not  $\text{Hima}$  or  $\text{Hema}$  as had previously been supposed: see the Transactions of the Fourteenth Oriental Congress, Algiers, 1906, Indian Section, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> It appears probable that the first step was the same in the production of the literary form  $\text{Ἡρανοβόας} = \text{Hirañśabāha}$ ,  $\text{Hiranyavāha}$ : first, the rough breathing was understood, and then it seems to have been lost under the influence of  $\text{ἑρπυρός}$ , ‘lovely,’ applied particularly to places.

Curiously enough, against the omission of the rough breathing as illustrated above, we have on another coin of Huvishka a distinct instance of the use of it, in a cursive form and prefixed to an *eta*. That instance, however, does not enter into our present argument, which is the absence of the Latin H, *h*, from all the coins of the Kanishka group: it is treated elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> We confine ourselves here to exactly what we have in hand.

A still more pointed instance of the absence of the Latin H, *h*, from the coins of Huvishka is found in the treatment of the name of the Indian god Mahāsēna: for being able to exhibit it here, I am indebted to Mr. Allan, of the British Museum, who kindly made the drawings from which the legends are reproduced. We have one case in the coin figured by Gardner in his plate 27, fig. 16, and by Cunningham in *Coins of the Kushāns*, plate 20, fig. 15: here the name is presented as **MAACKAO**, Maasēno, with (as we may like to take it) either an imperfect *alpha*, or a mistake of *delta* for *alpha*, in the third letter. And we have it again, on another coin of the same class, as **MAACKAO** (Gardner, 138, No. 24; not figured).<sup>2</sup> We might perhaps discount the absence of the H = *h* from the Greek transliteration of the name Huvishka. But it is out of the question to believe that, if the letter had been known in India in his time, it would not have been duly used in a case in which it is so essential as in the transliteration of the name Mahāsēna.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my note "A Coin of Huvishka," in the next number of this Journal.

<sup>2</sup> This is, perhaps, Mr. Thomas' fig. 10 in his plate in this Journal, 1877, 212; or it may be from the same die with Mr. V. Smith's plate 12, fig. 8. The name occurs again as Maasēno in Gardner's plate 28, fig. 24; Cunningham's plate 20, fig. 17: where, however, the legend is too small to be drawn. It also occurs in the same way (Mr. Allan tells me) on a fourth coin, originally belonging to Sir A. Cunningham, now in the British Museum: I have not reproduced this legend, because it is practically identical with the second one given above.

<sup>3</sup> It is the case that there are instances amongst the coins of Nahapāna in which, instead of the second *alpha* being omitted as in the form **NAHPANA** (see note 2 on page 1043 above), the *h* was omitted and the *alpha* was preserved. But the legend had then become corrupted in various ways: the initial *nu* was reversed; the Latin P was substituted for the Greek Π; the third *alpha* also

As regards the origin of the era of B.C. 58, the position now stands as follows.

I have shewn (this Journal, 1906. 979 ff.) that the Buddhist tradition, putting Kanishka, king of Gandhāra, Kashmīr, and (Northern) India, 400 years after the death of Buddha, places his initial date practically in B.C. 58.

I have also shewn (page 169 ff. above) that we have from Northern India a regular series of dates in an unnamed era, from the year 3 coupled with the name of Kanishka to the year 399, which, if they are referred to the era of B.C. 58 so that they range from B.C. 55-54 to A.D. 342-43, practically fill the period antecedent to the point of time, in A.D. 372, from which Professor Kielhorn took up the history of the era under the names first of the Mūlava era and then of the Vikrama era.

Dr. Franke, working in quite another line of research, has shewn, from the Chinese sources, that the initial date of Kanishka must be placed appreciably before B.C. 2, and may, in fact, be most appropriately placed in B.C. 58: see his article "Beiträge aus Chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens" in the Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Prussia, 1904, and the abstract translation of passages from it, relating in particular to the Sök and Kanishka, given in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1906. 33 ff.

We have now added the following two points. The Latin letter H, *h*, is found in Northern India, in the legend which is otherwise Greek, on coins of the Satrap Kharaosta, Kharahōstēs, who is to be placed closely about A.D. 15 to 30. And that letter is absent, and conspicuously so, from the legends on the coins of Huvishka, a successor of Kanishka, which come from the same part of India.

was omitted; and so (see the illustrations given with Mr. Scott's article) we have such forms as **ΝΑΑΡΝΑΑ** . . . and **ΝΑΑΡΝΑΑCCE**.

Even in the best specimens of their work, Nahapāna's die-sinkers were unable to bring the whole of the Greek legend onto their dies. But they were careful to omit from those specimens only the comparatively unimportant final *α* of the genitives *saharatasa* and *nahapanasa*. Huvishka's die-sinkers, however, were not hampered in that manner at all: there was ample room to insert the *h* on the Mahāsēna coins, if it had then been known.

From the last two points, we arrive at the result that Huvishka must be placed before A.D. 15 to 30. For Huvishka we have dates, ranging from the year 33 (IA, 6. 217, No. 2; EI, 8. 182) to certainly the year 51 (the well-known Wardak vase) and perhaps to the year 60 (EI, 1. 386), from the same series of records with the dates that range back to the year 3 for Kanishka. And the era of B.C. 58—the historical era of Northern India, and the only Indian era dating from, or even existing in, the first century B.C.—meets here, again, the requirements of the case, by placing before A.D. 15, but not too long before that year, the equivalent of the latest known date for Huvishka, whichever that may be.

With all these results before us, we may now take as established my case that the dates for Kanishka and Huvishka are dates in the era of B.C. 58, with the result that the era was founded by Kanishka; subject, of course, to the possibility (which, however, is not a strong one) that a predecessor of Kanishka may have reigned in the first two years of the reckoning, in which case such predecessor would be the founder of the era, and Kanishka would be the establisher of it. For the present, at any rate, we need go no farther: the rest is simply a matter of detail,—a question, as I have intimated before now, of framing views about coins, art, and palaeography in accordance with facts, instead of ignoring facts in favour of illusory theories.

J. F. FLEET.

#### VETHADIPA ; VISNUDVIPA.

In a previous number of this Journal a conjecture was made by Dr. Fleet regarding the Sanskrit form of Pāli Vethadīpa. Subsequently the identity of this place with Betiyā in Campārān district, suggested by Dr. Hoey, was proved by Dr. Grierson on linguistic considerations to be untenable.<sup>1</sup> Vethadīpa is twice mentioned in the Mahā-

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S. 1906, p. 900, note 1, and 1907, p. 166.

parinibbāna-sutta in connection with the distribution of Buddha's corporeal relics. There it is stated that a Brāhmaṇ from Vethadīpa received a portion of the Master's relics and raised over them a *stūpa*, one of the original *śarīra-stūpas*.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately no information is forthcoming regarding the geographical position of the place. It is not mentioned elsewhere in Buddhist literature and was not visited by any of the Chinese pilgrims. So much may be surmised, that Vethadīpa was situated at no great distance from the place where Buddha entered *nirvāṇa*. Apparently it borrowed its sole importance from its connection with the Master's death, and from the possession of one of the eight monuments which contained a portion of his relics.

A document of special interest for the topographical problem has come to light in the course of last winter's excavations on the main Buddhist site near Kasiā (Gōrakhpur district). It is a seal-die of baked clay discovered near the entrance of the oldest monastery found on the site.<sup>2</sup> The inscribed surface is oval in shape and measures  $2\frac{3}{8}$ " by  $1\frac{7}{8}$ ". It is provided with a pierced top. There can be little doubt that the clay seals of the Mahāparinirvāṇa and Maṇḍa-bandhana monasteries, found on the same site and discussed by me in this Journal (1907, p. 365), were produced with a similar die. The die in question, however, belongs to neither of those two convents, but must have pertained to a locality called Viṣṇudvīpa. This is clear from the legend cut in two lines on the lower portion of the flat surface. It reads: *Śrī-Viṣṇudvīpā-vihāre bhikṣu-saṅghasya*; "Of the community of friars at the convent of holy Viṣṇudvīpa." The upper half, separated from the inscription by a double horizontal line, shows a hillock surmounted by a tree within an enclosure, and flanked by two indistinct objects possibly

<sup>1</sup> Mahāparinibbāna-sutta in Dīgha-Nikāya, Pāli Text Society, vol. ii, pp. 165 and 167; cf. Book of the Great Decease, S.B.E., vol. xi, pp. 132 and 135, and Fleet, J.R.A.S. 1906, p. 664. Vethadīpa, as pointed out by Dr. Fleet (*ibid.*, p. 900), is also mentioned by Buddhaghosa.

<sup>2</sup> For a facsimile of this seal-die, somewhat reduced, see plate 3, at page 998 above, fig. 1: but the legend is much clearer on the original die, and there is no doubt about any of it.

likewise meant for trees. It will be seen that the seals produced with this die would be very similar in size and type to the oldest seals of the two monasteries of Kusinārā. Their date also must have been approximately the same, viz. c. A.D. 400.

It now has to be considered what bearing the Viṣṇudvīpa seal-die can have on the geographical position of Vēṭhadīpa. At first sight it would seem that between the two words there exists no etymological connection. I agree with Dr. Fleet that Pāli Vēṭhadīpa cannot well be derived from Sanskrit Viṣṇudvīpa, though the second members of the two compounds are no doubt identical. We must, however, admit the possibility of the Pāli form being the older of the two. It should be remembered that, at the time when the Buddhists adopted Sanskrit for their scriptures and official documents, presumably no tradition existed regarding the original name of a place which is unknown to Brahmanical literature. Viṣṇudvīpa may have been a wrongly Sanskritized form of Pāli Vēṭhadīpa, due not so much to philological considerations as to the wish to produce a compound of intelligible meaning.<sup>1</sup>

To decide on this point, we should naturally consult the Sanskrit equivalent of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, in which, as we saw, the Pāli name occurs. Unfortunately the Sanskrit text dealing with Buddha's death is no longer available. But in the *Dulva* the Sanskrit Bock of the Great Decease has been preserved in its Tibetan version. For our purpose it is of great interest that here in the corresponding passage dealing with the distribution of Buddha's relics we find a form *Khyab-'jug gLing*, which verbally corresponds with Sanskrit Viṣṇu-dvīpa. This fact has long ago been recognized by Tibetan scholars. Csoma Körösi, in his "Account of the death of Shākya (translated from the *Dulva*)," speaks of "a Brahman residing in *Khyab-h, jug-g*,

<sup>1</sup> The same may be assumed with regard to other place-names such as Kusinārā and its Sanskrit equivalent Kuśanagara. Instances of such wrongly Sanskritized place-names nowadays adopted even by real paṇḍits are Lavapura (Lāhōr), Kuśapura (Kasūr), Paraśurāmapura (Peshāwar), etc.

Ling," which he renders as "Vishnu's region." Wilson has the correct Sanskrit form "Viṣṇudvīpa," which presumably he obtained from Klaproth's translation of the Mongolian version of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta. There can therefore be no doubt that Vēṭhadīpa and Viṣṇudvīpa are names for the same locality.<sup>1</sup>

It now remains to be considered what may be inferred from the above as regards the identity of the Kasiā site. If the seal-die originally belonged to the spot where it was found, the conclusion is unavoidable that this site represents, not Kusinārā, as was supposed by Cunningham, but Vēṭhadīpa. The nature of the extant remains well agrees with this conclusion. The site was evidently one enjoying from early days a great repute of holiness. The colossal Nirvāṇa statue, which forms the main object of worship, shows its close connection with the traditions of Buddha's death. Its geographical position in the holy land of Buddhism, and the absence of a large city in its neighbourhood, likewise support the identification.

It is true that the occurrence of numerous clay seals belonging to the Convent of the Great Decease would at first sight seem to favour Cunningham's theory. Last winter's excavations yielded some hundreds more of such seals representing the types *d* and *e* described in my previous note. It deserves notice that hardly any complete specimens of such seals came to light. This circumstance indicates that indeed these seals were attached to letters and parcels, and had to be broken by those who received them. Thus they would afford conclusive proof that the remains of Kasiā do not represent the Convent of the Great Decease. It is certainly strange that the seals of this convent should occur at Kasiā in such large numbers, whereas hardly any seals of other monastic establishments came to light. To remove this difficulty we may assume that there existed some close connection between the convents of Kusinārā and that of

<sup>1</sup> A.R., vol. xx, p. 315 (cf. p. 91); Wilson, Works, vol. ii, p. 344; Rockhill, 'Life of the Buddha,' p. 145, has the mixed form Vēṭhadvīpa.

Kasiā, necessitating a continual interchange of letters. The assumption that the latter represents the Convent of Vethadīpa would render such a connection all the more plausible. We find in Tibet certain monasteries dependent on others, and a similar state of affairs may have existed in ancient India.

It should, however, not be lost sight of that the inscribed seal-die which forms the base of the above argument is a portable object of small size. We must admit the possibility of its having been brought from elsewhere. For this reason it will be prudent not to consider the identity of the Kasiā remains with Vethadīpa as finally proved. It is to be hoped that a continuation of my explorations next winter, for which the sanction of the Government of the United Provinces has already been obtained, will lead to a final solution of the question.

J. PH. VOGEL.

Dr. Vogel has kindly shown me his note on Vethadīpa, Viṣṇudvīpa, in manuscript, and allowed me to add some remarks on the philological aspect of the question. It is, of course, absolutely impossible to derive the Sanskrit form from the Pāli word, and Dr. Vogel justly remarks that it can, at the utmost, be a translation of it. I think such a translation would be very likely.

It is a well-known fact that the god *Viṣṇu* occurs under several denominations which cannot directly be derived from his Sanskrit name, such as *Vīṭhū*, *Vīṭhō*, *Vīṭhūbāi*, *Vīṭhabāi*, *Vīṭṭhala*, etc. All these forms presuppose an older *\*Vīṭṭhuka* or *\*Vīṭṭhaka*, derived from a *\*Viṣṭu* or *\*Viṣṭa*. It is of course possible that *\*Viṣṭu* is an old duplicate of *Viṣṇu*, formed with a suffix *tu*. It is, however, more probable that *\*Viṣṭu* is only an old corruption of *Viṣṇu*, just as we find *Kṛṣṇa* pronounced *Kṛiṣṭa*. It is of no interest for our present purpose to decide whether this pronunciation is due to Dravidian influence. The important thing to note is that its existence seems to date back to the period when the Kasiā seal was prepared. If a dialect form *\*Vīṭṭhu* or

\* *Viṭṭha* was in existence, then, and only then, the substitution of *Viṣṇudvīpa* for an older *Veṭhadīpa* would be quite natural. The use of forms such as *Viṭhō* in old Marāṭhī shows that they go back to an early period, and this fact adds to the probability which Dr. Vogel has established, that the *Viṣṇudvīpa* of the seals is, in fact, the *Veṭhadīpa* of Pāli literature.

STEN KONOW.

Some such Prākṛit form of the name *Vishṇu* is carried back by the southern records to considerably earlier times than those indicated just above. An inscription of A.D. 1224 at Baḷagāmi (*Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscr.*, No. 123) presents the name of the Hoysaḷa prince *Vishṇuvardhana* in the forms *Biṭṭidēva* and *Biṭṭiga* (lines 22, 24). And the seal of the Sātārā plates of A.D. 616 or 617 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. xix, p. 310, plate) presents the name of the Eastern Chalukya king *Vishṇuvardhana I.* as *Biṭṭarasa* : here the first component may be either *Biṭṭi* or *Biṭṭa*.

J. F. FLEET.

#### ARCHÆOLOGY IN SOUTH INDIA.

In my remarks, published at pp. 401-3 of the April Journal, on the absence of information at the disposal of the public regarding the results of the twenty-five years' work of the South Indian Archæological Survey, I wrote, with especial reference to the Ġuntupalle Buddhist remains north of the Krishna River,—“Personal enquiry has led to nothing, and my last letter to the Superintendent has remained unanswered.”

It is due to Mr. Alexander Rea, the Superintendent in question, that I should state, in as public a manner as possible, that he has written to me a most kind letter assuring me that he never received the letter referred to, and I am quite satisfied that it must have somehow gone astray. This, of course, does not affect the general tenour of my criticism, which is that the world knows practically

nothing of the results of the South Indian Archæological Survey for the last twenty-five years, only one volume having been published by Dr. Burgess and two (one a small monograph) by Mr. Rea, during the whole of that period. The Madras Government are presumably in possession of all the plans, drawings, and photographs, and perhaps would take steps to publish them if the R.A.S. would use their influence in the matter.

R. SEWELL.

#### CHRISTIAN AND MANICHÆAN MSS. IN CHINESE TURKESTAN.

In his recent paper dealing with the influence of Christianity on Hinduism, especially with respect to the Kṛishṇa legend, Mr. Kennedy alluded to the wide extension of Christianity in the valley of the Oxus and neighbouring regions in the period precoding the introduction of Islām.

In this regard the recent discoveries of the expedition conducted by Professor Grünwedel and Herr A. von Le Coq in Chinese Turkestan seem likely to prove of great importance. Several fragments have been deciphered, chiefly by Professor F. W. K. Müller, during the past three years, and these turn out to be mainly Manichæan fragments, of which the most interesting is a fragment of the Pastor of Hermas in a Manichæan version. Many of these turn out to be in the hitherto almost unknown Soghdian language, a most important form of Middle Persian. The MSS. are on paper and leather, and the script used is an adaptation of the Estrangelo Syriac alphabet.<sup>1</sup> But the most interesting of all is the discovery made by Herr von Le Coq in the ruins of Bulayīq, north of Turfān, on the southern slope of the Thian Shan Mountains. Here were found among a pile of manuscripts four fragments of a Soghdian version

<sup>1</sup> See F. W. K. Müller in *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Pr. Akademie der Wissenschaften*; *Handschriften - Reste in Estrangelo - Schrift aus Turfān, Chinesisch-Turkistan*, 1904; *Eine Hermas-Stelle in Manichäische Version*, 1905.

of the New Testament, which Professor Müller has transliterated and translated in part xiii of the Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy for 1907.

These are passages from (1) Galatians iii, 25 seq.; (2) Luke i, 63-80; (3) Matthew x, 14 seq.; and (4) John xx, 19 seq.; and the translations are throughout full and literal. The song of Zacharias, known as the Benedictus, is included in the second passage, and the sentence "And the oath which he swore to our father Abraham" was the first to give the clue to the nature of its contents. This passage may be given in full, in order to convey an idea of the nature of the language:—

'At sôqant̃ qat̃ χvardarat̃ qū 'Abraham mâχ  
*and the oath which he swore to Abraham our*  
 pitri-sâ, qat̃ tabarat̃ qū-mâχ-sâ qat̃ zaraytêt bēm  
*father that he would grant to us that delivered we should be*  
 çan mâχ sânti dastyâ. 'at̃ pū paçqvēr spūχsēm  
*from our enemies' hand and without fear should serve*  
 vênê pēr-namsâ sât̃ mâχ mêt̃t̃ par dât̃çiqyâ 'at̃  
*him before, all our days in righteousness and*  
 par 'artâvyâ. 'At̃ tayū rinçaqâ samân-č'iq bayē  
*in holiness. And thou child the heavenly God's*  
 biônê žayêrtê bēqâ pât̃ šaviqâ χūtāv bayē  
*prophet called shalt be, for thou shalt go the Lord God's*  
 pațqârê pēr-nam-sâ qat̃, paštâyê vênê râț qat̃  
*face before, that thou mayest prepare his way that*  
 tabarat̃ nōšač živânî patzân qū χēpat ramī-sâ.  
*he may give (of) immortal life knowledge to his people.*

This extract will perhaps suffice to show the value of this discovery to Iranian studies.

There are also some readings which should prove of interest to Biblical critics. In Luke i, 79, after the words "them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death" come the words 'qat̃ nēstê sôqant̃,' i.e. 'to whom the oath was not (given),' apparently intended to point out that these

words refer to the Gentiles, who had no claim under the oath made to Abraham. And in v. 80, instead of 'waxed strong *in the spirit*,' we have '*in the Holy Spirit*,' 'par zaparṭ vāt.' The word used for spirit throughout is vāt, i.e. vāta, 'wind' or 'breath.'

Philologically the passages are full of interest. Perhaps one of the most noteworthy points is the form taken by the future, as—

būtqâ, *will be* (3rd pers. sing.),  
 šaviqâ, *will go* (3rd pers. sing.),  
 bêqâ, *thou shalt be*,  
 barantqâ, *they will bring*—

which (superficially) suggests a comparison with the modern Hindī future.

The form χēpat (khēpath), 'self,' 'own,' and χēptāvant (Pers. khudāwand), in the use of the *p* for an original *v*, foreshadows modern Pashto forms such as 'khpal,' and the forms mâχ, 'we,' and šmâχ, 'you,' find a parallel in the Balochī mākh, 'we.'

I am not aware whether any evidence of the eastward extension of Christianity into the Tarīm valley has been forthcoming hitherto, but I believe it may be safely asserted that there has been no evidence of a documentary nature previous to Herr v. Le Coq's most interesting and valuable discoveries. As the mass of MSS. recovered is very large, and only a small portion of the find has as yet been examined, we may hope for further revelations of great interest.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

#### AN ORTHOGRAPHICAL CONVENTION IN THE NĀGARĪ CHARACTER.

By a well-known rule of the Prākṛit grammarians (Hēmacandra, iv, 397), in Apabhraṃśa a medial (or final) *ma* may become changed to *ṽa*. As Professor Pischel points out in § 251 of his Prākṛit grammar, it is the *v* of the *va* which is nasalized, not the accompanying vowel (*ṽa*, not *rā*).

Allowing for the fact that a final short vowel is not pronounced in prose of the modern vernaculars, and that a medial or final *v* is liable to be vocalized to *u*, the same rule applies to them. Thus, Skr. *bhramaraḥ*, Ap. *bhamaru* or *bhaṭṭaru*, Hindī *bhaṭṭar* or *bhaṭṭūr*. Similarly, Skr. *grāma*, Hindī *gāv* or *gāū*; Skr. *bhīma*, Hindī *bhīv* or *bhīū*.

Native scholars of the present day are quite aware of the fact that it is the *v*, not the accompanying vowel, which is nasalized, and as the Nāgarī alphabet makes no provision for the fact, they are hard put to it to represent it properly. The usual way is to write the *anunāsika* both before and over the *v*. Thus भँवँर or भँवँर, गँवँ or गँवँ, भौँवँ or भौँवँ. Careful writers object to this, as there is another literary convention that it is wrong to nasalize two consecutive syllables. They hence write भवँर, भवँर, भँवर, भँवर, or भौँर, and so on for the others.

In MSS. received from Rājputānā I notice another and more ingenious convention for indicating this sound. It is to write an *anunāsika* over or before *m* to represent the *ṽ*. Thus they have भँमँर, गँमँ, भौँमँ, or भँमर, गँम, भौँम. At first sight it would seem that these words are to be pronounced with *m*, and that the *anunāsika* is only a dialectic nasalization, which is commonly found, almost at random, throughout modern north India. But that this is not the case is proved by the fact that these words, when written with this मँ, are used to rhyme with words in which there is no original *m*, but in which it is the *v* which is original. An instructive example occurs in a MS. of the Padumāwati of Malik Muḥammad Jāisi, which was copied in Udaipur in 1838 A.D. I quote it because in other respects the writing is extremely careful and consistent. The verse, a variation of the *dōha*, runs as follows:—

जैवँ जरत साखायह	कीन्ह सहार सो भौँम ।
जरत खँभ कर काडड	कर पुखारच जौँम ।

In other MSS. from the Ganges valley, the final words of each line are **भोवँ** and **जीवँ** respectively; and that the writer of the Udaipur MS. intended the **म** to be pronounced as *ēu* or *ū* is evident from the fact that he has represented **जीवँ** (Skr. जीव, 'life') by **जीम**. If he had wanted to nasalize the vowel of *bhīvā* instead of the consonant (*bhīvā*) he would have written **भोवँ**, *bhīvā*, at once. There would have been no difficulty at all.

It would be interesting if anything of the sort is found in Sanskrit or Prākṛit epigraphs. It is a commonplace to say that in India Sanskrit words, even when written correctly, are pronounced in the fashion of the modern vernaculars. A native thinks nothing, for instance, of writing *grāma* and reading it immediately afterwards as *gāū*. If, therefore, in a Sanskrit inscription, we find the engraver writing *grāma* as *grāma* or *grāma*, we have valuable evidence as to the stage at which the vernacular Prākṛit of the locality had arrived at the time of engraving, and incidentally as to the date of the inscription.

But this way of representing the nasalized *ṽ* does not exhaust the ingenuity of scribes. The fact that devices had to be invented justifies a similar explanation for spellings such as *kamvala* for *kamala* and *tāmra* for *tāmra* in the Sanskrit inscription of Jayavardhana II, edited by Mr. Hīrā Lāl, in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ix, pp. 41 and ff. It is evident that the scribe or engraver pronounced these words *kaṽala* and *tāṽra*, and attempted to reproduce this sound by writing *mv* instead of the Sanskrit *m*. This spelling therefore shows us that the Apabhraṃśa rule of the change from *m* to *ṽ* was in force in the Bālāghāṭ district of the Central Provinces in the eighth century A.D., a not unimportant point in the history of the development of the Indo-Aryan languages of India.

G. A. GRIERSON.

Camberley.

July 13th, 1907.

## THE RAIN OF SWĀTĪ.

We all know that if in the asterism of Swāti a drop of rain fall into an oyster it becomes a pearl. Indian district officers also know how important the Swāti rain is for the spring crops. The *cātaka's* longing for it is a commonplace. It has, however, other virtues which are not so well known. Witness Malik Muḥammad in the *Padumāwati* (p. 119 of Rām Jasan's edition) :—

*jōgi ka bahuta chanda aurāhī | bīda sewātī jaisa parāhī ||*  
*paḍahī samudra khāra jalā ōhī | paḍahī sipa saba mōtī hōhī ||*  
*paḍahī puhumī para hōi kacūrū | paḍahī kadali para hōi kapūrū ||*  
*paḍahī mēru para awīrita hōi | paḍahī nāga-mukha mahā bikha*  
*sōi ||*

“Many are the wily guises of a Yōgī, many as the forms taken by the raindrops of Swāti.

If they fall into the sea, they become salt water; if they fall into an oyster, they all become pearls.

If they fall on the ground, they become zedoary; if they fall on the plantain tree, they become camphor.

If they fall on Mount Mēru, they become ambrosia; if they fall into a *nāga's* mouth, they become poison.”

G. A. GRIERSON.

## CAPTAIN THOMAS BOWREY.

Mr. Donald Ferguson says, in a communication printed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July, 1907, that “Sir Richard Temple made good use of the Fort St. George Factory Records, but, strangely enough, seems to have overlooked the volumes of the *Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent, Governor, and Council of Fort St. George* for 1682–5, as edited by the late Mr. A. T. Pringle.” At p. 331 of my edition of Bowrey's MS. are to be found the following entries in the “List of Fuller Titles of Books and Manuscripts quoted in the Footnotes and Introduction”:—  
 “(1) Pringle, A. T., ‘Selections from the Consultations of

the Agent, Governor, and Council of Fort St. George, 1681,' 4th series, Madras, 1893. (2) Pringle, A. T., 'The Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent, Governor, and Council of Fort St. George,' 1st series, 1682-1685, 4 vols., Madras, 1894," etc.

Again, at p. 376 is to be found the following entry in the index:—"Pringle, A. T., his Selections from the Consultations at Fort St. George referred to, 25 n. 3, 36 n. 3, 42 n. 1, 45 n. *passim*." This is sufficient to show that I have quoted Pringle *passim*. His volumes have, in fact, been well known to me from the date of issue. I am, however, indebted to Mr. Ferguson for drawing my attention, in the course of his remarks, to three entries elucidating Bowrey's career which I had overlooked.

Turning to another criticism, that I had apparently no authority for saying, on p. xxvii of my introduction, that Bowrey was at Madapollam in 1682. My authority is the best procurable, viz., his own handwriting on "A Chart of the Coast of Tenasserim" (see p. l of my introduction).

As regards the events of 1683, I find I omitted an entry from the *Madras Press List* of 14th July noting the arrival at Masulipatam from Madras of "Mr. Bouree and his sloop." On the 16th Bowrey left Masulipatam, *not* Madras as inferred on p. xxvii of my introduction, for Madapollam. Mr. Ferguson's conjecture, therefore, that the sloop on which he sailed was the "Adventure" is possibly correct. For Bowrey's arrival at Fort St. George on 4th December I did not quote Pringle's book, because it seemed to me that the manuscript records at the India Office were better authority.

As to 1684. Mr. Ferguson is right in saying I have missed the entry in Pringle's *Diary*, p. 5, regarding the end of the pepper transaction, but he must excuse me for not quoting Pringle for the rest of the story when I could refer to the original documents at the India Office.

As to 1685. I cannot follow Mr. Ferguson's remarks about the "Conimeer." Surely the Madapollam Factory Records are the best authority now procurable for events

at Madapollam in that year, on which subject Pringle's information is only fragmentary. Bowrey's arrival at Fort St. George on the 27th September, and his departure thence on the 30th September, 1685, as noted in the *Diary*, were overlooked by me, and I am much obliged to Mr. Ferguson for setting me right on this point.

R. C. TEMPLE.

APARUDDHAS=CHARATI IN THE DAŚAKUMĀRACHARITA.

In verse 14 of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II<sup>1</sup> we are told that this prince (afraid of the machinations of his uncle Maṅgalēśa) resolved to wander abroad as an exile; and this wandering abroad, in the original text, is denoted by *aparuddha-charita*. In my notes on the inscription I have shown that *aparuddha* is practically equivalent to *rāshṭrād=bhrashṭa*, and that *aparuddhas=charati*, as used in the inscription, is a standing and very old phrase. I would now draw attention to a passage in the *Daśakumāracharita*, where the same phrase must undoubtedly be restored, in the place of the reading which is given by the published editions.

In the third *uchchheda* of Daṇḍin's work<sup>2</sup> a woman, in order to make Vikatavarman's queen fall in love with Upahāravarmar, tells that lady a story which begins with the words: *asti kō=pi rājasūnur=avaruddhas=charan*<sup>3</sup> | *amushya vasantōtsavē saha sakhībhir=nagarōpavana-vihāriṇī Ratir=ica vighrahiṇī yadrichchhayā darśanapatham gat=āsi* |. The queen, offended as she is by her husband's dissolute manners, readily falls in love with Upahāravarmar. She asks the woman to arrange a meeting with him (*amunā puruṣhēṇa mām . . . samāgamaya*), and in the end is made to say: *asti ch=āyam=artharāsiḥ* | *anēn=āmushya padē prati-shṭhāpya tam=ēv=ātyantam=upacharya jīviṣhyāmi* |.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vi, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler's second ed., p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> The same reading we have in Wilson's edition, p. 101; the Nirṇayasāgara press edition has *nigūḍham charan*.

The word *avaruddha* of the first passage has been paraphrased by *gupta*, and translated by 'incognito' ("there is a prince who is travelling incognito"). And the concluding passage was rendered by Professor Bühler: "And I possess all this wealth. With the help of that I will place him (viz. Upahāravarman) in that man's (*amushya*, i.e. Vikāṭavarman's) place and live worshipping him exceedingly." But apart from other objections, the preceding *amushya* and *amunā purushēṇa* would show that the pronoun *amushya* in the queen's answer could only refer to the lover Upahāravarman, not to the husband Vikāṭavarman, and there is no question at all of Upahāravarman's requiring the queen's wealth to be put in *King Vikāṭavarman's place*.

For the words *anēn-āmushya padē pratishṭhāpya* we have the various reading *anēn-āmum scapadē*<sup>1</sup> (or *svē padē*) *pratishṭhāpya*; and as soon as we adopt this reading, and at the same time alter the words *avaruddhaś=charan* of the first passage to *aparuddhaś=charan*, everything becomes perfectly plain and consistent. The woman relates that there is a prince who (driven from, or deprived of, his kingdom) is wandering abroad as an exile; and the queen says that she has plenty of wealth by means of which she will reinstate him *in his own place*.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

#### FRESH LIGHT ON THE POEM ATTRIBUTED TO SAMAU'AL.

In the *Mashrik* for April and the *Muktabas* for August of this year Father Anastasius the Carmelite publishes yet another copy of the poem originally edited by Dr. Hirschfeld. He found it in a Baghdad MS., of the year 1232, called *Nail al-su'ūd fī tarjamat al-wazīr Dā'ūd*, and consisting chiefly of odes (to the number of 72) in praise of Dā'ūd Pasha, governor of Baghdad, Baṣrah, and Shahrāzūr,

followed by a selection of poems of different ages, and various other matter, some of it historical.

In the Baghdad copy the title of the poem states that it is not by the celebrated Samau'al, but by another, of the Banû Kuraizah. Both metrically and grammatically it is more correct than either of the copies that have as yet appeared, and it *omits* the Christian verse which was appended in the first copy published in the *Mashrik*. This last verse is condemned by the editor as an interpolation, doubtless with justice. He apparently, however, regards the whole as the work of a modern Christian, thinking even the ascription of it to a Kuraizite Jew irreconcilable with the evident lateness of some of the idioms and the poverty of the thought, though the force of this last argument is not clear. With the judgment of this writer I am in general disposed to agree.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

#### PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

A Society has been formed called the *Société d'Angkor pour la conservation des anciens monuments de l'Indo-Chine*. The aim of the new society is explained in a circular just issued to rally supporters to the good work.

The region over which France, by a recent treaty with Cambodia, has assumed the protectorate, includes the noblest monuments of the ancient civilisation of Indo-China, such as the temples of Angkor, which, as the circular says, "take their place like the Parthenon, like Louqsor, like the Taj Mahal, among the architectural wonders of the world."

The Angkor Society has resolved to preserve these monuments from further ravages of time and climate, and appeals for help from all friends of art, whether French, foreign, or Oriental, who are interested in Indo-China, the public funds available not being sufficient for this purpose.

The appeal is signed by the *membres fondateurs*, including the names of all the most distinguished French Orientalists and officials connected with Indo-China.

The terms of membership are: a minimum annual subscription of 5 fr., or single donation of 100 fr.

Givers of 200 fr. and upwards become thereby *membres donateurs*. Subscriptions should be sent to Monsieur Louis Finot, Hon. Secretary, 11, Rue Poussin, Paris (XVI<sup>e</sup>), or to Monsieur Sylvain Lévi, Hon. Treasurer, 5, Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris (V<sup>e</sup>).

#### THE COMMENTARY ON THE DHAMMAPADA.

In thanking you for your appreciative notice of the first part of Professor Norman's edition of this very curious and interesting book, I ask leave to say that the usual preliminary account of the manuscript material used in the edition will appear with the completion of the first volume, to be issued, we trust, this year. The edition will consist of three volumes of about 400 pages each. The third volume will contain an introduction in which the relation of the MSS. to each other, and the various historical problems raised by the text, will be discussed. It would have been better if the preliminary notice had appeared with the issue of the first part of vol. i. It is due to me, and not in any way to Professor Norman, that this did not happen; and I ask for the insertion of this notice in order that that may be made quite clear.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

#### NOTES ON EXPLORATION IN WESTERN ASIA.

##### *Babylonia.*

Notwithstanding the excavations which this country has, in former years, carried on on the site of ancient Babylon, it has been left to Germany to make the first really effective explorations determining the sites of the renowned buildings which the city is known to have contained. The operations

of the German explorers have already extended over more than seven years, with most gratifying results, and if the Turkish Government will only recognize the importance of the discoveries made, and the ruins brought to light, it will not only take measures for their preservation, but will also, in its own interest, encourage visitors from Europe and America, for such show-places as the American, French, and German explorers have opened out, ought to attract many visitors who, bringing their money to spend in the country, will contribute to its prosperity in proportion to their numbers—that is, given sufficient encouragement.

In the excavations on the eastern side of the mound known as the Kasr at Babylon, the German explorers found the celebrated procession-street of Merodach, so often referred to by Nebuchadnezzar, with the gate of Ištar at the point where the continuation of the western wall on the east bank of the Euphrates ended. The temple of the goddess Mah (one of the names of Merodach's spouse) lies between the east end of this wall and the Arah-tu-canal, which here seems to have made a bend to the east to avoid it. According to Weissbach, this temple, as at present preserved, was simply of sun-dried brick, and still bears traces of white distemper. In all probability it was richly decorated in the Babylonian style, but all signs of this have disappeared, together with the image of the goddess, and the temple-furniture. The building consisted of seventeen rooms of various sizes and shapes, with a central courtyard. At the northern end of the procession-street seems to have been the place of fate, called Du-azaga, where, yearly, 'the fates' were declared. To the west of the procession-street, and north of the above-named city-wall and the Ištar-gate, are the remains of the central palace. On the south side of the wall, and adjoining, therefore, the central palace, lie the ruins of the southern palace, of which more than 100 rooms and halls have been uncovered, including what is regarded as Nebuchadnezzar's throne-room, with a recess in the south side for the royal seat. South of the Kasr is the mound known as Amran-ibn-'Ali, which, as a brick published in the third volume of the

*Cuneiform Inscriptions of West Asia*, in 1861, shows, contains the temples known as Ê-sagila and Ê-temen-ana-ki, 'the high-headed house' and 'the house of the foundation of heaven and earth.' Both these fanes were dedicated to Merodach and other deities, which led, apparently, to the latter being regarded as the temple of Belus by Herodotus. According to Weissbach, Ê-temen-ana-ki lay to the north of Ê-sagila, and had long been in ruins, though Herodotus describes it as being, in his time, complete. This is the building called by Nebuchadnezzar 'the Tower of Babylon,' *ziggurat Bâbili*, which is probably the Biblical Tower of Babel.

Already we know more of the glories of Babylon than Herodotus has been able to tell us, and a correct idea of the more important part of the city can even now be obtained. From the plans drawn up, we must dismiss from our minds the picture of a four-square city with all the streets at right angles like those of the great cities of America, and gates to the number of a hundred giving access to the principal thoroughfares. Babylon was no larger, Delitzsch says, than Dresden or Munich, and the walls as traced by the explorers, though roughly rectangular, enclosed a very irregularly-shaped tract. Of its numerous gates (besides the gate of Îstar in the middle of the city) those of Samaš and of Nirig have been located.

### *Niffer.*

Something has been said in the book-notices published in this Journal concerning the discoveries at Niffer, so that the following paragraphs are of the nature of a supplementation and recapitulation. The excavations there have been remarkably fruitful and interesting. The brickwork of the great *ziggurat* or temple-tower is in a remarkably good state of preservation, and the pavements of the courtyard, as laid by the various kings, go down in regular chronological succession, as was to be expected, the lowest being that of Sargon of Agadé and Naram-Sin, his son, whose date, according to Nabonidus, was as far back as 3800 B.C. The

varying spaces between these pavements, however, show how uncertain are chronological data based on intervening accumulations of rubbish. Ur-Engur or Sur-Engur, father of Dungi, is regarded as having reigned about 2750 years B.C., and if he be the same king as laid one of the pavements at Niffer, he ought to have immediately succeeded Naram-Sin, for there is nothing between his pavement and that of the ruler of a thousand years earlier. Naturally, this is in favour of those Assyriologists who make the reigns of Sargon and Naram-Sin to be about 1000 years later than the date indicated by Nabonidus. Yet between the pavement of Ur-Ninib or Sur-Nirig (about 2550 B.C.) and Kadašman-Turgu (about 1325 B.C.), there are only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet of débris. But why did Sur-Engur place a pavement of several layers of worked clay, about 7 feet thick, between Naram-Sin's pavement and his own burnt brick one?

Between Naram-Sin's pavement and virgin soil, Dr. Haynes reported 30 feet of débris, representing the accumulations of ages before the period of that ruler—how many, it is difficult to guess, but the American explorers place the date of the earliest settlements at about 10,000 years ago. In this lowest portion were found various articles of pottery, including large urns, vases filled with ashes, and drains of various kinds. An interesting fragment of a map of the north-east section of Niffer gives the position of the two courts of the temple, and has enabled Mr. Clarence S. Fisher to make a plan of what was the state of the structure about the time of Sur-Engur, including the two-roomed shrine in the outer court which was built by Bûr-Sin. Before Professor Hommel's suggestion that the Babylonian towers in stages were originally sepulchral monuments, Layard had not only made the same suggestion for the similar towers in Assyria, but had found indications in the presence of a long vault in the basement of the temple-tower at Nimroud that such was really the case. This is confirmed by the presence of the remains of burial-places at Niffer on every side, and Professor Clay points out that one of the names of the temple-tower there was Ê-gigunu, 'the house of the tomb.'

Interesting finds have also been made by the Germans at Fara, about 40 km. south-east of Niffer, the most interesting being a beet-shaped cylinder inscribed "Dada, viceroy of Sukurru, Haladda, viceroy of Sukurru, his son, has consolidated the side (?) of the great gate of the god Sukurru." This, if not carried and deposited on the site in later days, would seem to give its ancient name, the syllabary-reading of which is Šuripak, described in the Babylonian story of the Flood as the birthplace of the Babylonian Noah.

### *Bismya.*

The University of Chicago has been excavating in the temple-hill of the ruin known as Bismya, in central Babylonia, on which site a "fine old crematorium" was unearthed. From the inscription on the statue of a Sumerian king whose name has been given as Daudu or David, we learn that the temple there was called Ê-mah, and the place itself Adab. The date of this, according to Dr. E. J. Banks, the discoverer, is 4500 B.C. Later rulers who restored the temple were Sargon of Agadé, his son Naram-Sin, Ur-Engur, and Dungi. Among the objects found were cylinder-seals, fragments of vases, etc., and an early Semitic head with pointed beard, and inlaid eyes of ivory.

### *Asshur.*

The Germans have also been exceedingly successful at Kal'ah-Shergat, the site of the ancient capital of Assyria, called Aššur. Considerable portions of the north and west sections of this city—palaces, temples, and houses—have been excavated, and many interesting discoveries made. On this site lies the great temple Ê-hursag-gal-kurkura, said to have been founded by Erišu, viceroy of Aššur, about 1920 B.C. The founder of the national sanctuary, the temple of Aššur, seems to have been Ušpia or Aušpia.

In the northern section of the city, among the numerous constructions, which, on the plan, show a confusing mass of walls and chambers built over each other, they have excavated the great *ziggurat* or temple-tower, the palace

of Aššur-našir-āpli, south-west of its south-western side, and the temple of Aššur, called E-ḫursag-kurkura, north-east of the temple-tower. In the western section of the city they have found the great palace called É-lugal-kurkura, 'the house of the king of the world,' with the temple of Anu and Hadad to the west of it, and the small temple-tower attached to that temple. Many interesting houses have also been found. The inscriptions unearthed are of great historical and topographical value. Many additional names have been added to the list of kings, and material correcting and amplifying the earlier chronology has come to light. It is greatly to be regretted that this country is at present doing so little to recover the records which have been left us in such plenty—we are still ignorant of the extent of great Nineveh and Calah, both of which have been excavated by Layard, Rassam, Loftus, and George Smith—and the completion of the work so worthily begun would probably result in many discoveries, and might show us the whereabouts of the other two cities of Asshur, Rehoboth-ir and Resen.

T. G. PINCHES.

#### INDIAN EPIGRAPHY IN 1907.

Active work in epigraphy appears to have been confined chiefly to the *Epigraphia Indica*, of which journal parts 4 to 7 of vol. viii. (to be completed by part 8 containing the index, etc.) and parts 1 and 2 of vol. ix, have been issued during the year.

A very interesting article in vol. viii. is that in which Dr. Vogel has given (pp. 166-79), in addition to some minor records, the new Sārnāth edict of Aśōka, two inscriptions of Kanishka dated in the year 3, and an inscription of Aśvaghōsha dated in the year 40. Another interesting article is that in which Dr. Bloch has given (pp. 179-82) the first critical treatment of two records on Buddhist images; the Set-Mahet inscription dated in the year 19, and the Mathurā inscription of the time of Huvishka dated in the year 33.

Another is that in which Professor Pischel has edited (pp. 241-60) the two Prākṛit poems, odes to the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu, which were found recorded on stones at Dhār. These three articles are illustrated by excellent facsimiles; as, indeed, is always done in this journal whenever the importance of the subject demands it. Part 7 presents a facsimile of the inscription on the Taxila vase, and the commencement of an article on it by Professor Lüders, the remainder of which will appear in part 8.

Vol. ix. opens with an article by Professor Kielhorn (pp. 1-10) on two copperplate inscriptions of the time of Mahēndrapāla of Kanauj, which are of particular interest because one of them is dated in the year 574 of the Gupta-Valabhī era, and the other shews that in A.D. 900 the kingdom of Kanauj included the territory of Kāthiāwār. In the same number Professor Hultzsch has given (pp. 15-24) eight records of the Ālupa kings, from stones at Udiyāvara.

The specified parts of the two volumes include other articles by Professors Kielhorn, Hultzsch, and Lüders. Other contributors are Messrs. H. Krishna Sastri, T. A. Gopinatha Rao and G. Venkoba Rao, Hira Lal, V. Venkayya, and D. R. Bhandarkar, Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, and Dr. Sten Konow. And in vol. viii. Professor Kielhorn has completed his lists of the inscriptions of Northern and Southern India by issuing his synchronistic tables of all the various dynasties from A.D. 400 onwards.

During the same period parts 2 and 3 of vol. i. of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* have been published. The editor of this journal, who works single-handed, is to be complimented both on the amount that he turns out and on the care and thoroughness with which he places his results before us. But we want him to give us, as soon as he can obtain the necessary materials, some of the more ancient records,—notably, those which (it is understood) are engraved in retrograde Brāhmī characters. A special feature in this journal is the index, which is carried on and issued up to date with each part: not only will this arrangement expedite matters considerably when the index for the entire volume

has to be finished off, but also it adds very greatly to the utility of the separate parts as they are issued. It would be highly advantageous if the same plan could be followed in the case of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

#### THE NAVASAHASANKACHARITA OF PADMAGUPTA.

The last part to hand of the *Indian Antiquary* (June, 1907) contains a very useful translation (pages 149-172) of the article by Professor Bühler and Dr. Zachariae, published in 1888 in the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna, vol. cxvi, part i, pp. 583-630, on the poem entitled Navasāhasāṅkacharita which was written by Padmagupta.

Padmagupta, otherwise known (and apparently more usually) as Parimala, wrote in the last quarter of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. He was court-poet to the Paramāra king Muṅja-Vakpatirāja of Mālwa, and then to his successor Sindhurāja. And he wrote the poem in question, "The Achievements of Navasāhasāṅka," in honour of Sindhurāja, whose second appellation was Navasāhasāṅka. The poem, which consists of eighteen cantos, is not historical to the extent of the Harshacharita of Bāṇa and the Vikramāṅkadevacharita of Bilhana. Still, it does, and particularly in the eleventh canto, contain information of importance for the history of the Paramāras.

It need hardly be said that all items in that line, and in any other, deducible from it, were carefully brought forward and discussed by the writers of the article, with extremely useful results. But it must be remembered that the article was written twenty years ago. It must consequently be read, like so many other valuable contributions to the political and literary history of India, in the light of subsequent epigraphic researches. And, as a point in instance, we may observe, in connexion with "the lord of Raḍūpāṭi" who was conquered by Śīyaka-Harsha according

to verse 89 as presented to us, that *raḍū* is (see Fleet, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vii, p. 217, note 4) a misreading of *raṭṭa*, and the reference is to "the lord of Raṭṭapātī, the territory of the Raṭṭas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas," that is, to the contemporaneous Rāshṭrakūṭa king Khotṭiga of Mālkhēḍ.

It may be added that a full chronological table of the Paramāras has now been given by Professor Kielhorn, in his Synchronistic Table for Northern India, A.D. 400–1400, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii, part vi.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**MIR'ÂT AZ-ZAMÂN** (A.H. 495-654), a facsimile reproduction of MS. Yale No. 136 of the Landberg Collection. Edited with Introduction by J. R. JEWETT, Ph.D., Professor of Arabic Language and Literature in the University of Chicago. (University of Chicago Press, 1907.)

The appearance of this handsome volume, due to the enterprise and energy of the University of Chicago and of their Professor, is matter for joy among Oriental students, not merely as materially enlarging their field of research, but as giving further and tangible proof of the activity of Oriental study in the United States.

Professor Jewett explains in the Introduction how he came to decide on issuing an immediate facsimile of the MS., and on publishing in the future a critical edition, not merely of its contents, but possibly of a preceding portion of the *Mir'ât al-Zamân*, based on the various MSS. which he has consulted, and which he indicates. The claim of Yale 136 to be the only European or American MS. so far, at least, as concerns the last century of the history—viz., the author's own time, when his work becomes a 'source'—may still be conceded, in spite of the presence, in the Library of As'ad Efendi in Constantinople, of the MS. No. 2,141, extending from 598 A.H., when the author was 16 years old, to its close in 654 A.H. For, except in a geographical sense, that MS. lies outside Europe. It has been lately examined and described by Dr. J. Horowitz in the *Mitteilungen* of the Berlin Oriental Seminary (Abteilung ii, 1907), and, comparing its number of folios and lines with those of the corresponding portion

of this facsimile, the two MSS. may well be of tolerably equal volume, and may therefore represent the same recension. For the existence of different recensions is noticed by the Professor, and is shown, too, by a comparison of the facsimile with Paris, Arabe 1,506, the years 495-517 being covered by both. The Professor's courteous liberality in furnishing me with the proofs of the earlier pages of the facsimile enabled me to compare these two MSS.; the result was to show not a few divergences in matter, but no great disparity in bulk.

It will therefore be interesting to see how the Professor may settle his selection of a text, and also what starting-point he may fix on for his edition. The former may cause variants in text, the latter in opinion. But it is improbable that he will allow himself to be tied down by the accident that Yale 136 begins at 495 A.H., although this date happens to be within a year or two of the extracts from the *Mir'āt al-Zamān* relating to the Crusades, given in the "Recueil," Hist. Or., tome ii, p. 517. Earlier dates suggest themselves, as the *terminus a quo* of a printed text.

To start with the rise of the Saljuq power at Baghdad would involve editing the Paris MS. Arabe 1,506 from its opening; even more valuable would be a text including the Buwayhid dynasty—whose annals are inadequately treated by Ibn al-Athīr—if not from a date so remote as the entry into 'Irāq of Mu'izz al-Daula (which would include some years earlier than those covered by the Schefer MS., Paris, Arabe 5,866, as well as the entirety of Munich, 378c), yet, perhaps, from the death of 'Aḍud al-Daula in 372 A.H. For down to this date there does exist, though as yet only in certain Constantinople MSS., a source of first-rate authority, viz. the "Tajārib al-Umam" of Ibn Miskawaih. Of this history an early part, dealing with Abbasid times, was included by Professor de Goeje in the "Fragmenta Arabica," and it is possible that its later and closing portions may, in obedience to the admirable example set us by the Professor, reach his hands from these shores at a not too distant date.

The Professor reserves, no doubt, for his edition, an appreciation of the *Mir'āt al-Zamān*. Like many a Moslem history, it is capricious and disappointing; no very obvious principle of selection seems to guide either the events recorded or the subjects of obituary notice and their "Memorabilia." And the plausible hope that the narrative might gain by the writer's presence on the scene does not seem to be realized by the latter pages of the facsimile, so far as appears from a cursory perusal. One merit the historian did possess. Brought up, as the Professor says, by his grandfather, Ibn al-Jauzi, "from whom he seems to have inherited much of his talent," he refrained from adding thereto his ancestor's inaccuracy (see Ibn al-Athīr, x, 451) or his propensity for noticing coincidences, in which he emulates our own Alison, as well as the marvellous in general. Passages occur in his work where the grandson seems even to pause before his grandfather's statements.

The MS. Yale 136 was the work of a very ordinary scribe. A careful perusal would probably reveal many blunders; e.g., on p. 28, l. 14, appears the death of Hibbat-Allah b. Ṭā'ūs, *sub* 506 A.H., and the same name is included in the necrology of 536 A.H. (p. 110, l. 7). The latter entry is confirmed by *Dhahabi*, "Ibar," B.M. Or. 6,428, 107<sup>a</sup>, and by Qāḍi *Shuhba's* Abridgment, B.M. Or. 3,006, 277<sup>b</sup>. The first-named must be father to the second, and his name wrong. Again, as the Professor's edition is yet to come, and the facsimile is likely to be forthwith and largely used, it may be of advantage to students to point out that the scribe, refraining after the manner of his kind from reading the original of his copy, has allowed the narrative to suffer from a transposition of the original folios. I have indicated in the footnote<sup>1</sup> what seems to be the right

<sup>1</sup> In the *Mir'āt az-Zamān*, facsimile reproduction of the MS. Yale 136, the text should, apparently, run as follows:—

سنة ٥٠٥ . . . لحريق البرجين ورموا بها ١. 2 [p. 24, 1. 7]  
 فنزل النار فهبت الريح فاحرقت البرج . . . سنة ٥٠٦ . . .

order of the text, in conformity with that of Paris, Arabe 1,506, and also of the order of events in the History of Damascus, by Abu Ya'la Hamza b. Asad b. al-Qalānisi (Bodl. Hunt., 125), which, down to its termination in 555 A.H., is the main authority quoted in the facsimile for the contents so far as they relate to Syria.

H. F. A.

HEINRICH LÜDERS. DAS WÜRFELSPIEL IM ALTEN INDIEN. Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Band ix, No. 2. 1907.

EMIL SIEG. BRUCHSTÜCK EINER SANSKRIT-GRAMMATIK AUS CHINESISCH-TURKESTAN. Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse. 1907, xxv.

L. D. BARNETT. THE ANTAGAḌA-DASĀO and AṆUTTAROVA-VĀIYA-DASĀO. Translated from the Prakrit. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xvii. 1907.)

The three publications here named appeared almost simultaneously about June 1st. The first two are standard papers; the third also deserves much praise.

Dr. Lüders starts from the Vidhurapaṇḍita-jātaka, and,

. . . ووعظ فقامت الهيبة [p. 26, l. 12] [p. 24, l. 2] ولم يتعرض لمذهب  
الاشعري ووقع له القبول . . . وعادوا الى دمشق [p. 25, l. 7]  
[p. 27, l. 16] (فنزل) مودود في حجرة الميدان الاخضر . . .  
سنة ٥٠٧ . . . بهروز الخادم شحنية بغداد [p. 28, l. 19]  
[p. 28, l. 12] وفيها استشهد الامير مودود . . . لؤلؤ الخادم والغالب  
على ملك [p. 27, l. 16] [p. 28, l. 19] حملت بمثل هذا ان يموت  
صاحبها ويتولى امر ولدٍ الصغير الخ

The opening words of this last sentence seem misplaced, or something has dropped out, but the subject continues the same, viz., the succession of the infant son of Rīdwan of Ḥalab with Lū'lū' as regent.

in the course of his exhaustive researches, is able to furnish for the first time reliable translations of a good many passages of the Rig-Veda. To say more of his monograph would be unwise. It should be read by anyone who takes interest in a model disquisition concerning Sanskrit literature or in the history of a very old game that is still familiar to mankind.

Dr. Sieg has examined four mutilated manuscript leaves that have been found in a destroyed Buddhist Stūpa of Chinese-Turkestan. He minutely publishes what they contain, and, in adducing cognate passages of Sanskrit literature, he is able to show that the fragment forms part of a manuscript of that lost Indra or Aindra grammar which occupied the attention of Dr. Burnell and other Sanskrit scholars. It may be hoped now that one day a full copy of the work will turn up in Chinese-Turkestan. Already the fragment yields the means to Dr. Sieg for inferring that the Indra grammar is written in the Śloka metre, and that it was used among the Northern Buddhists before they brought out a simplified edition of it, which is known as the Kātantra grammar.

Dr. Barnett presents in his book a translation of two legendary texts which form the eighth and ninth Anga of the Jaina canon. He thus continues a task undertaken by Dr. Hoernle, who, in the Bibliotheca Indica, published and translated the seventh Anga of the same canon, likewise a legendary composition. Not only in the task, but also in the care devoted to it, Dr. Barnett closely follows the ways of Dr. Hoernle. This is seen from the body of the book as well as from footnotes and appendices. In spite of this there naturally remain some defects, and perhaps a few may here be mentioned. Only the introduction, however, and the first appendix will be taken into consideration.

On perusing the introduction the reader is somewhat struck at meeting for the first time a quaint duplicity in the quotation of names. Prākṛit names are no longer quoted, like the Sanskrit names, in the stem form, but in the nominative form. Certainly there are scholars who, in

a similar way, do too much honour to the nominative when dealing with Pāli. But to imitate them does not seem to be wise. At any rate, any argument in favour of such imitation might be answered by two opposite ones. We further find in the introduction that the first Upānga is styled a 'Daśa text, and that Mahāvira's mother is called Trisālā (for Trisālā). On p. x we are informed: "as yet the only Jain scriptures that have been critically edited are the Uvāsaga-dasāo, published by Dr. Hoernle, and the Ōvavāiya-dasāo, edited by Professor E. Leumann." This might suggest that Dr. Barnett does not much appreciate the editions of Professor Jacobi and Dr. Schubring, nor one of my own (the Daśavaikālika-sūtra, Zeitschrift der D.M. Ges., xlv, p. 613 ff.). However, the contrary is probably true, and so the assertion must be taken as hasty.

As to the first appendix, it prints from three manuscripts and two Indian editions the text of the ninth Anga. Here I may first repeat an emendation which formerly I had to submit to Dr. Hoernle. In my review of his publication above named, I showed at some length<sup>1</sup> that the frequently occurring phrase which begins with, or simply consists of, *ahāsuham* does not continue the preceding speech, but forms an answer to it. What precedes is always the expression of a wish. The *ahāsuham* phrase, then, denotes that the wish is granted, but with some reserve; it literally means: (do) as you like, only do not make a binding (of your soul by an impure motive).<sup>2</sup> Another typical error concerns the

<sup>1</sup> Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenl., iii, pp. 347-350. In addition to the arguments here given many more might be produced. Among these I only mention some that can be derived from printed books:—

- (a) A Sanskrit rendering of the *ahāsuham* phrase, expressly styled as an answer, is found in Abhayadeva's commentary on Bhagavati, xviii, 10, ed. Benares, fol. 1428b.
- (b) A metrical Sanskrit variation of the *ahāsuham* phrase, also styled as an answer, occurs in Hemacandra's Parīṣiṭṭapavān (Bibl. Ind.), iii, 280.
- (c) The word preceding an *ahāsuham* phrase is proved to be final by plenty of abbreviations. So, in Dr. Barnett's text, the passage *jāva pavvayāmi* (p. 128<sup>27</sup>) shows that in Bhagavati, ix, 33 (ed. Benares, fol. 803), Jamālī's words run on only till *pavvayāmi*, not till *paḍibandhaṇ*.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of *paḍibandha*, 'binding of the soul, addiction to, *vidāna*,' recalls one of the meanings of *anubandha*; compare in Mahābhārata, iii,

address 'bhante' *tti*. This is throughout to be combined with what follows, not with what precedes. Already Professor Weber, when in 1866 and 1867 he inaugurated the Jain studies, had to grapple with two 'bhante' *tti* passages, and in one case<sup>1</sup> he took the right, in the other<sup>2</sup> the wrong, way. Which of the two ways be the right one may easily be seen from the cognate addresses 'Khandayā' *ti*, 'Goyamā' *ti*, 'Kaṇhā' *ti*, etc., which invariably open new phrases.<sup>3</sup> In the Vagga subscriptions Dr. Barnett prints *tti* for *iti*, as he thinks it is "demanded by the dialect" (p. 126<sup>6</sup>). This argument, however, does not hold good, as those subscriptions, by their omission in good manuscripts, are proved to be interpolations, which of course, in language, follow their own rules.<sup>4</sup> It would have been best either to ignore altogether such insertions—there are some more (also subscriptions) on p. 135, 1, 28, and on p. 136, 3—or to put them in brackets. Also in a few other respects Dr. Barnett has not been quite happy in dealing with textual particularities. He regularly prints -īyo for -īo,—*navaya-gevejja* for *nava ya gevejja*,—*thimiya* for *tthimiya*,<sup>5</sup>—*uttaranti* for *otaranti*

13178, *na kṛyatām anubandhah*, 'do not stick to your wish.' In the smaller St. Petersburg dictionary the heads 1b and 1c of the article *anubandha* should be combined under the meanings 'addiction to, particular wish, intention.'

<sup>1</sup> "Über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī," ii (1867), p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> L.c., p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> L.c., pp. 261, 296; 256, 303. The book under notice, pp. 58, 80, 81. It may be mentioned here that some addresses of the kind have been entirely misunderstood, even by *Malayagiri*. In his commentary on the second Upāṅga (Rājaprasāni, Calc. ed. samvat, 1936, p. 30) he takes *devā* (ṛ) in the sense of *dev'ā*, and therefore paraphrases the words '*devā*' i *samaṇe bhagavaṇ Mahāvire te deva evaṃ veyāsī* by *dev'ādi-yogād dev'ādi-īramāṇo bhagavān Mahāviraṇ tān devān evaṃ avādāt*. In the same book similar mistakes are found on pages 74 and 76 (both times the text has '*Sūriyābhā*' i), and perhaps also elsewhere. But 'bhante' *tti* is rightly interpreted on p. 96 f. Only an optional blunder is committed by *Abhayadeva* when he says that '*Goyamā*' (ṛ) may in Sanskrit either be *Gautamā* or *Gautamāyī* (i.e. *ayī Gautama*); see for instance *Bhagavatī*, ed. Benares, fol. 794 f.

<sup>4</sup> The subscriptions offer the half-Sanskritic plural *ajjhayanāṇi* (not *ajjhayanāṇim*) and the numeral *biya* (not, as the text puts, *biya* or *bitiya*).

<sup>5</sup> The latter form, offered by the manuscripts, is also required by the *veḍḍhaya-* (*veḍḍaka-*) metre of the canon. Professor Jacobi, who has discovered the metre, calls it Hypermetron; see Weber's "Indische Studien," xvii, p. 389 ff. Its original designation, *veḍḍhaya*, is preserved in the canon. Later compositions of the type are found in the verses 9, 11, and 22 of the Ajitasānti-stava (British Museum MS. Or. 2132).

(which is the equivalent of *paccoruhanti*<sup>1</sup>),—*Sahassambavaṇa* for *Sahasambavaṇa*,—*mugga-māsa* for *mugga- . . . māsa*,—*urū* for *ūrū*,—*uttha* for *oṭṭha*,—*nijjārāyaṇe* for *nijjara-tārā*,—*sijjhihi* for *sijjhihi* 5. In the last instance, which comprises two or three passages, the materials used have probably proved insufficient. The missing cypher is in the second passage known to me from a very old and excellent manuscript preserved in the Strassburg University Library, and in the first passage from Weber's shortened copy of the Berlin MS. No. 1062.<sup>2</sup> In the third passage the figure is perhaps not to be expected, as the text towards the end is more and more abbreviated. To understand how certain figures may be missing in the usual manuscripts, we must keep in mind that these manuscripts are written by men who were little acquainted with the letter-numerals that before their time had been in use for 4 and higher numbers; such numbers, therefore, are often omitted, while the universally known cyphers 2 and 3 are regularly retained. The five future forms beginning with *sijjhihi* may be derived from the *Aupapātika-sūtra*, §§ 56 (my edition, p. 62, 22 f.), 116, 147. In the abbreviated passages Dr. Barnett sometimes rather arbitrarily prints -o for -e. As to single readings that are objectionable, I only draw attention to some which occur in the last four lines of the text. These lines should be read as follows:—

*Aṇuttarovavāiya-dasāṇaṃ ego suya-kkhandho; tinni vaggā; tisu ceva divasesu uddissanti. Tattha paḍhama-vagge dasa uddesagā; bitiya-vagge terasa uddesagā; tatiya-vagge dasa uddesagā. Sesam jāhū Dhamma-kahāṇaṃ tahā neyavvaṃ.*

I have perhaps been too long in dwelling on some of the deficiencies of Dr. Barnett's book. In the main it is textual trifles only in which I deviate from his lines, and but few of these trifles affect his translations, which

<sup>1</sup> See Weber's "Fragment der Bhagavati," ii, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> See Weber's second Catalogue, p. 505, 18, where 'nā' is the letter-numeral for 5.

are very elaborate and very useful. I hope ere long to meet Dr. Barnett again on our common ground. Perhaps he may then show himself more international than in the present work; that, without neglecting English publications and manuscripts, he will give a little more attention to what has appeared and is preserved on the Continent.

ERNST LEUMANN.

A CATALOGUE OF PALM-LEAF AND SELECTED PAPER MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal. By MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA HARA PRASAD SASTRI. To which has been added a Historical Introduction by Professor C. BENDALL. (Calcutta, 1905.)

While Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri is making his third stay in Nepal, for the purpose of examining a collection of palm-leaf and paper MSS. made by the Mahārāja, it seems high time to direct the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the volume under notice, in which the results of his second expedition to Nepal have been collected. On that occasion he travelled, in 1898-9, with the late lamented Professor Bendall, and was also accompanied, under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by his assistant, Pandit Binodavihari Bhattacharya. An account of some of the results of this tour was published by Professor Bendall in his report to the Vice-Chancellor, reprinted in this Journal for 1900, p. 162. Professor Bendall's contribution to the present work, though short, is particularly valuable, as it consists of a "History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms (1000-1600 A.D.), compiled chiefly from MSS. lately discovered." Thus Professor Bendall was able to make use of a new *Vaṃśāvalī*, belonging to the reign of Jayasthitimalla, A.D. 1380-94, which gives a large number of dates of important events. I must leave it to specialists in the field of Nepalese history to criticise the historical results gained by Professor Bendall from this and other sources, confining

myself to a consideration of their bearing on the history of two well-known legal Sanskrit works.

Caṇḍeśvara, the reputed minister of Tirhut and author of that standard compendium of the Mithilā School, the *Ratnākara*, extols his patron, King Harisimphadeva of Tirhut, as having been victorious over all the kings of Nepal. This statement, from the evidence collected by Professor Bendall, would seem to be a boast, or at least an exaggeration. "It seems safer to regard Harisimpha and his ancestors who reigned in Tirhut, Simraon, and also possibly other parts of the Nepal-Terai, as at most titular kings of Nepal, even if they really claimed sovereignty over the valley of Nepal at all." Professor Bendall does not go the length of treating the invasion of Nepal by Harisimphadeva as a mere fiction; he has printed a specimen leaf from his "third Vamśāvali," hoping that it will be fully deciphered one day by some one skilled in the Himalayan languages, and will throw a fresh light on the invasion of Harisimpha, to which it evidently refers.

The *Madanaratnapradīpa*, another voluminous manual of religious and civil law, in seven parts, is ingeniously connected by Professor Bendall with the dynasty of Gorakhpur-Campanan or W. Tirhut, King Madanasimphadeva, who is mentioned in two Nepalese MSS. as reigning in A.D. 1453-4 and 1457 in Gorakhpur, being identified by him with the royal author or inspirer of the Madanaratna, King Madanasimphadeva. The present writer, going on the quotations in the Madanaratna only, has referred its composition to the second half of the fifteenth century as the latest date. This would agree with the two above-mentioned dates. On the other hand, Haraprasad Shastri, when discussing the MS. by which the Prāyaścitta portion of the Madanaratna is represented in this collection, points out that Professor Eggeling's I.O. Catalogue, which contains long extracts from another part of the Madanaratna, makes Madanasimpha a king of Delhi. An analogous passage occurs in a copy of the Vyavahāra section of the Madanaratna, which I have been able to consult. It will thus be necessary,

I suppose, to adhere to the statements made in the *Madanaratna* itself, and to take out its author from the Gorakhpur-Camparan dynasty. As suggested by Haraprasad Shastri, he might have been an influential Rajput chief, who lived in the province of Delhi during the period of anarchy in the early part of the fifteenth century.

Turning to Haraprasad Shastri's contributions to the present volume, they fill by far the larger portion of it, and consist chiefly of an elaborate preface containing short notices of the most important MSS., and of a full catalogue of palm-leaf MSS. in the Durbar Library, Nepal, followed by two indexes. Of the paper MSS., which are as a rule less ancient than the palm-leaf MSS., a selection only is given, embracing those which have not yet been properly described elsewhere. The whole number of MSS. in the Durbar Library comes up to nearly 5,000, and they contain the Royal Collection of Nepal from the remotest antiquity. The Nepal climate is specially favourable for the preservation of MSS., and palm-leaves of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have not yet decayed. Nearly all the various branches of Brahmanical lore are represented in this collection. Thus there are many old grammatical works of the *Aindra* and *Candra* schools. To the department of Smṛti belong, in the first place, two MSS. of *Nārada*, one of them accompanied by a brief commentary in the Newari language. This MS. seems to be closely related to the valuable Nepalese MS., dated A.D. 1407, belonging to Professor Bendall, which has been used for my edition of the *Nārada-smṛti*, so that the two ślokaś at the close of this new MS. may be emended from Professor Bendall's MS. Among the numerous other Smṛti MSS., *Ratnakaraṇḍikā* by Droṇa, copied in A.D. 1133, is specially remarkable for its age. Of medical MSS., *Carakasamhitā*, said to have been copied in 1183 A.D., is the oldest. This MS., which may possibly throw some new light on the history of Caraka's textbook, will be examined by Dr. Hoernle. *Rasahrdaya* is by Dr. P. C. Ray considered one of the most ancient works extant on Hindu chemistry. Among astronomical works we may mention *Yavanajātaka*, regarding

which some new details are here given, in addition to the description contained in J.A.S.B., 1897. Kāvya, dramas, both Sanskrit and Nepalese, lexicography, politics, erotics, systems of philosophy, Buddhism, epics and Purāṇas, stotras, and other branches of Sanskrit learning are also well represented, and there is an enormous amount of Tāntrika literature.

Altogether, this is one of the most valuable Sanskrit catalogues published of late years, and a future Aufrecht will be able to use it as an excellent basis for compiling a supplement to that useful work, the *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

J. JOLLY.

DICIONNAIRE CHAM-FRANÇAIS. Par ETIENNE AYMONIER, Résident Supérieur Honoraire, Ancien Directeur de l'Ecole Coloniale, et ANTOINE CABATON, Attaché à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien Membre de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Ernest Leroux, 1906.)

It is no easy matter to review a dictionary, unless indeed one does it after the manner of the legendary Scotchman who tackled Dr. Johnson's. In the present case the difficulty is not diminished by the fact that the work in question is the first dictionary that has ever been put together of the Cham language, with which hardly anyone in Europe except its compilers, and certainly not the writer of this notice, can claim an acquaintance at first hand. The authors of this important dictionary are honourably known in connection with previous works on the Chams and their language (as well as other Indo-Chinese peoples and languages), and the present work is a fitting culmination of their labours.

The Chams were formerly a great nation, but are now a mere set of fragments dispersed in various localities, mainly in Camboja and Annam. Their language, of which there are two dialects, that of Camboja and that of Annam,

is probably doomed to extinction, and is of little practical use as a spoken vernacular. But from the scientific point of view it is of great interest and importance. Regarded as lexicographical material, as one sees it in this dictionary, the language constitutes a most curious jumble. Words of the most diverse origin jostle one another in these pages, the principal elements being Malayo-Polynesian, Mon-Khmer, Sanskrit, and Arabic. But one must distinguish: the Sanskrit and Arabic words represent merely the deposit left by the two foreign systems of religion and general culture by which the race has been affected. Hinduism, in a form mainly Sivaite, became at an early date the national religion, and is still (though in a very corrupt and degenerate state) the faith, or rather the cult, of a part of the Chams of Annam. The rest of them, as well as their emigrant cousins in Camboja, are Muhammadans, though the nominally Muslim section of the Chams of Annam retains many pagan beliefs and practices. With the other two elements in their mixed vocabulary the case is very different. Here we are dealing with a much older stratum of the language; or rather with two strata that have been so intimately welded together that learned scholars are still disputing as to which of them is to be considered as representing the original Cham language. On the one side we have Professors Kern and Kuhn, with the authors of this dictionary and the late Professor Niemann, on the other Professor Schmidt and the late Dr. Himly, all very high authorities, differing, if I may vary the metaphor, as to which was the original stock and which the graft.

The problem is a difficult one: what is, in general and in this particular case, to be the ultimate criterion of linguistic classification? The position of Cham in regard to this question may perhaps best be made intelligible by a fictitious parallel instance. If there had never been any such thing in the Romance and Teutonic languages as grammatical inflection, what criterion would one employ to decide into which of these two classes English should be placed? That is pretty closely analogous to the position

of Cham in relation to the Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian families. If its characteristics are enumerated, it will be found that some of them are distinctly Mon-Khmer, others as decidedly Malayo-Polynesian. Thus it has, like the Mon-Khmer languages, a strong tendency towards monosyllabism and accentuates the final syllable. As in Achehnese, where these peculiarities also occur, the presence of Mon-Khmer words indicates the cause of this divergence from the normal type of the Malayo-Polynesian languages of the Eastern Archipelago. Partly as a consequence of this peculiarity, Cham (once more like Achehnese) makes a frequent use of aspirated consonants, even in words of Malayo-Polynesian affinity, where they are usually, the result of the suppression of the vowel of the penultimate syllable of words whose final syllable begins with *h*. Such cases are *jhak*, 'wicked' (Malay *jahat*), *jhik*, 'to sew' (Malay *jahit*), *thâu*, 'to know' (Malay *tahu*), *thun*, 'year' (Malay *tahun*). In the Malayo-Polynesian languages aspirated consonants are almost unknown; in the Mon-Khmer family they are common. Another effect of the accentuation of the final syllable is that the ancient final diphthongs are often preserved, e.g. in such words as *apûei*, 'fire' (Malay *api*), *môtai*, 'dead' (Malay *mati*). To the same cause is doubtless to be attributed the most characteristic of all the peculiarities of Cham phonology (though a few parallels may be found elsewhere), viz. the indifference of the vowel of the penultimate syllable in such cases as *akan*, *ikan*, 'fish,' *aduñ*, *idun*, 'nose,' *arak*, *urak*, 'thread,' and the like. This peculiarity makes Cham in some cases an awkward language to disentangle: thus, the words 'prawn' (Malay *hudang*), 'charcoal' (Malay *arang*), 'longing' (Malay *hidam*), 'while' (Malay *sédang*) are all represented by the Cham word *hadañ*, which is also the name of the *Eulales Javanensis*, a species of bird that can be taught to talk. On the other hand, it appears that Cham is somewhat less consonantal than the Mon-Khmer languages, and in this respect approaches nearer to the Malayo-Polynesian type, which admits even less of the heaping up of consonants

than do the Mon-Khmer languages. But in the extent and complexity of its vowel-system Cham is again nearer to the Mon-Khmer family. To some extent the mixture of the Cham phonetic system shows itself even in the treatment of Indian loanwords, some of which, having passed through a Mon-Khmer channel, have been forced into the abbreviated forms usual in that family (and in Indo-China generally), while others retain their fuller forms, as they do in the Indonesian languages. Thus we find *dik* and *dukkhak*, representing the Pali *dukkha* (as well as *duḥkhak*, from the Sanskrit *duḥkha*), *dip*, *depa* and *dēba* (Sanskrit *deva*), *blum* and *bhūmī* (Sanskrit *bhūmī*), and the like. It is noticeable that the Cham words, whether of Indian or Mon-Khmer affinity, have not as a rule shared in the "Lautverschiebung" which has affected Khmer (and to a less extent Mon) phonetics in comparatively modern times; the Cham sonants are not pronounced as surds, and *vice versa*.

But, after all, do these considerations help one much towards the solution of the problem? Are not phonetics largely a matter of racial idiosyncrasy, and is a language to be held to have lost its identity when its adoption by an alien community has modified its phonetic system? Is the Pidgin English of the China ports no longer to be considered a Teutonic dialect?

Syntax as a criterion of classification offers much the same difficulties. There is very little difference, in general principles, between the syntactical systems of the Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian families. But anyhow, as the case of Pidgin English again illustrates, the transference of a language from one racial community to another is often accompanied by a modification of its syntax, which is really not a principle essentially inherent in the language itself, but rather a form imposed upon it by the mentality of the person speaking it.

Then there is the formative system by means of which words are built up in the languages in question. But this is very similar in the Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian

families, and is not grammatical (i.e. of the nature of accident) but etymological. On both grounds it is far less conclusive as a criterion of classification than an inflectional system would be. What inference could legitimately be drawn from the existence in English of words with Romance terminations, such as *-tion* or *-ment*, even when (as in the word *atonement*) they are occasionally affixed to words of Teutonic origin? Even if we concede to Professor W. Schmidt that the use of prefixes and infixes in Cham resembles the Mon-Khmer nearer than the Malayo-Polynesian, one cannot but note (as an illustration of the entanglement of the relation of these families) that the very words by which (in "Anthropos," tom. ii, fasc. 2, p. 332) he endeavours to show the existence in Cham of the Mon-Khmer infix *-p-* as applied to roots beginning with *l-* are mostly of Malayo-Polynesian affinity! The prefixes and infixes of the Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian families respectively being practically identical, much has been made of the existence in the latter family of suffixes, which the former does not possess, and it has generally been stated that Cham in this respect conforms to the Mon-Khmer type. It appears to be true that the most characteristic of Malayo-Polynesian suffixes, *-an* and *-én*, are not recognised as now existing as living elements in the Cham language. But even a casual glance through this dictionary reveals the fact that they have, at any rate, existed in former times. The word *samilan*, 'nine' (Malay *sambilan*), is usually regarded as derived from the verb *ambil*, 'to take.' *Salatan*, *ḡalatan*, 'south' (Malay *sĕlatan*), is from *sĕlat*, 'strait' (the word is not Arabic, as by a misprint is stated in this dictionary, and the reference is to the straits of the Eastern Archipelago, perhaps the Sunda Straits in particular). Professor Kern has suggested that the word for 'elephant,' in Cham *limón*, Javanese *liman*, is derived from *lima*, the old Malayo-Polynesian word for 'hand.' Here, at any rate, are a few words built up by means of suffix-formation. Unfortunately, though *lima* exists in Cham (in the form *limō*, 'five'), the other two stems, *ambil* and *sĕlat*, apparently

do not occur. Must it be inferred that *samilan* and *salatan* have been borrowed by Cham from some other Malayo-Polynesian tongue? (There are, of course, such loanwords; e.g. *padumôn*, 'magnetic compass,' is undoubtedly from the Javanese *padoman* (from *dom*, 'needle'), and *turanan*, the title of a royal chronicle, may, as the authors suggest, be from the Malay *turunan*, more usually *keturunan*, 'descent'; the Cham forms of the stems contained in these two words are *jarum* and *trun* respectively.) Probably a systematic search would reveal other words formed with suffixes, but they cannot be very numerous. It would seem that the old Malayo-Polynesian dialect which entered into the composition of the Cham language made use of this method. If it has become obsolete now, the fact is no doubt due to the influence of the competing Mon-Khmer element.

Admitting, therefore, that the problem as to the proper classification of a language is one that cannot be solved by merely lexicographical evidence, it does, however, seem that under the peculiar circumstances of the present case such evidence must carry great weight. Surely it is of the very first importance that the Cham equivalents for a large number of words in common use are preponderatingly of Malayo-Polynesian affinity. Taking a score or more of the names of parts of the body (human and animal), I find that of the Cham equivalents (some fifty in number) about half are of doubtful, unknown, or foreign (mainly Indian or Arabic) origin, the remainder being to the extent of four-fifths Malayo-Polynesian and only one-fifth Mon-Khmer. Moreover, the Mon-Khmer words appear in several cases to be loanwords taken direct from Khmer or some other neighbouring allied tongue, such as Stieng or Bahnar. With one exception the Mon-Khmer words have synonyms of Malayo-Polynesian origin; but the converse is not the case. These things must have been amongst the very first to which primitive man had to give names; and if the Cham language of to-day still calls them by their ancient Malayo-Polynesian names, it is a strong argument in favour of classing it in that family of speech. Such words are not

likely to be lost or borrowed wholesale; they are in daily use in the mouths of the people. To my mind they are more likely to be preserved than even numerals and personal pronouns. One knows that Malay, for instance, has borrowed some of these from Sanskrit, while the bazaar jargon that passes for Malay has actually acquired two pronouns from Chinese. Again, Khmer has borrowed its higher numerals from Siamese in comparatively modern times, while Japanese, in addition to its native system, has also taken over the Chinese numerals. Still, it is worth mentioning that the Cham numerals and personal pronouns are Malayo-Polynesian.

In other departments of the vocabulary the preponderance of this element is not so marked. Nevertheless, it exists in the names of colours, while in those of the commoner animals and in words of relationship the balance in favour of the Malayo-Polynesian element is very small. Names of metals are also about equally divided. This is not the place to work out this line of analysis in detail. I have said quite enough to draw attention to the interest attaching to the Cham language as a difficult case in linguistics. The present dictionary will not only be of use in contributing towards the solution of this problem; it is also likely to prove a most valuable help to all students of the Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian families of speech.

With a view to facilitating comparative studies in these directions the authors have in many cases given a number of cognate forms from the allied languages. This has added very materially to their labours, but also to the value of the dictionary. I must not, therefore, be taken as underrating this part of their work when I add that it is by no means complete, and that in a few cases the comparisons cannot be supported. *Karamat*, 'vertu,' 'bonnes œuvres,' 'sainteté,' is, at any rate in the last sense, from the Arabic كرامة, not from the Sanskrit *karman*. *Duri*, 'precious stone,' is the same as the Malay *baiduri*, 'opal,' both being of Indian origin. *Môdyôn* and its variant *paduôn*, 'assistant minister (or priest),' must, I think, be from the Sanskrit *vidvams*

(like the Malay *biduan*), and are unconnected with the Arabic *muezzin*; here the authors halted between two opinions. *Chiap*, 'wing,' is the Malay *sayap*. *Di*, *dī*, the proposition 'in,' etc., is doubtless the same as the Malay *dī* (not *tī*, as given in the dictionary). *Tapak*, 'droit devant,' etc., is not merely the Bahnar *tôpat*, but also the Malay *têpat*. *Batañ*, 'net (for hare-hunting),' is not connected with the Malay *bénang* (meaning 'thread'), but is a word that reappears in the sense of 'net' in other languages of the Eastern Archipelago. The late Dr. Brandes, whose death is so deeply lamented by all who take an interest in Malayo-Polynesian research, long ago suggested that this was the stem of the common word for 'animal' (Malay *binatang*, Cham *banatañ*), which in that case must have originally meant 'animal caught in a net.' *Bodan*, 'body,' is an Arabic word, as stated, but the Malagasy *ratunä*, given as cognate with it, has nothing to do with it, being related to another word (Malay *batang*), which in several Malayo-Polynesian languages means 'trunk,' especially of a tree, but also in some cases the trunk of the human body. *Dahlän*, 'formerly,' is from *hulän*, 'head,' and is equivalent to Mal. *dahulu*. *Darak*, 'sea,' is probably connected with Mal. *darat*, 'land'; in the Philippines the word occurs with the former meaning. *Jal*, 'net,' like the Mal. *jala*, is presumably of Indian origin, only the Cham word has the typical Mon-Khmer and Indo-Chinese monosyllabic form. *Padam*, *dam*, 'to put out a light,' must be the Mal. *padam*. For *padak*, 'sword,' compare the Mal. *pèdang*. For *padañ*, 'spacious,' and also the numeral coefficient for 'paillottes tressées,' one may compare the Mal. *bidang*, 'spacious,' etc., which is also the coefficient for *kajang*, 'awnings,' and the like, as well as the Mal. *padang*, 'plain,' 'open space.' The root appears to convey the idea of 'breadth' simply. I doubt if *buđañ*, 'to make manifest,' can be connected with the Mal. *béntang*; I think it must be classed with the Javanese *pađang*, 'clear,' and perhaps also the Old Khmer *dañ*, 'to see': compare the Mal. *pandang*, 'to look.' Here also goes the Cham word *biđañ*, 'clairement,' which cannot

be connected with the Bugis *mita*, Mal. *lihat*, or Sanskrit *vidā*, as the authors suggest. *Duḥrakā*, 'péché,' 'pécheur,' 'enfer,' represents two distinct Sanskrit words, which occur in Malay under the forms *dērḥaka*, 'treason,' 'traitor,' and *naraka*, 'hell.' *Bala*, *balā*, 'mal,' 'malheur,' is 'the Arabic *بلا*, which reappears in Malay as *bala*. *Baluv*, pronounced *balāu*, 'fallow,' 'widower,' 'widow,' is the Malayo-Polynesian *walu*, *balu*, 'widow,' 'widower.' *Riya*, *riyā*, *riyā*, in such expressions as *jalan riya*, 'the public road,' *kraui riya*, 'a big river,' is the same word as the Malay and Achehnese *raya*, 'large,' 'grand'; the root-meaning is 'big,' not 'royal,' and the word has nothing to do with the Indian *rāja*, 'king.' *Jawap*, 'reply,' is unquestionably from the Arabic *جواب*, *jawāb* (not *juāb*), and there was no need to query it. *Patiōn*, 'white,' 'fair,' is probably identical with the Mon *ပတီၤ*, *ပတီၤ* (*ptān*, *btān*, pronounced *pētān*), 'white.' *Pryōc*, 'belly,' and *prac*, 'entrails,' 'bowel,' are perhaps connected with the Malay *pērut*, Achehnese *prēut*, 'belly,' which in some of the cognate languages of the Archipelago also means 'entrails.' (Final *-é* interchanges in Cham with *-t*, e.g. *kryōc*, *kruaié*, 'orange,' 'lemon,' is the Achehnese *kēruēt*.) *Pakai*, 'to insult,' is clearly cognate to Mal. *maki*, which has the same meaning. *Pajar*, 'dawn,' is the Arabic *فجر*, which reappears in Malay as *fajar* and *pajar*. *Pañkat*, 'tier,' is the Mal. *pangkat*. With *pajaiḥ*, 'seed,' 'race,' compare the Mal. *biji*, *bijeh*. *Avan*, 'to embroider,' appears to be the same as the Mal. *awan*, 'cloud,' 'pattern (in artistic design).' On the other hand, the relation of *parauḥ*, 'to arrange troops into line,' to the Mal. *baris*, 'line,' seems very dubious; and much the same must be said of the connection suggested by the authors between *parauḥ*, 'to destroy,' and Mal. *prān* (*sic*: presumably *pērang*, 'to fight'). *Tanōm*, *tanoōm*, 'to bury,' is identical with Mal. *tanam* (which has the same sense), and the reference in this paragraph to *tandōh*, 'earth,' is unintelligible. *Tanam*, *tamam*, 'garden,' is probably

connected with *tanam*; there is also a Malay word *taman*, 'garden.' The root is probably *tam*, 'to plant,' which (as Professor Schmidt has pointed out) occurs in several Mon-Khmer languages. *Tamat*, 'end,' 'finished,' is the Arabic تامت. *Taṇi*, 'ear,' a mere variant of *taṇi*, should not have been put into the same paragraph with the quite distinct word *taña*, 'to question.' *Tasak*, 'ripe,' is rightly connected by the authors with the Mal. *masak*, but they should also have cited the Kawi, Balinese, and Batak *tasak*, which are better parallels than the Malay word. I cannot see any connection between *kalin*, 'rebel,' 'peril,' 'war,' etc., and the Mal. *përkelahian*, 'quarrel,' and I doubt the identity of *hakun*, *hulun*, 'slave,' and the Mal. *hulur*. The word *nan*, 'food,' appears to be the same as the root of the Javanese *pangan*, 'to eat.' *Sakavin*, *sakavain*, 'dowry,' appears to be the Mal. *isi kahwin* (this last being a Persian word). *Satru*, 'enemy,' even if it does come from the Khmer *satruv*, is of Indian origin; compare the Mal. *sètèru*. *Hāvā*, 'covetous desire,' is probably the Arabic and Mal. هوى (pronounced *hawā* in Malay), not شهوة. These suggestions do not, of course, profess to be exhaustive.

The dictionary fills over 530 pages, and (including variants) contains something like 10,000 Cham words, each of which is given both in the native character and in a transliterated form. In many cases phrases and sentences are given in illustration of the use of particular words. In some cases there is an indication that the word in question belongs to the dialect of Camboja, or that of Annam; it were rather to be wished that this had been done throughout, though it appears that the two dialects are very closely allied. The dictionary proper is preceded by a valuable introduction, explaining the orthography, grammar, etc., of the language, and a useful bibliography, in which a great number of works dealing with the linguistics of the Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian families, etc., are enumerated. At the end come two indexes: one of the French equivalents used in the dictionary, and the other of the Cham words put into the order of the Roman alphabet. These will,

of course, greatly facilitate the use of the work for comparative purposes, which will, after all, probably be its chief utility. Altogether the work has been well done, and its authors must be heartily congratulated on the accomplishment of their great task. The thanks of Orientalists are also due to the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, under whose auspices it has appeared, as well as to the Imprimerie Nationale, which has printed the work in excellent style.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CEYLON. EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA, vol. i, parts 2 and 3. Edited and translated by Don MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE, epigraphist, to the Ceylon Government. (London, 1907.)

Wickremasinghe has continued his publication of ancient inscriptions in the island of Ceylon, of which he had given us the first instalment in 1904 (see J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 183 ff.). Part 2 of vol. i contains the slab-inscription of Kassapa V (929-39) at Anurādhapura and the rock-inscriptions of Maha-Ratmale (135-41) and Perumaiyan-Kulam (66-110), part 3 the two tablets of Mahinda IV (975-91) at Mihintale, and a slab-inscription belonging to the same king and situated near the stone-canoe at Anurādhapura.

All these inscriptions except the first and the last one have been published before, in my "Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon" (London, 1882). Wickremasinghe's transcripts are in some places more correct than mine, but the facsimile of slab A of the Mihintale inscription which he has added to his volume (plate 14) is certainly not so legible as those given by me as No. 121 of my plates. As far as the translation of the inscriptions is concerned, Wickremasinghe has taken great trouble to give a better rendering, and in some cases he has done so with success. Thus, for instance, his explanation of the word *dakapati* = *udakaprāpti*, given on p. 72, seems to be preferable to those given by Goldschmidt, Franke, and myself, although I have not been able to find the Pāli *dakapatti* quoted by Wickremasinghe in support of his theory.

In a great many places the translation remains doubtful. Wickremasinghe certainly is right in stating that the rendering of the word *vasag* frequently occurring in these inscriptions by 'farm' is not satisfactory (pp. 28, 83). But his own explanation is not better, and at the end he seems to give it up altogether, as in the translation of the two tablets at Mihintale he always prints 'a *vasag* from Damiya.'<sup>1</sup>

The meaning of Damiya, also, is not clear. On p. 83 Wickremasinghe takes it to be a derivative of Pāli *dhammika*, 'that which belongs to dhamma,' but afterwards he seems to have abandoned this idea and to have considered *Damiya*, as I had done before, as the proper name of a village. In this case it would probably be identical with *Damgamiyen* mentioned in line 31 of slab A.

Another difficult word is *piṇis* in the slab-inscription of Kassapa V at Anurādhapura, lines 38 and 41 (p. 48). This word is not found on the tablets at Mihintale, but we have it in the form *piṇisae* on the pillar of General Lag Wijaya Singu Kit at Abhayawaewa (my A.I.C., p. 105, No. 157 B), in the inscription at the Ruanwaeli dāgoba, Anurādhapura (A.I.C., p. 92, No. 145, line 20), in that of the Galwihāra, Polonnaruwa (A.I.C., p. 89, No. 137, line 26), and on the frieze at the Thūpārāma (A.I.C., p. 95, No. 147, lower portion, vii, 2).

This *piṇisae* is the Pāli *upanissāya*, with the meaning of the simple *nissāya*, 'in order to' (see Childers), just as Clough gives it in his Sinhalese dictionary, s.v. *pinis*. With regard to *piṇis* in the slab-inscription of Kassapa V, Wickremasinghe (p. 55) suggests that it might be derived from Sanskrit *pranīcṛi*, but he does not say which form of this verb it could be. I believe that it corresponds to the Pāli *upanissaya*, 'basis, groundwork, destiny' (Childers).

A word occurring frequently in these inscriptions is *melāṭṭi*. We find it in the slab-inscription of Kassapa V,

<sup>1</sup> The translation given conjecturally in the note on p. 29, viz. 'a house with land adjoining it for one's maintenance,' approaches very closely the rendering 'farm' rejected by Wickremasinghe.

line 18, on the tablets at Mihintale, B 55, on the slab-inscription of Mahinda IV, line 33, besides on the pillar of Mahākalattaewa (A.I.C., p. 78, No. 110 C), on the pillar at Mihintale (A.I.C., p. 80, No. 114 A), and on the pillar at Aetawiragollaewa (A.I.C., p. 80, No. 117, B 28). In the first of these instances Wickremasinghe (p. 53), following Guṇasekara, takes it to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *mleccha* and translates it by 'savages'; in the other instances he seems to have given up this rendering and puts the Sinhalese word into his English translation just as he had done before with *vasag*. When transcribing these inscriptions in my A.I.C., I have separated this word and taken the first part *melāṭ* as the dative of the Sanskrit *mela*, 'assembly,' which is also found in Pāli. The second part, *sī* or *ṣṛī* (as it is sometimes spelt), I have connected with the following words, *rad kol kaemiyan*, and translated this 'the officers of the royal family.' I see no reason for the present to give up this rendering. At any rate, it is better than Guṇasekara's, which looks like a bad joke.

*Minḍi* on the tablets at Mihintale, B 20 has been left untranslated by Wickremasinghe (p. 109). I have rendered it by 'slaves,' but I now see that we must put 'elephant's keepers' instead. It is identical with Sanskrit *minṭha*, Hem. Deçin. 6. 138, and Pāli *meṇḍa*.

With these few remarks I certainly have not exhausted the subject, but it would take too much space and time if I should examine in detail all the explanations given by Wickremasinghe. I fully acknowledge his great abilities, and the amount of labour he has consecrated to his *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, but we must confess at the same time that the Sinhalese language, especially of the tenth and eleventh centuries, with all its difficulties and obscurities does not yet allow a satisfactory translation of these inscriptions. The earlier ones, as, for instance, that at Maha-Ratmale (p. 58 ff.), are comparatively easier, as their language offers more analogies with the Pāli and other Prākṛit dialects.

Berne, September, 1907.

E. MÜLLER.

THE PAGAN RACES OF THE MALAY PENINSULA. By WALTER WILLIAM SKRAT and CHARLES OTTO BLAGDEN. Two vols. (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1906.)

THIS work has been an unconscionably long time on the stocks for notice. One excuse is its great length, the two volumes running to nearly 1,600 octavo pages, and indeed it is hardly open to review, as it contains practically all that can be said on the subject up to the present time. It is a great book, and creates a fresh starting-point for scholars from which to continue research into this important ethnological subject.

Every part of the book is carefully thought out; even the remarks on the bibliography of the subject, and on the varying value of the authorities and of their qualifications, are well worthy of note. The list contains many well-known names, including Sir Stamford Raffles, John Craufurd, an author, to the present writer's mind, of astonishing powers of observation for his day, J. R. Logan, to whom we all owe so very much, the French Roman Catholic Fathers Favre and Borie, to whose work a worthy tribute is given, down to the quite modern times of Nelson Annandale and Rudolf Martin. There is one writer as to whose work a distinct caution is entered—Vaughan-Stevens, of the Rudolf Virchow Stiftung Expedition.

The introduction, on Environment, is of great interest, and to the untravelled student should be of informing value, as it so exactly describes the natural conditions under which the people live, and so well explains how their native culture arose out of human adaptation to surroundings. On to this culture has been grafted a growth which is the result of their contact with the Malays proper. They are now under the influence of the Pax Britannica, which it seems is tending to absorb them into their assimilating neighbours, the Malays.

The book, as a whole, describes with great minuteness in every particular the Orang Utan, Wild Men, a name which, as *ourang-outang*, has long been applied to a species

of ape in Europe, through an old mistake. The Orang Utan are divided into three separate groups, Semang, Sakai, and Jakun, who are respectively Negritos, probably Dravido-Australians, and aboriginal Malays. Among the Jakuns there are two sharply marked divisions, owing to environment, into Hill Jakuns, Orang Bukit, and Sea Jakuns, Orang Laut. This last description of Jakun is of special interest to the present writer, as they include the S'letars, who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the source of extraordinary dread to European seamen as pirates, considering their mild and innocuous characteristics at the present day. In the early days of European commerce the stories about them were always the same, whether under the name of Cellates, Saletes, Salleeters, or Saletars. The charge of piracy may have been due to mixing them up with more formidable tribes, but modern mildness under the Pax Britannica is no criterion of what a tribe can be like when left to its own resources. Witness the Nicobarese, who cannot be far removed from the Jakun in cousinship. Anything more unlike a pirate than a Nicobarese of to-day can hardly be conceived, yet they were dangerous wreckers only a short time ago. In addition to these there are the Blandas, Besis, Mantra, and Udai tribes, all of mixed origin.

The difficult problem of the race affinities of the three chief aboriginal groups is fairly and scientifically handled, though to some extent indeterminately. In regard to the Sakai and Jakun there is not so much difficulty as in the case of the Semang. The Sakai are referred to races in Ceylon and India such as the Veddass, Tamils, and possibly Australians, and the Jakun to the Malay races. The Semangs are Negritos, but whether or how related definitely to any other Negritos it is not so easy at present to say. The most marked characteristics for differentiation and for establishing affinities is the hair; the Semangs are woolly-haired, the Sakai are wavy-haired, and the Jakun are smooth-haired.

I see that the book has followed my tentative plan, as a preliminary to identification, of tabulating differences and similarities, and in an appendix has much elaborated in

a most interesting manner my table in the case of the Semangs and Andamanese. From this table and from the book generally I am still inclined to adhere to my general deduction that the Andamanese and Semangs (and possibly the Aetas of the Philippines) represent the relics of a race that in very ancient times occupied the south-eastern portion of the Asiatic continent before the irruptions of the oldest of the peoples whose existence or traces can now be found there.

I cannot pretend in this Journal, or with the time at my disposal, to review this important book as it deserves. Suffice it to say that vol. i deals in great detail with all the available information on Race, Manners, and Customs, and vol. ii with that on Religion and Language. In the section on Barter it is shown that the various tribes proceed very much as do similarly situated peoples elsewhere in procuring foreign articles of commerce, but I am not sure that the Malay trader's ways are quite fairly stated. It is not fair, for example, to place as evidence of rascality local and Singapore prices merely in juxtaposition without taking into consideration transport, deterioration, risk, profit, and so on. On this principle *all* trading can be shown to be rascally.

There is a considerable space devoted to a description of Vaughan-Stevens' 'flower-theory' to account for the decorative patterns in use among the wild tribes, a theory which is rightly described as being reared on a foundation of sand. The warning to scholars who have no field experience conveyed in this part of the work is not without its usefulness, considering the extent to which Vaughan-Stevens' German editors were misled by the theory and the supposed evidence in support thereof. This subject is gone into in extraordinary detail, no less than 90 pages being devoted, with 25 plates, to the Semang alone. The decorative art of this people is in violent contrast with that of the Andamanese, which can be summarised as consisting of customary conventional lines in one or more of three colours, and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved.

The Semang are described as having no organised body of chiefs, and as holding property in common, and on the whole the social order with them seems to resemble that of the Andamanese, excepting a system of fines for offences which has been obviously borrowed from their Malay neighbours. The process of law-borrowing is much further developed among the Sakai, while the ideas of polity and law developed among the Jakun and mixed tribes generally deserve detailed study in conjunction with those of the Nicobarese, and possibly such a comparative study might lead to valuable ethnological discoveries.

Religious or semi-religious beliefs and customs are so liable to be borrowed and transferred that they are not, in themselves much evidence of race, but it is interesting to observe that the Semang, like the Andamanese, adopt platform burial in certain circumstances, and that the Jakuns, like the Nicobarese, show a great care for the souls of the dead, though the former do not seem to exhibit the extreme fear of the ghosts of the recently dead that characterises the Nicobarese. This seems, however, to be equally a characteristic of the Sakai. In the matter of beliefs, it is remarked truly enough that the pressure of alien religions resulting from the medley of races that have gone to fill the Malay Peninsula most probably explains the present state of things among all the wild tribes, and that being so it is curious to note the directly Hindu origin of the Sakai belief that Rahu is a monster that swallows up both the sun and the moon and causes eclipses.

There is a curious note on the use of wooden images among some of the Orang Laut discovered among the Orang Mantong of Sanglar Island and elsewhere, which is referred to the use of *adu-adu* in the Nias Islands. They can equally well be referred to the *kareau* and the *henta* (a suggestive term in this connection) of the Nicobars, as also can the *lanchang* or spirit-boat.

The last great subject taken up in the work is Language, and on this point I shall be silent, except to say that it is admirably treated and always interesting, as I fear that,

once started on it, space and time would both be far too much occupied.

In closing these desultory remarks on the work of Messrs. Skeat and Blagden, I would like to record an appreciation of the honesty, fairness, accuracy, and completeness, so far as this last is at present possible, with which it has been compiled, rendering it an important contribution to our knowledge of the inhabitants of the south-eastern corner of the Asiatic continent.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ATHARVA-VEDA SAMHITĀ. Translated with a critical and  
 • exegetical commentary by WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY.  
 Edited by CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN. Harvard  
 Oriental Series, vols. vii and viii. (Cambridge, Massachu-  
 setts, 1905.)

The appearance of the present posthumous work is the outcome of a most fortunate combination of circumstances. The late Professor Whitney began his career as a Sanskrit scholar at Berlin in 1851, when he copied a MS. of the Atharva-veda. He then proceeded to publish, in collaboration with Professor Roth, the *editio princeps* of that text in 1856. Following this up with various contributions to the elucidation of the Atharva-veda, he devoted the last ten years of his life (1885-94) mainly to preparing a translation which embodied the results of his lifelong labours and was intended to fulfil a pledge given in the provisional preface to the edition of 1856. The work had so far progressed by 1892 as to justify an announcement in regard to its publication at no distant date, but the execution of this purpose was soon afterwards arrested by the hand of death. It seemed a peculiarly deplorable misfortune for Vedic studies that a scholar endowed with so clear and penetrating an intellect and with such sanity of judgment should die before being able to give to the world his final researches on a book which is second only to the Rig-veda in importance as a source for the history of Indian antiquity. It luckily

turned out that the main body of Whitney's work was fully written out, though it was by no means systematically complete. Luckily, too, the scholar best qualified for the task of putting into shape the material left by his old teacher was ready to undertake the work. Fortunately for us he has not been content to publish the MS. practically as he found it, but has, by adding introductions and innumerable details, spent much time and toil on making the book as valuable as possible to the student and researcher. I do not think anyone could deny that the work has been admirably done. No user of the book can fail to recognize the saving of time effected by Professor Lanman's method of arranging and supplementing the material with which he deals. The labour which his method of editing implies is, I think, not as a rule sufficiently appreciated. And when, as in the present case, an editor supplies far more accessory material than is generally considered adequate, he is sometimes even blamed for not having done more! It may safely be said that never before has the material for the critical study of an extensive Vedic text been so comprehensively and systematically gathered from sources so multifarious. And it cannot be doubted that the combined labours of author and editor will place the whole discipline of Vedic criticism upon a broader and firmer basis. Having had occasion to make very considerable use of these two volumes, I have constantly found their value in checking both the grammatical forms and the meanings of words which one frequently finds quoted from the Atharva-veda without any indication that they may be of a highly doubtful character.

Whitney and Roth's edition of the Atharva-veda contained only the bare text. Owing to the carelessness of the Atharvan tradition the editors had to emend many passages. Critical notes were therefore peculiarly necessary. These were, however, not supplied, and then only to a limited extent, till many years afterwards, when Whitney published his *Index Verborum* to the Atharva-veda (1880), in which he indicated various readings and conjectures. Such

material is now much more fully given in the critical notes added after the translation of each verse in the present volumes.

It is only possible here to touch on a few of the numerous points that arrest one's attention in perusing these volumes. In the first part (which is by Professor Lanman) of the general introduction there is a section on the orthographic method pursued in the edition of the text. Whitney's use of *ch* to represent *t + ś* in separate words (as *brháchānti* = *brhat-sānti*) against the Prātiśākhya seems unsound, as the *ch* here represents *ś*, and *t* is assimilated as *c* to this *ch*. To write *ch* for the Sandhi form is therefore very misleading. Internally *ch* (as in *gācha*) has a different origin, representing an Indo-European *s + k* or *kh*. Here one seems justified in following, as Whitney does, the practice of the MSS. by way of distinction. Some scholars, however, as Wackernagel, would write *cch* everywhere.

Further on Professor Lanman touches on the important question, what value the ritual Sūtras have for the exegesis of the Samhitā. The efforts of some distinguished scholars to explain texts of the Rig-veda and the Atharva-veda by means of the Sūtras do not appear to have been at all successful hitherto. The extraordinary way in which the Sūtras tear the Mantras from their context and often distort them in their application seems conclusive as to the Mantras having normally at least preceded the ritual.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, of course, the Mantra and ritual would have been contemporary, as Professor Lanman thinks of viii, 8 (pp. 502-3), though Whitney (p. 507) here, too, regards the ritual as later.

Professor Lanman (p. cxxvi f.) calls attention to the extreme irregularity of metrical form in the Atharva-veda. The facts stated by him should be considered a warning against arguments for greater antiquity based on irregularity of metrical forms. Thus the Rig-veda has many regular verses which are distorted in the other Samhitās, and it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ii, 14 (p. 58), 29 (p. 70), 31 (p. 73); iii, 20 (p. 121), 26 (p. 131).

would be absurd to argue the priority of the latter. This consideration has to be borne in mind when it is argued that Pāli versions in irregular metre are older than the epic versions. Again, the errors in the text of the Atharva-veda are frequently corrected by the Paippalāda.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence adduced on p. cxli and pp. 895 ff. seems to be conclusive as to the lateness of Book xix, and as to the former existence of an Atharva-veda which was limited to Books i-xviii. At the same time it is noteworthy that the material of Book xix appears in great part in the Paippalāda text, and on an equality with the rest.

In AV. i, 25<sup>2</sup> (p. 25), the word *hrūdu* occurs. Not only is its meaning quite uncertain, but even its form, the MSS. showing some eight variations. The etymologies mentioned on p. 26 are therefore quite valueless, and Halévy's suggestion that it is a Sanskritization of *χλωρός*, 'greenish yellow,' is especially wild. It would have been better to omit all reference to such conjectural philology. Whitney himself would have been the first to reject it.

AV. xi, 7 (p. 643), is devoted to the laudation of Ucchiṣṭa, the 'remnant of the offering.' Professor Deussen's view is quoted that the meaning of Ucchiṣṭa here is rather 'residuum in general,' the remainder that we get after subtracting from the universe all the forms of the world of phenomena. This interpretation will probably be regarded by most scholars as reading more into the hymn than seems justified.

It is interesting to note that mention is already made in the AV. (viii, 10<sup>28, 29</sup>) of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, of Kubera, son of Viśravaṇa, and of the serpent Takṣaka. Unfortunately, in the absence of any real characterization of these names, no light is shed on their history.

In view of Whitney's knowledge of astronomy, his remarks are specially valuable regarding the futility of astronomical discussions about *maghā* and attempts to extract a date from such indefinite material as is supplied by AV. xiv, 1<sup>13</sup> (p. 742).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vii, 113<sup>3</sup> (p. 468); also xiii, 2<sup>28</sup> (p. 723), where the AV. is distorted in sense and metre, but the Paippalāda text is in some degree better. So the VS. "wantonly defaces" the metre in xix, 6<sup>5</sup> (p. 904).

The student of these volumes cannot fail to be struck by the sound sense repeatedly displayed by Whitney both in the notes and the translation. This, for instance, appears in his rejection<sup>1</sup> of the attempt which has been made to prove that the famous verse of the funeral hymn (AV. xviii, 3<sup>a</sup> = RV. x, 18<sup>a</sup>), "Arise, O woman," was originally a part of the ritual of the human sacrifice (*puruṣa-medha*) for which it is prescribed in the *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*. Another example is the very sane reasoning with which he refutes, in AV. xix, 39<sup>a</sup>, Weber's emendation of *nāva prabhrāṁśanam* (Padapāṭha *nā | āva | pra-bhrāṁśanam*), 'not falling downwards,' to *nāva-prabhrāṁśanam*, which he then translated 'descent of the ship,' and connected with the later Brāhmaṇa myth of the Deluge. Such conjectures may lead to grave chronological errors. I myself accepted this emendation, and the consequent connexion with the later legend, in my "History of Sanskrit Literature" (p. 144); but now, after reading Whitney's note, I withdraw the name and the identification without reservation.

In taking leave of this work, with its large amount of well-digested and well-arranged material, I cannot help expressing the conviction that every student who uses it will find it a first-class tool in all special investigations connected with the Atharva-veda.

A. A. MACDONELL.

**THE TABERNACLE, ITS HISTORY AND STRUCTURE.** By the Rev. W. SHAW CALDECOTT, with a commendatory preface by Professor A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D. Second edition, with the author's final corrections. (London: Religious Tract Society, 1906.)

**SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, ITS HISTORY AND ITS STRUCTURE.** By the Rev. W. SHAW CALDECOTT, with a preface by Professor A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D. (Religious Tract Society, 1907.)

Beginning with a description of the journey of the Israelites from Sinai to Shiloh, Mr. Caldecott gives all the

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 226, 946, n. 3.

details necessary for the understanding of those wanderings, in which the Ark and the Tabernacle itself were the most important impedimenta. On reading it, one realizes the full meaning to the migrating Jews of this centre of Israelitish worship, with the elaborate ceremonies attached thereto, and how the Tabernacle, with its contents, became an impressive rallying-symbol until the settlement of the Israelites in the Holy Land, when only those located near the place where it was pitched had an opportunity of seeing it, and those at a distance had ample time to forget its existence and fall into the heathenism of the nations around, to which from the first they had strong inclinations.

The portion giving the history of the Tabernacle until the building of the Temple is especially interesting, as containing the identification of Ramet-al-Haleel with the altar built by Samuel at Ramah. To this identification also the introduction is devoted, and the arguments deduced in support of the theory will probably be regarded as well reasoned. Photographs of the site are given, as well as a plan reconstructing the enclosure in question.

The Tabernacle itself is described with much minuteness, and the author shows how, understood as he suggests, every detail fits in, and the measures also are clear if we regard the work as having been executed upon the basis of the employment of three different cubits, namely,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an English foot for gold and gold tapestry-work;  $\frac{1}{2}$  for building-work; and  $\frac{1}{3}$  for measuring areas only. This, of course, offers a satisfactory solution, but it seems strange that the cubit for area and for building-work should differ. The author's restoration of the Tabernacle is well worked out, and the design is less picturesque than that generally accepted, or than the design of Fergusson.

Whatever may be the value of the author's researches in Assyro-Babylonian metrology, the writer of the present notice feels bound to range himself on the side of Professor Sayce in the matter of the Senqārah arithmetical tablet. As is well known, the text gives, besides the table of square and cube roots, two much mutilated series of measures, the

first containing the cubit of 60 and the second that of 30 fingers, as Assyriologists long ago recognized. The latter coincides in many details with the series published by Hilprecht in vol. xx of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* (see the present Journal of the R.A.S., pp. 709-710<sup>1</sup>).

Proportionate with the importance of the monument is the book dealing with Solomon's Temple. As in the case of the Tabernacle, the author gives an excellent historical introduction, the first part of which, that dealing with the chronology, is of considerable importance. As is well known, the ordinary chronology of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel differs from that of Assyria by about 40 years. Mr. Shaw Caldecott shows, however, that by eliminating the reign of Athaliah, who was a usurper, and not recognized

<sup>1</sup> As the published copy of the Senqarah tablet is given as Sir Henry Rawlinson's, and has some errors which were unavoidable in consequence of the bad state of the obverse, it is needful to state that, as far as the second edition of the *Western Asia Inscriptions*, vol. iv, is concerned, the text, though based upon the first edition, is entirely the work of the author of this notice. With the help of another inscription, the mutilated first column may be restored as follows:—

1 finger	...	...	10	$\frac{2}{3}$ cubit 5 fingers	...	250
2 fingers	...	..	20	$\frac{2}{3}$ cubit 6 fingers	...	260
3 fingers	...	...	30	$\frac{2}{3}$ cubit 7 fingers	...	270
4 fingers	...	...	40	$\frac{2}{3}$ cubit 8 fingers	...	280
5 fingers	...	...	50	$\frac{2}{3}$ cubit 9 fingers	...	290
6 fingers	...	...	60	1 cubit	...	300
7 fingers	...	...	70	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits	...	400
8 fingers	...	...	80	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits	...	450
9 fingers	...	...	90	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ cubits	...	500
$\frac{1}{2}$ cubit	...	...	100	2 cubits	...	600
$\frac{1}{2}$ cubit 1 finger	...	...	110	3 cubits	...	900
$\frac{1}{2}$ cubit 2 fingers	...	...	120	4 cubits	...	1,200
$\frac{1}{2}$ cubit 3 fingers	...	...	130	5 cubits	...	1,500
$\frac{1}{2}$ cubit 4 fingers	...	...	140	$\frac{1}{2}$ gar	...	1,800
$\frac{2}{3}$ cubit	...	...	150	$\frac{1}{2}$ gar 1 cubit	...	2,100
$\frac{2}{3}$ cubit 1 finger	...	...	160	$\frac{1}{2}$ gar 2 cubits	...	2,400
$\frac{2}{3}$ cubit 2 fingers	...	...	170	$\frac{1}{2}$ gar 3 cubits	...	2,700
$\frac{2}{3}$ cubit 3 fingers	...	...	180	$\frac{1}{2}$ gar 4 cubits	...	3,000
$\frac{2}{3}$ cubit 4 fingers	...	...	190	$\frac{1}{2}$ gar 5 cubits	...	3,300
$\frac{3}{4}$ cubit	...	...	200	1 gar	...	3,600
$\frac{3}{4}$ cubit 1 finger	...	...	210	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ gar	...	5,400
$\frac{3}{4}$ cubit 2 fingers	...	...	220	2 gars	...	7,200
$\frac{3}{4}$ cubit 3 fingers	...	...	230	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ gars	...	9,000
$\frac{3}{4}$ cubit 4 fingers	...	...	240			

officially, and by cutting down Uzziâh's reign from 52 to 25 years, on account of his compulsory abdication, we must reduce the chronological period by 33 years, thus bringing it practically into accord with that of Assyria. That being the case, Adad-'idri is, as was explained from the first, the Ben-hadad of 1 Kings xx, and Ahabbu of Ser'ilâa is the Ahab of Israel of the same Biblical passage, for there is not more than 10 years difference between the two chronologies, and further revision of that of Judah and Israel may result in reducing even this comparatively small discrepancy.

Applying his system of the cubits of the lengths mentioned above to the Temple-courts, buildings, and metal-work respectively, Mr. Caldecott also here makes everything agree. He states that the outline and measures which prevailed in the Tabernacle were also those adopted for Solomon's Temple, hence its architectural form. As drawn from the specifications of the author, the Temple appears as an exceedingly plain building with a front elevation of 40 cubits surmounted by a square tower twice that height, and with a tall arched opening in front. Above the walls are the usual gradines or step-battlements of Assyro-Babylonian architecture—a style which was probably common throughout Western Asia. The two columns, Jakin and Boaz, which are shown rather thick, seem to block up the entrance considerably, and look far from elegant, so that the front, when completed, must have always had a disappointing effect. Mr. Caldecott suggests that, on ceremonial occasions, a portion of the sacred oil used for anointing (see Exod. xxx, 23–25) was poured into the cavity within the sacred 'bowls' or 'pommels'—lotus- or tulip-shaped brazen flowers—with which the columns were crowned, and which were protected from defilement through birds settling on them by a brazen covering of open work. The author's restoration of these columns is made from the detailed description in 1 Kings vii, 41, etc. Perrot and Chipiez's idea of them is very different, and, being more elaborate, seems less probable.

But both volumes are exceedingly suggestive, and contain valuable details concerning the two celebrated religious constructions around which Jewish ecclesiastical life was centred for so many centuries. The many side-issues, including the history of the nation, afterwards split into two parts, with whom they originated, add to the value of the monographs in a very special way.

T. G. PINCHES.

ALTBABYLONISCHE RECHTSURKUNDEN AUS DER ZEIT DER  
I. BABYLONISCHEN DYNASTIE (ca. 2300–2000 v. Chr.),  
von Dr. MOSES SCHORR. Sitzungsberichte der Kais.  
Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Vienna, 1907.  
“In Kommission bei Alfred Holder.”

Since the discovery of the Hammurabi Code of Laws, as Dr. Schorr points out, a number of works dealing with the contracts of the period, upon which it threw light, have appeared; and his own, a worthy follower of those of Daiches, Friedrich, Meissner, and Peiser (all of whom have added valuable contributions to the subject), is the latest. This monograph gives translations, with commentary, of 85 contract-tablets of the period of the Dynasty of Hammurabi preserved in the British Museum, and published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, parts ii, iv, vi, and viii. They range over all the usual subjects dealt with in documents of this class — adoption, emancipation, inheritance, marriage, partnership, purchase, hire, loan, gift, exchange, and actions and declarations in legal form. Specimens of these documents were given by me in the *Journal* of this Society for July, 1897, pp. 598–613, and Jan. 1899, pp. 103–120, and a comparison of the translations would show what advances in the decipherment have been made since then, and likewise the different opinions concerning the texts on the part of the Assyriologists who have studied them. As this would take too long, a few simple notes must suffice.

One of the most interesting is the unique text published on p. 103 of the *Journal* for 1899 (= Schorr, No. 3). It


refers to the founding of a temple by a man named Nûr-ili-šu. The principal differences are in lines 10 ff., which Dr. Schorr renders "Pî-ša-Šamaš *alone* is the priest of the temple. Nûr-ili-šu will make no claim to the priestly office," a translation which is very consistent. Nevertheless, I am inclined to retain my old rendering of *ana šagûti<sup>m</sup>. ula iragam* as 'shall not bring action against the priesthood,' in accordance with the other legal documents where the last word occurs. The translation of the enclitic *-ma* as 'alone,' however, seems to express well its emphatic force.

With regard to the male deity mentioned in this text, the author transcribes *Šarru<sup>m</sup>* instead of *Lugala* (the Sumerian equivalent). It seems possible, however, that neither the one nor the other is really right, if we regard the text printed on p. 146 of the *Journal* for 1905 as having any authority. →† ➤, *Lugala* or *Šarru<sup>m</sup>*, is there glossed as having the pronunciation *Nûr-ili*, 'light of god,' a name contained in that of the founder of the temple, Nûr-ili-šu, 'light of his god.'<sup>1</sup>

In the case of the text printed on p. 609 of the *Journal* for 1897, besides being a wedding-contract, it is also a deed of emancipation, *ullulu* meaning not only 'to purify,' but also 'to set free.' Turning to the text on p. 601 ff., the two renderings agree fairly well, the principal differences being due to the translation of the enclitic *-ma* as 'nachdem,' 'indem.' Elsewhere it stands for 'if,' 'even if.' This rendering is due to Professor D. H. Müller, and is a valuable contribution to Assyro-Babylonian grammar.

Dr. Schorr's important addition to the legal literature of ancient Babylonia has exceedingly useful commentaries on most of the inscriptions treated of, with short lists of ideographs, place-names, works used, and a list of the words written phonetically. The interesting text No. 72a still needs one or two corrections, the principal being in the third

<sup>1</sup> This is pointed out in the footnote on the page referred to, and it is noteworthy that in the list in question the name of *Nûr-ili* is followed, apparently, by *Šullat*, the goddess mentioned in the deed of gift. On p. 144, the name of the deity which follows is *Išhuru*.

line, where my reading is *ši-im-da-at šar-ri*, 'law of the king,' instead of *ši-im-da-at-tu-uš*, 'his legal claim.' In addition to this, I have noted the date as being omitted in the copies published hitherto; it reads as follows:  *Warah Tišriti, úmu rebû, šattu Ha-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL-E Taš-me-tum GU-ŠAG-ŠAG-GA-NI*, "Month Tisri, day 4th, year Hammurabi the king prayed to the goddess Tašmêt."

T. G. PINCHES.



## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1907.)

### PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

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## OBITUARY NOTICES.

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### FERDINAND JUSTI.

WHEN writing a brief obituary notice of Friedrich von Spiegel in the October number of our Journal, I spoke of him as the "last but one of the 'Old Guard' of Iranian and Avestic scholarship," adding "for Justi still remains." This statement is no longer true, for with the early months of the present year Ferdinand Justi has also passed away. No name has been better known or more highly honoured for the last forty years and more in the world of Oriental learning than that of the eminent scholar of Marburg. With that Prussian town his whole life and career have been intimately connected. In it he was born in 1837; as a professor at its University he has run his course as teacher and writer; and there, in his 70th year, he has ended his work. The enumeration of his publications is not a very long one, but there are among them works of the very first importance, to which every Iranian scholar has been profoundly indebted for more than one generation. Foremost among these must be mentioned his *Handbuch der Zendsprache: Altbaktrisches Wörterbuch, mit Grammatik und Crestomathie* (Leipzig, 1864). By this, for its time, indispensable work, Justi became the founder of Zend lexicography, since, for the next thirty-six years, his *Handbuch* was the only Zend dictionary available for students of the Avestic language. It was not until 1900 that a Zend dictionary appeared from the pen of the Parsi scholar, Kanga, and Bartholomae's great work was not completed till 1905.

Justi's name, however, will perhaps be best remembered in connection with ancient Persian history. His *Geschichte des Alten Persiens* appeared at Berlin in 1879. In a revised and abridged form this history reappeared as *Geschichte Irans von den Ältesten Zeiten bis zum Ausgang der Sasaniden*, in the second volume of the well-known *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1896-1904). He also contributed in English dress a sketch, *Empire of the Persians*, to the "History of all Nations" (New York, 1905).

Perhaps his largest undertaking was his monumental dictionary of Iranian proper names, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), a work of astounding research and patience. In another direction Justi had the distinction of being the first editor of the Pahlavi text of the Bundehesh, the Iranian 'Genesis' (*Der Bundehesch zum ersten Male herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Glossar versehen*, Leipzig, 1868). Outside of his Avestic studies Justi did an important work, at the request of the Russian Government, in editing the Kurdish-French Dictionary of the Imperial Russian Academy.

I regret not to be able to give as complete a bibliography of Justi's minor writings as I did of Spiegel's; the following, however, may be referred to. In the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1892 (Z.D.M.G., xlv), "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Pehlevi Siegelinschriften"; in that for 1899 (Z.D.M.G., liii), "Zur Inschrift von Behistun," a reply to W. Foy; in the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1888, "Himmel und Hölle der Parsen," an essay on the Artā Vīrāf Nāmak. He also contributed a valuable paper, entitled "The Life and Legend of Zarathushtra," to the memorial volume, *Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of Dastur Peshotanji* (Strassburg, 1904). In this essay Justi accepts West's chronology for the life of Zoroaster; and also the views of de Harlez, Williams Jackson and others, in favour of North-Western Iran as the land of Zoroaster's birth, in opposition to East Iran or Bactria, as held by Spiegel and originally by Justi himself, as indicated above in the title of his *Handbuch*. On the

other hand, it is well known that he was one of the ablest of what may be called the traditional school of Avestic interpretation of Spiegel and de Harlez as opposed to the Vedic school of Roth.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

### THEODOR AUFRECHT.

*[Translated from the BONNER ZEITUNG by permission of Professor Jacobi.]*

ON April 3rd occurred the death of Professor Dr. Theodor Aufrecht, who belonged to our University since 1875, and who for sixty years had laboured upon the foundation and superstructure of Comparative and Indian Philology. He was born on January 7th, 1821, at Leschnitz in Upper Silesia. Although even in his boyhood he manifested great gifts and a strong desire for knowledge, it was only after a hard struggle that he, one of a numerous family, was able to prepare himself for a learned career. From the fourth class (Quarta) he attended the Gymnasium at Oppeln (1836-42), and subsequently went to Berlin to study classical philology. In addition, however, to his special subject he studied Oriental languages, especially Sanskrit, and also occupied himself zealously with Comparative Philology.

In both of these subjects his teacher was Bopp, who, great in research work, accomplished more through his power of stimulating others than by systematic instruction. Thus Aufrecht had to work out his own way to an understanding of the Indian authors, an undertaking which, at that period of almost total lack of proper means for the study of Sanskrit, demanded a large amount of natural gifts and energy. He concluded his studies at the University with a dissertation on the "Accent of Sanskrit Compounds," for which he obtained his Doctor's degree at Halle in 1847. If he here distinguished himself as a specialist in a department little known even to the Sanskritists of that time, his next

work, composed in collaboration with Kirchoff, "Über die umbrischen Sprachdenkmäler," 2 vols., 1849-51, which concluded the decipherment and elucidation of these old Italian inscriptions, made the name of Aufrecht renowned throughout the whole philological world as a researcher of genius. Soon after the publication of the first volume he was installed in Berlin as Privatdozent at the University, and in that town he lived in close and inspiring intercourse with the Sanskritist A. Weber and the Mythologist and Comparative Philologist A. Kuhn. In conjunction with the latter he issued from 1851 onwards the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, which became the principal organ for Comparative Grammar, which was at that time making rapid progress. In this and in other periodicals, as for instance, after his migration to England, in the Transactions of the Philological Society, there appeared monographs dealing with the classic and Germanic languages and Sanskrit. At the Berlin University he lectured principally on Old English, Old Saxon, and Old Norse. In the year 1852 he migrated to Oxford, chiefly with the object of assisting Max Müller in the preparation of his great edition of the Rig Veda with a native commentary. He was himself already at work on the edition of a text of the Rig Veda, this oldest and most venerable monument of Indian literature, which he published in Roman character in 1861-3, in vols. vi-vii of the *Indische Studien*.

This first edition of the Rig Veda exercised the greatest influence on the German study of Sanskrit, which for more than ten years had been principally directed to the investigation of the oldest Indian era, the Vedic period. Aufrecht received in the same year an appointment in the famous Bodleian Library at Oxford, and undertook the compilation of the catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts, 2 vols., 1859-64. This was no ordinary library undertaking; at least Aufrecht did not conceive of it as such; it was to be rather a solid foundation for the history of Indian literature, a first attempt at which had been made in Weber's excellent catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts

in Berlin. The history of literature was to the Indians an unknown conception, and from most of the works not so much as an approximate date, not even to within several centuries, could be supplied. Aufrecht had thus to read through the manuscripts, for only of a few were printed editions in existence, a task possible alone to a scholar gifted with unfaltering application and one who had an absolute mastery of Sanskrit in its manifold forms according to the different branches of literature. He made tables of contents, gave specimens of the principal works, made notes to the most important points, and cited all names of predecessors or other authority mentioned in each work. Thus was obtained not only a detailed review of classical Sanskrit literature—in Vedic literature most of the work had already been done by Weber—but also the outlines for a chronology of the same, as for some works the precise dates were discovered. Of many, again, it became possible to fix their relative age. In like manner Aufrecht also worked at the certainly much less copious collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (1869). This enormous pressure of work yet left him leisure for a critical edition of two as yet unpublished works, one grammatical, Ujjvalaladatta's commentary on the Unādisūtras (Bonn, 1859), and one lexicographical, Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā (London, 1861).

The respect that Aufrecht won for himself in his new country by these works gained for him in 1862 the appointment to the newly founded chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Edinburgh. There he entered upon the life of the home along with Helen Mary; *née* Harington, whom in the same year he married at Oxford, and who became an intelligent and unselfish partner for life. When in the year 1875 Professor Lassen resigned the Professorship of Sanskrit at our University (Bonn), Aufrecht was appointed in his place. He lectured here on Sanskrit and Comparative Philology till 1889, in which year he obtained his release from the duty of giving lectures. During his sojourn at Bonn he published

the second edition of his Rig Veda and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and in addition a series of essays, chiefly on subjects in the range of Indian literary history. The leisure which the freedom from official duties after the year 1889 left him, he devoted to a grandly planned scientific work. The search for Sanskrit manuscripts in India, which had been started in a most successful manner especially by Bühler, and later carried on by Peterson and others, had brought to light a quite unexpected wealth of manuscripts which had been reported in numerous catalogues and treatises. To give a clear general survey of this widely scattered and almost inaccessible material and also of everything that was known about the collections of Sanskrit manuscripts in Europe, was the task which Aufrecht set himself to perform, and which he accomplished, in his "Catalogus Catalogorum." In the three volumes of this monumental work (1891-1903), not only are all the manuscripts mentioned which were known up to that time (exclusive of the Buddhist and Jain ones), but also the names of all the known works and authors of Indian literature, with a short sketch of the necessary data; an indispensable and invaluable aid for every investigator in the domain of Indian literature. In connection with this work should be mentioned also his cataloguing of the Sanskrit manuscripts in Florence, Leipzig, and Munich. As the Munich Catalogue went to press the power of the worker of 86 began to fail. During the last two months the weakness increased rapidly; after ten days confinement to his bed he passed away peacefully and without pain.

Aufrecht was a scholar of the old type such as in these days are becoming ever rarer, a philologist versed not only in Indian literature but also in the literatures of the classic languages, of the German, English, and several Romance languages. Devoted to his studies from earliest morning till far into the night, he withdrew especially during the last twenty years of his life practically quite into retirement, living a simple, regular life, whereas previously he was not averse to social joys in his circle of intimate friends. To those whom he honoured with his friendship he maintained

it faithful and helpful; towards others, however, he was rather reserved. But he had ever an open hand where he found unmerited misfortune and had power to alleviate it.

He never sought publicity, and his name was therefore seldom mentioned, as in fact one popular writing alone of his became known, "*Blüthen aus Hindostan*" (Bonn, 1873). So much the greater was the recognition which the learned world accorded him, and which found expression in his membership of many learned societies. He was an honorary member of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* and of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, a member of the *Royal Institution* in Edinburgh, a corresponding member of the *Berlin* and *Munich Academies of Science*, of the *Gelehrte Gesellschaft* in Göttingen, and the *Gesellschaft für Wissenschaft* in Copenhagen. The University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts, Cambridge that of Doctor of Letters, and Edinburgh Doctor of Laws. From the German Government he received the Order of the Crown, second class. For his funeral the unpretending scholar had desired no gifts of wreaths; but he will have an imperishable wreath in his services to knowledge.

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